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Wonders of the East : a synoptic edition of the Letter of Pharasmanes and the Old English and Old Picard translations.

Knock, Ann Elizabeth

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WONDERS OF THE EAST:
A SYNOPTIC EDITION
OF
THE LETTER OF PHARASMANES
AND THE OLD ENGLISH AND
OLD PICARD TRANSLATIONS

by

ANN ELIZABETH KNOCK

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the University
London

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For my husband and children
with apologies.

"The little Jellybys," said Richard,
"are really - I can't help expressing
myself strongly, sir - in a devil of
a state."

"She means well," said Mr. Jarndyce,
hastily. "The wind's in the east."

Charles Dickens

Bleak House



Tras bruxontem flumen ad orientem nascuntur
homines longi & magni habentes scymora &
furra. xii. pedu latera cum pectore vii. pe-
dum odore nigro qd hostes nre appellant.
Na qd scymora capunt comedunt.

Breondan bruxontem dape ea case danon
beodmen acende lange juncle pa habbað
fere juncan qd spora lange ridan mid
beofum jwpan pota lange hi beod jwpan
ter hiper jhi jridan hostes nemde.
Cadlice jpa hylene manin jpa hylpod
þonne ppetas hi hime.

Sunt & alie bestiolaē in bruxonte quae
lerices apellatur aurib: asinus uellere
ouino pedib: ouum.

Honne syndon on bruxonte pildeopi
pahattan leuices hi habbað cojeler
majan jwpan pulle jwpan jec.



ABSTRACT

The Old English *Wonders of the East*, translated from the Latin *Mirabilia*, represents one branch of the complicated textual tradition of the *Letter of Pharasmanes*. This synoptic edition places *Wonders* in its literary context. The date of composition in Greek, the attribution to Pharasmanes, the attempt at verisimilitude and the relationship to itinerary literature are discussed in the light of the fuller knowledge of the *Letter* now available. The date of translation into Latin and the subsequent development of two Groups is investigated. The 11 different texts are each examined in detail. *Mirabilia* is shown to have been influenced by the accompanying picture cycle; EP and FR have been edited during transmission and certain types of information suppressed. The major variation between the OE texts is traced to retranslation following an accident to an antecedent MS. Phonological studies of both vernacular versions are presented. The use made by *Liber Monstrorum* and *Historia de Preliis* of material from the *Letter* is examined, and the hypothesis of Aldhelm's authorship of the *Liber* reconsidered. The synoptic text, for which a new, manuscript-based section division has been adopted, is presented in inter-linear form. Colour-coding is employed to identify

the individual texts. This means of presentation emphasizes the points of convergence and divergence. Variant readings within a version are presented in Appendices 1 and 2, where each text is given separately. A section-by-section Commentary considers evidence for the wording of the ancestral text and investigates Classical and Mediaeval analogues. Notes discuss all points of interest in the texts. Appendix 3 presents all Thomas of Cantimpré's Adelinus references, alongside their likely sources. Glossaries are provided for the vernacular texts and a selective Bibliography is appended.

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PREFACE

STUDY OF THE *WONDERS*: AN HISTORICAL SURVEY

Until comparatively recently, the study of *Mirabilia* and the Old English *Wonders* followed an independent line from the study of the other versions of the *Letter of Pharasmanes*. This is partly due to the absence of an epistolary incipit in the English MSS, partly to the tendency of scholars working on the continental versions to regard the work as a minor offshoot of the Alexander canon.

The link between the texts was first recognised by Faral (1)¹ and James (4), both of whom printed all the versions known to them, FL, EP, Ger,² Mir and LM. OFr was discovered shortly afterwards and printed, with Mir in parallel, by Hilka (27). Although Pit and a section of FR had been published by Pitra (23) some thirty years before Faral's study (1), these texts remained unconsulted for many years. No editor or commentator made use of them before Gibb (17), to whom I was able to give the references in 1975.

OE and Mir have been the most studied of all the texts, and both MSS containing the OE text have been studied exhaustively. The recent discovery

1. In this preface, to avoid excessive duplication of footnotes, number in brackets refer to items in the Bibliography. For the rest of this thesis, full footnotes will be given as references are made.

2. There is a pull-out key to the abbreviations on p.388.

of Pit has cast light on many of the cruces in the text of Mir. Gibb (17) demonstrated that Mir-B was descended from Mir-T. I have been able to show that this descent was not direct but that another MS, on the same small scale as B, intervened. The layout chosen for the synoptic edition in this thesis illuminates many points which had not been clear to earlier editors. For Mir, it reveals that there are many details of colour and physical description which are unique to that version, details which could only have been drawn from the picture cycle.

Close examination of the layout of the MSS has solved the long-standing problem of the divergent readings in the OE texts in §§20, 21, 32 and 33. The incomprehensibly bad translations in V are not, as had been suggested (4, 6, 17) remnants of an earlier translation but later retranslation necessitated by damage across four columns of an antecedent MS.

The text of Pit, which occupies a central position and is clearly the best representative of the ancestral P-Group text, has been consulted only by Gibb. It is unfortunate that we are forced to rely on Pitra's transcript (23), apparently

incomplete, for this important text. By examining Pitra's handling of another text I have attempted to assess the areas in which this transcript is most likely to be reliable.

EP was, until the rediscovery of Pit, the only Latin P-Group text to preserve the epistolary trappings. For that reason it has been assigned a more central position in the P-Group stemma than that to which it is entitled. The synoptic text in this thesis reveals that EP was subjected to a degree of editing in the course of transmission. The editor concentrated on removing or replacing the more obscure details, thus causing the text to shed some of the most distinctive ancestral features. The text of EP has in the past (6) been used to offer solutions to cruces in Mir for which a more satisfactory answer is now available.

OFr has been little studied. The only editors of OE who have included it are Pickles (16) and Gibb (17). It belongs to the same sub-branch of P-Group as Mir, but preserves certain ancestral readings more accurately.

Of the F-Group texts, FL is well-known and has long been considered the text which most closely approaches the Latin archetype. Although part of FR was printed by Pitra (23), it was not used by

any editor of the *Letter* before Gibb (17). Faral learnt of it (84) and cited references, but never published the text. The MSS of FR, particularly the three later ones, have been intensively studied (30-46). The provenance of the Madrid MS has been the subject of heated debate. The theory of Hispanic provenance (38, 39, 42, 43) (which I reject as it is based on the false premise that this MS represents the first gathering together of a particular group of texts) seems to have gained general acceptance through frequent repetition.

The two ghost MSS, both known only from references in catalogues, have not been considered by other editors. They add little to our knowledge, but provide further proof of the wide distribution of these texts.

The text of Gervase's *Otia Imperialia* (Ger, GerII) has not been reedited in full since the beginning of the eighteenth century (49). The MSS have, however, been subjected to intensive examination by Caldwell (54, 55, 56), who identified the corrections in Vat. Lat. 933 as in the hand of the author (53). I have collated most of the MSS for the text of Ger, and my findings do not wholly support Caldwell's theories on relationships. On the question of the autograph corrections I am sure he is

right. Both sets of material from Gervase (Ger and GerII) have been retranscribed from this holograph MS. The passages from GerII have never before been included in an edition of the *Letter*.

LM has been the subject of considerable study in recent years. My investigation of the hitherto unpublished St. Gallen MS (85) coincided with the publication of an article on the same subject by Bologna (82). Two editions of LM have appeared since I began this topic. Bologna's (80) is inadequate in its coverage of the *Letter* as a source of LM, largely because he failed to identify the groupings of the versions of the *Letter* and was consequently inconsistent in his comparisons. Porsia's edition (79) came to my attention too late for consideration in this study. (I have not yet been able to obtain a copy.)

The question of whether LM could have been written by St. Aldhelm, as Thomas of Cantimpré seems to suggest, is of particular interest in considering the availability of different versions of the *Letter* in Anglo-Saxon England. Recent surveys have been inclined to accept the attribution (79, 84), although Whitbread (89) has reservations. Friedman (235) discovered a reference in Raoul de Presles (131) to a *Liber de Naturis Rerum* attributed to a certain

Adelinus. I have been able to demonstrate certain facts about this work, which appears to be no longer extant. The publication of the text of Thomas of Cantimpré (234) after I had begun the analysis facilitated comparison of the Adelinus references with their likely sources in LM and *Enigmata* (98). This revealed that whereas passages from LM are often quoted verbatim, those from *Enigmata* are usually paraphrased. My identification of a misconception in Thomas' passage on the purple mussel (*de perna*) as arising from a rubric which appears in later Aldhelm MSS confirms that Thomas' source was not two separate works, both by Aldhelm, but a compilation based on LM and *Enigmata*, to which the name of Aldhelm (Adelinus) remained attached. Further investigation into citations and the possible survival of this work is necessary.

The publication of synoptic editions of the *Letter of Alexander* (108) and part of the *Historia de Preliis* (112) provided a better basis for comparison with the *Letter* than earlier editions (104-107, 110, 111). Hilka's edition of the Old French Prose Alexander remains the standard (115).

No other edition of the *Letter* or of the OE *Wonders* has attempted to bring together so many texts and derivatives in a synoptic edition. The

one recent attempt at an edition of the *Letter* (2) is based entirely on Faral (1), providing a text of FL with a handful of variant readings.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study has occupied me for 11 years, during which time I have had cause to be grateful to many people. The Central Research Fund of the University of London made it possible for me to examine MSS in many European centres in the summer of 1973.

My debts to libraries are too numerous to list. I thank all those who have made MSS and books available to me. My heaviest demands have been on the British Library, the University of London Library and the Bodleian Library, whose staff I thank for their courteous efficiency. I owe much to my professional colleagues in King's College Library, and erstwhile colleagues at Birkbeck College and with Surrey County Libraries and the Libraries of the Royal Borough of Kingston-upon-Thames.

Many people have gone to some lengths to answer my questions, and among them I must thank Professor Ross (Birkbeck), Professor John Friedman (Illinois), Mme. Bloch (Paris) and Frau Thole (Fulda). They, and many others, have done their

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SECTION 1

INTRODUCTION

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ORIGINAL**

SECTION 1

WONDERS OF THE EAST

INTRODUCTION

The Old English text now known as *Wonders of the East*¹ has often been discounted by literary historians as a minor piece of hack translation of no literary merit². I do not propose to argue that it is a major creative work, but I do believe, and shall attempt to demonstrate, that it deserves consideration in any study of the cultural and literary heritage of the Anglo-Saxons. The MSS of *Wonders* show us a great deal about the attitudes and methods of Anglo-Saxon scribes and their approach to textual difficulties. The mere fact of the preservation of *Wonders* in two MSS, one of them the magnificently produced BL Cotton Tiberius Bv (here designated T), the other the less sumptuous but even more important *Beowulf* MS, BL Cotton Vitellius A xv (V), shows that there were among the Anglo-Saxons some who considered it to be a work worthy of careful attention.

1. The work is without title in the OE MSS. Earlier scholars gave it the titles *De Rebus in Oriente Mirabilibus* (Cockayne) and *Marvels of the East* (James).
2. The view of G.K. Anderson (*The Literature of the Anglo-Saxons*, rev. ed., Princeton, 1966, pp. 379-380) is typical:
generally inferior in material and style to *The Letter of Alexander to Aristotle*, the substance of which it often imitates As to the content of the work, it is largely a heaping-up, if not a compilation, of fabulous statements of considerable unreliability ...

Before we look closely at the Old English text, which represents a final flower on one specific branch of textual development, it is appropriate to investigate the origin and history of the Latin text which provided the translator with his copy.

THE LATIN TEXTS

A Latin text, not substantially different from that used by the translator, is presented next to the OE text in T. It is also found in a MS written during the first half of the twelfth century, Bodley 614. This later MS is a direct descendant of T, although at least one other MS intervened¹. This Latin text, which like the OE text is without title and appears to begin *in media re* is generally known as *Mirabilia*. (The separate versions of the two MSS are distinguished here by the designations Mir-T and Mir-B, their agreement is designated Mir.) Mir is closely related to several other Latin texts, all found in continental MSS, and to an Old French translation in Picard dialect. These texts all purport to be a Letter from someone with the name *Parmonis*, *Premonis*, *Permonis* or *Parimenis*² to the Emperor Trajan (98-116 A.D.).

1. The evidence, which is quite conclusive, is discussed on pp. 84-5;
2. All these variants can be traced back to confusion of abbreviations for *par*, *per* and *pre*.

The letter supplies information on monstrous races of men and beasts, but the incipits do not tell us why the information is provided, nor do they tell us more about that writer than that he is a king.

A further group of texts exists, exclusively in Latin, in which the writer is named as *Fermes* or *Feramen* and the recipient as the Emperor Hadrian (117-138 A.D.). In these texts the epistolary style is better preserved; the first and second persons are used and previous correspondence is referred to.

THE PUTATIVE AUTHOR

The supposed writer of the letter, *Fermes* or *Premonis*, has been identified with Pharasmanes (Farsman) King of Iberia¹. The Kingdom of Iberia (modern Georgia, in the Caucasus) had four rulers by the name of Pharasmanes during the first and second centuries A.D.²

1. An alternative attribution to the Parmenio of Alexander legends was probably made in mediæval times in respect of some texts with the P form of the name. This led to the accretion of Alexander material and first person references to Alexander's exploits which are found in a small group of texts. (see p. 52)

2. Pharasmanes I, in power by 35 A.D.

Pharasmanes II, ruled c. 72 A.D. - 87 A.D.

Pharasmanes III, ruled 113-122 A.D.

Pharasmanes IV acceded as an infant in c. 125 A.D. and ruled until 182 A.D.

One of these kings, probably the fourth, is reputed to have slighted the Emperor Hadrian by refusing an invitation to Rome¹, but he later established a better (that is, more deferential) relationship with Antoninus (138-161 A.D.)². Hadrian certainly corresponded with an Iberian king by the name of Pharasmanes, and Hadrian's interest in the marvellous led him to travel extensively³. A letter from Pharasmanes to Hadrian dealing with the monstrous and the marvellous is thus not at variance with such historical knowledge as we have of the personages named.

1. Spartian, *Vita Hadriani*, ed. D. Magie, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Vol. I, London, 1922, XIII,9, p.42.

The *Historia Augusta* should not be seen as a totally reliable source, and if, as it implies, it was the same Pharasmanes who had dealings with Hadrian and Antoninus, he would have been very young at the time of this supposed snub.

2. Julius Capitolinus, *Vita Antonini Pii*, ed. D. Magie, *op. cit.*, IX,6, p.122.

3. Spartian, *op. cit.*, XVII,9, pp.52-53.

LANGUAGE OF COMPOSITION

The language used in correspondence between kings and emperors in the second century A.D. was Greek, and there is a small amount of evidence which indicates that the *Letter of Pharasmanes* may first have been written in Greek.

1. The name Φαρασμανης (Pharasmanes) is Greek, and the surviving forms of the *Letter* show a variation between F and P which implies derivation from Ph as the transliteration of Greek φ. The -es ending to *Fermes* is the form used in Latin to render Greek names ending in -ης (such as *Pericles*; *Hercules*)¹. The P-Group² names are in the genitive and are usually taken as implying a nominative *Premo* (from *Premonis*, the form found in the most readily available version). *Parmoenis* and OFr *P(er)imenis* or *P(ar)imenis* both point to a nominative form in which -n forms part of the stem, as in Greek.

1. The genitive should be *Fermis* and not *Fermetis* as postulated by Bologna (*Liber Monstrorum* ... ed. C. Bologna, Milan, 1977, p.202).

2. The two groups of texts are described as P-Group and F-Group after the form of the name which characterises them.

P-Group (examined in detail in Section 3) consists of:

Epistola Premonis Regis ad Trajanum Imperatorem (EP)
Epistola Parmoenis Regis ad Trojanum Imperatorem (Pit)
Lepistle le roy P(ar)imenis a l'empereur (OFr)
Mirabilia (Mir) *Wonders of the East* (OE)

F-Group (see Section 4) consists of:

Fermes Letter (FL) and its reproduction by Gervase of Tilbury in *Otia Imperialia III* (Ger)
Feramen Rex ad Adrianum Imperatorem (FR)

2. The measurements used in the original, which survive in some texts of both groups, are the Greek *stadia* (στάδια) - 625 Roman feet or 606 English feet. In some of the later texts these measurements, which became meaningless as Greek literacy waned, have been converted (inaccurately) to Gallic leagues or omitted entirely.

3. Several of the names given to the monstrous races are of Greek origin. These include some which are proved, by their presence in texts of both groups, to have been part of the text since an early stage in its development. The names of Greek origin are:

§8 (F-Group) *cerastes* (κεράστης) horned serpent,
asp. (P-Group *corsia*)

§10 *cynocephali* (κυνοκέφαλοι) dog-headed men.

§11 (FR, possibly a late restoration) *ichthiophagi*
(FL *idtofagi*) (ιχθυοφάγοι) fish-eaters.

§12 (F-Group) *myrmidones* (μυρμηκολέων, ant-lion;
μυρμηδών ants' nest)

§15 (F-Group) <i>yppofogi</i> ¹	}	(ἵπποφάγοι) eaters of horse flesh.
§18 (P-Group) <i>epifagos</i>		

1. P-Group is correct in describing the creature in §15 as a hippopotamus (*hippotami*). The name *hippophagoi* does not belong in §18, either, for the creatures there described are headless men or *blennyae*. (See commentary to these sections.)

Several of these names reappear frequently in the work of Greek geographers from the earliest times. Sections in the *Letter* which can be shown, by their presence in a restricted group of texts, to have been added later give the creatures Latin names. These not infrequently show an ignorance of the classical background, as in P-Group's §16 (on the black-skinned cannibals named *Hostes*) and §25 (on the centaurs, here called *Homodubii*).

The use of Greek names is not, in itself, proof of Greek origin. These names were known to and used by many Latin writers. Furthermore, not a few creatures which are described in the *Letter* are of recognisable Greek origin and are yet not given the Greek names which were readily available both in Greek texts and in Latin writers such as Pliny and Solinus. The headless men in §18 are, with the minor embellishment of golden-coloured bodies in F-Group texts, the Greek *Blemmyae*¹. Unnamed in F-Group, they are given the inappropriate name *epifagos* (from *hippophagoi*) in the three P-Group texts which retain a name for them. The fan-eared men of §30, which derive from a very early Greek

1. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, ed. H. Rackham, V, 8, line 46.

tradition¹, are similarly given no name.

4. The mythology recounted in the *Letter* bears the hallmarks of Greek origin. The best example of this, because it is one of the few instances where the Greek tradition does not appear to have penetrated Latin writers, is the unusual description of Heliopolis in §§32-35. In this we see confusion of the historical city of Heliopolis in Egypt, centre of sun-worship and site of the shrine in which the phoenix was believed to make its periodic sacrifice (a concept by no means uncommon in either pagan or Christian Latin writers²) with the mythical palace of the Sun. Pagan myths provide many explanations of the activities of the sun between sunset and sunrise. Roman myths on the whole concentrate on the needs of the horses which pull Phoebus's chariot across the sky, frequently describing them as grazing on ambrosia in the islands of the Hesperides³.

1. They are the *Enotokoitai* described by Skylax (W. Reese, *Die griechische Nachrichten über Indien*, Leipzig, 1914, p.49.
2. Well over half of the 109 references to the phoenix in classical and patristic writings cited by Marieluise Walla (*Der Vogel Phönix in der antiken Literatur und die Dichtung des Laktanz*, Ph.D. thesis, Vienna, 1965, pp.197-198) are from Latin writers.
3. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II, pays considerable attention to the horses.

Some works show a preoccupation with the means by which the Sun returns from the West to the East during the hours of darkness. This interest culminated in the strange belief that the Sun is pulled back in a cup floating on the ocean current around the edge of the world¹. The description of Heliopolis we find in the *Letter* includes none of these characteristics of Latin versions. Instead, Heliopolis is represented as an island (32,1), which accords with Homer's description of the palace of the Sun². The bed, the radiance and the seething sea are all characteristics of early Greek legend and I have been unable to find a Roman description incorporating them.

DATE OF COMPOSITION

Whether the text was originally written in Greek or merely couched in terms intended to give it the appearance of a translation from Greek, it must have been available in Latin at an early date. The development of the two groups, which took place in the Latin text, was complete by the time that the earliest extant MS was copied, certainly not later

1. e.g. Nonnos, *Dionysiaca*, ed. and trans. W.H. Rouse, London, 1940, xii, 1-5.

2. Homer, *Odyssey*, ed. W.B. Stanford, London, 1947, xii, 1-4.

than the beginning of the ninth century. That this division occurred after translation is shown by several instances of verbal similarity between the texts, particularly those which are found in phrases which would readily have lent themselves to different phrasing had the two groups been the product of two separate translations. A few instances should be sufficient to demonstrate the point:

3,1: *haec colonia (est) maxima negotiatorum* Pit/Mir/FL.

4,3: *galline (nascuntur) quales et apud nos similes colore* EP/Pit/FL (also Mir, but with *rubicundo* for *similes*).

7,1-2: *Nascuntur et (ibi) onagri cornua (bourn) habentes (et) forma maxima* EP/Pit/Mir/FL/FR

The words in brackets are not present in all versions. Of these, the unusual expression in 3,1 for a colony with a large number of merchants or traders provides probably the most conclusive evidence that both groups derive from a single Latin version. It is not the only such example, and readings which appear to go back to the original translation are discussed in full in the Commentary on the text in this edition.

Some of the mistakes and corruptions which distinguish the groups can clearly only have arisen in the text after translation into Latin. P-Group's description in 23,11 of visitors to a certain land who

are presented with women (*mulieribus*) on their departure can only have arisen from F-Group's *remunerati dimittuntur* ('they are sent away rewarded') (23,10). (Frustratingly, we do not at this point have a reading from Pit, the P-Group text which most frequently preserves readings from an earlier level of textual development.) Other points of divergence, such as the transfer of the name *ypfofogi* in F-Group to §15 on the hippopotamus (correctly named *hippotami* in some P-Group texts), presumably from §18, where it appears as *epifagos* in P-Group, wrongly applied to the headless men or Blemmyae, could have taken place in either language.

The earliest evidence for the existence of the text in Latin is the inclusion of two river names, otherwise known only from the *Letter*, in a grammatical treatise, the *Catholica* of Probus¹. The precise date and authorship of the *Catholica* is obscured, as was no doubt the compiler's intention, by the adoption of the name of a first-century writer, Probus. It is believed that the main body of the *Catholica* was written during the fourth century. There is also an *Appendix* to the work, long held to have been part of the original compilation but now considered

1. Probus, *Catholica*, ed. H. Kell (*De Arte Grammatica Libri, Probus, Donatus, Servius*), Leipzig, 1864, (*Grammatici Latini*, 4), pp.3-43.

to be a later addition, probably closer in date to the sole surviving MS of the *Appendix*, a Bobbio palimpsest of the seventh century¹. The *Catholica*, together with its *Appendix*, has long been used as a major text for the study of Vulgar Latin, but the question of the genuineness of the forms cited does not appear to have been subjected to much scrutiny.

The river names from the *Letter* appear in the main body of the *Catholica*:

I,21: *no: nec hac syllaba inveni finitum nomen
nisi barbarum, quod audiui Brixo Brixonis.*

I,43: *hic Gargarus, haec Gargara.*

I,50: *Gargarus, Gargari*².

and the latter name appears again in the *Appendix*:

27: *Cythera, Gargara, comitia*³.

Of the two names, *Brixo* is a form found only in P-Group texts, while *Gargarus* is found in this precise form only in FR. The genitive form *Brixonis* cited by Probus is just as likely to represent the Greek original as the inflected forms with *-ont-*

1. C.A. Robson, "L'*Appendix Probi* et la philologie latine", *Moyen Age*, 69, 1963, pp.37-54.

2. *op.cit.*, pp. 11, 22, 28.

3. *op.cit.*, p. 196.

for *βριξων may have had the genitive *βριξοντος (like γέρων/γέροντος) or *βριξονος (like γείτων/γείτονος). P-Group texts consistently read -ont-¹, whereas the F-Group texts support the form given by Probus (although his spelling agrees with P-Group texts) with the forms *Briso/Brisonis*².

Of the three explanations considered here, borrowing by Probus is likeliest. Probus seems to take *Gargarus*, which in the *Letter* is the name of a river associated with the gold-digging ants, as the name of a race of people, for he offers both masculine and feminine forms. The precise form he gives is found only in FR³, although FL's *Gargerum* and Pit's *Gurgarus* are both close in readings to Probus. The remaining forms of the name diverge more widely.

1. *Erizontem* acc.sing. 13,3P; 16,1P; 17,1Pit.
Erizontis gen.sing. 13,3Pit; 16,1LM; 18,1LM.
Erizonti dat.sing. 14,1LM.
Erizonte abl.sing. 17,1Mir,LM; 18,1Mir,EP.
2. *Brisonem* acc.sing. 13,3FR; 13,4FL,Ger.
Brisonis gen.sing. 13,8FL; 13,9Ger; 15,1Ger.
Erisonē abl.sing. 18,2F; 19,5FL.
3. The following forms are used:
 nom.sing: *Gargarus (fluvius)* 12,3FR.
 Gargerum (flumen) 12,3FL.
 Gargarum (flumen) 12,3Ger.
 Gurgarus (fluvius) 12,2Pit.
 Gorgoneus (fluvius) 12,2Mir.
 acc.sing: *Gorgarium* 12,13Pit.
 Gargulum 12,13Mir.
 Gallalim 12,13EP.

Neither name has so far been traced in other writings of this early date, which means that the only text we know of which could have supplied these two names to the *Catholica* is the *Letter of Pharasmanes*. Our present knowledge of the compilation of the *Catholica* does not permit any conclusive statement on the date at which they may have been added, or indeed on whether they were likely to have been found in the earliest versions of the text. We can assert, however, that they were incorporated into the text before the seventh century, the date of the Bobbio palimpsest.

A mere two words constitutes evidence far too meagre to form a sound basis for any hypothesis. They do, however, show that the form of the *Letter* (if such it was) which supplied these words was one which contained features of both groups, thus at an early stage of textual development. The similarity to the readings of Pit supports this, for the text of Pit is closest to the archetype of all P-Group texts.

Before leaving this point, we should examine the two other possible explanations for the presence of names, apparently from the *Letter*, in a grammatical treatise of the fourth century. The first of these possibilities is that the compiler of the

Letter borrowed the names from the *Catholica*. It is difficult to imagine that a compiler of a text such as the *Letter*, composed as it is of tradition and folk-belief, would, finding himself in need of two names for rivers, draw unidentified words at random from a list in a grammatical treatise. Were this to be the case, it would imply that the *Letter* was written after the fourth century and that the compiler researched his material directly from other written works. This method of compilation is not compatible with the high number of descriptions which include details not known from other early sources, such as the golden colour of the headless men (§18) or the fiery breath of the cynocephali (§10). Were the *Letter* a recently researched compilation, it would be very difficult to explain the absence of the Greek, or even Latin, names for so many of the creatures described.

The other possibility, that Probus and the *Letter* shared a common, but as yet untraced, source, is one we are at present in a position neither to prove nor to disprove. With our present knowledge of the material available to both, it is probably better to disregard this possibility, if only on the grounds that an explanation of the facts we possess exists without the need to invent a lost text.

After all the evidence has been considered, the likeliest explanation is that the *Catholica* drew the two river names from a copy of the *Letter of Pharasmanes*, either at the time of its compilation by Probus in the fourth century or at some later stage. Even if we assign the latest possible date¹ to this borrowing, it still provides our earliest *terminus ante quem* for the existence of the text of the *Letter* in Latin. If we accept that the borrowing occurred at the time of Probus in the fourth century, this would give us a very early date for the *Letter*, confirming that it must have been written not long after the time of the supposed author and recipient.

In conclusion, such evidence as we have on the earliest stages of the text (and the evidence is indeed in very short supply) seems to point to compilation in Greek, not long after the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian and Pharasmanes - probably towards the end of the second century. All the texts appear to derive from a single translation into Latin. This Latin translation was certainly available by the end of the seventh century and probably much earlier, both because of the evidence of Probus and because of the number of stages of transmission which would have been necessary for the development of two groups of
1. i.e. before the Bobbio palimpsest was written during the seventh century.

texts and so many individual variants. This development into two distinct groups was complete by the date of the earliest extant MSS, the late eighth or early ninth century.

COMPOSITION OF THE *LETTER*

It seems probable that the *Letter of Pharasmanes* was composed at some time between the second and the fourth centuries, and that it was not the work of the historical Pharasmanes.

There is nothing in the text of the *Letter*, in so far as it can be established, to preclude the existence of the text at an early enough date to have been written by Pharasmanes. Pharasmanes was, however, king of Iberia - and not one of the creatures described is assigned to that part of the world. Iberia borders on the Black Sea, and yet it is the Red Sea which provides Pharasmanes with so much material. Nothing is described to the North or the East of Iberia - everything is located in the traditional home of the monstrous, the unexplored stretches of the Nile, the Arabian peninsula and beyond, to India itself. Add to this the fact that the accounts are patently not true and that, unlike Augustine¹, the author makes no attempt to introduce

1. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* XVI,8, describes both races of monsters and freaks, claiming personal knowledge of some of the latter.

verifiable accounts of monstrous births to give credence to his tales of strange races of men, and we must conclude that it is highly unlikely that the text before us is the work of an Iberian king of the second century.

Why then was the *Letter* written? This question has worried some critics, who have felt that the preservation and the popularity of the *Letter* must point to some more serious underlying theme than the mere recounting of fabulous beliefs. Various suggestions have been put forward, which I shall consider in due course. I am not, however, convinced that we need to look for any hidden purpose. The interest in far-off lands and their dream-created inhabitants is an ever-present theme in the human imagination which can be traced in literature from Homer to H.G. Wells and beyond. These themes sometimes are found in literature of the first rank but their most prolific production is in works which could be classified as sub-literary. Indeed, not a few scholars have considered the OE *Wonders* to be a work sadly lacking in literary merit¹.

1. These range from the writers of general literary histories (c.f. G.K. Anderson, *op.cit.*) to editors of the text, such as S. Rypins (*Three Old English Prose Texts*, London, 1924, *Early English Text Society*, o.s. 161, p.xliii) who dismissed it as a

· decidedly inferior treatment of much the same sort of material as is found in *Alexander's Letter*.

In recent centuries, material such as this has become the preserve of the popular press, which gratified the curiosity of the masses first by the production of broadsheets on monsters and freaks¹ and more recently by the proliferation of science-fiction comics. In the Middle Ages, however, the study of monsters was a more serious business. The question of whether the races of monsters were descended from Adam and therefore related to man became a major theological issue and in the case of the antipodes who live on the opposite side of the earth (and therefore could not be descended from Adam because the torrid zone was deemed impassable) those who held the unfashionable view were considered to be heretics². It was, however, the status of the monsters which was debated - their existence was seldom doubted. (The scepticism shown by the compiler of the *Liber Monstrorum*³ is unusual.) Augustine⁴ believed in some, and sought

1. There is no full study of these broadsheets yet available.

Most works on monsters discuss some of them. cf. P. Duvic, *Monstres et Monstruosités*, Paris, 1973;

E. and J. Lehner, *A Fantastic Bestiary*, New York, 1969.

2. cf. St. Boniface, *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, ed. M. Tangl. 2nd. ed., Berlin, 1955, p.178.

3. See pp.319-322.

4. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XVI,8 and XXI,8.

to explain the reasons behind their creation.

Each of the great encyclopaedic works, from Solinus¹ and Isidore² through to the vast compilations of the thirteenth century,³ had its sections on both freaks and races of monsters, frequently distinguishing clearly between the two.

All this points to a popular interest in monsters among a higher level of readers and writers than those associated today with the science-fiction comic. This in itself is surely sufficient justification for the composition of a work which occupied the place later to be taken by the true accounts of Marco Polo⁴ and the fictional versions of Prester John⁵ and John of Mandeville⁶. The pseudepigraphical form considered appropriate as a vehicle for such material when Pharasmanes was popularly remembered as an outlandish figure (for he had visited Rome) was still the choice centuries later when the best-known inhabitant of remote lands was the mythical Prester John.

1. Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, ed. T. Mommsen, Berlin, 1895.

2. Isidore, *Etymologiae*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, Oxford, 1911, XII.

3. Of most interest with reference to the *Letter* are Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia* (see pp. 261-308, and Thomas of Cantimpré, *De Natura Rerum* (see pp. 333-337.

4. M. Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo...*, ed. H. Yule, 3rd.ed., London, 1926.

5. V. Slessarev, *Prester John; the Letter and the Legend*, Minneap. 1959.

6. Sir John Mandeville, *The Travels*, ed. A.W. Pollard, London, 1905.

Two other reasons have been suggested to explain the compilation of the *Letter*, both originating in a feeling that the work has a structural unity and design beyond that of the average piece of ephemeral writing¹.

Faral² suggested that it was written as an example of the art of epistolography, that its significance lay not in its content but in its style. Unfortunately the style of the texts as we have them does not have the appearance of a work polished to the supreme peaks of eloquence. Unlike the *Liber Monstrorum*³, which employs a deliberately complicated and convoluted style to counterbalance the repetitive nature of the material, the *Letter* is full of repetition, much of it of a type which could easily have been avoided. Monster after monster is introduced with the mundane phrase *ibi nascuntur*⁴.

1. This is perhaps not always wholly disinterested; some scholars seem anxious to dignify the text in order to justify the intellectual effort expended in studying it, while others may be over-reacting against the dismissive attitudes so often shown, especially to the vernacular texts.

2. E. Faral, "Une Source Latine de l'Histoire d'Alexandre ..." *Romania*, 43, 1914, pp.367-370.

3. See pp.322-326.

4. 3,2P; 5,1P,FR; 6,5F; 7,1; 8,7-8; 9,2P; 10,1-3; 11,2EP; 12,2P; 14,1F,P1f; etc.

The second suggestion, made first concerning *Liber Monstrorum*¹ and recently of the *Letter of Pharasmanes*², is that the text was based on the lists of symbolic meanings which were drawn up for the purpose of biblical exegesis³. These lists supplied symbolic meanings for many characteristics, such as parts of the body, geographical features, colours and numbers, and were intended especially to help in putting a relevant and Christian interpretation on difficult sections of the Old Testament.

Patristic writers did introduce symbolism from outside the Bible itself, and they did include a few types of marvellous creature. However, these symbols were chosen with great care and became well-known among homilists - the cynocephali (to which race St. Christopher was thought to have belonged), the phoenix (even today an instantly recognisable symbol for resurrection) and the gold-digging ants (symbolising diligence and industry) were all selected as symbols for self-evident reasons, even though they do not appear in the Bible, and were all already well known

1. D.R. Butturff, *The Monsters and the Scholar: A Critical Edition of the Liber Monstrorum*, Ph.D. thesis, Illinois, 1968, p.10.
2. P.A.Gibb, *Wonders of the East*, Ph.D.thesis, Duke Univ., 1977, pp.31-52, 62-76.
3. e.g. St. Melito of Sardis, *Clavis*, ed. J.B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, 3, Paris, 1852.

to early Christians with a pagan and classical background. The horned serpents or *acerastes* also figure in these lists legitimately, because they are referred to in the Bible¹. That is, however, as far as the facts will permit this line of argument to go. Bearded women and two-headed (or two-faced) men have been sought in vain among biblical exegetists and homilists. As they do not appear in a context of religious significance it is difficult to see why they should need to be interpreted symbolically. The lists of symbols certainly include their major characteristics individually, so that it is theoretically possible to give a symbolic meaning to each monster. Indeed, between 600 and 1000 years *after* the composition of the *Letter*, the anonymous author of the *Gesta Romanorum* interpreted a similar list of monsters in exactly this way². This is, however, hardly sufficient evidence to claim that the entire structure of the *Letter* is based on these symbolic meanings and that the purpose of the work was to provide a series of visual images, as it were, onto which sermons and moral interpretations could be built.

1. *Genesis*, 49,17.

2. *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. H. Oesterley, Hildesheim, 1963.

It seems odd that a work written specifically to provide examples for Christian interpretation, as this theory claims, should have been disguised as a letter from one pagan ruler to another.

Hadrian may indeed have been seen as quasi-Christian¹ but the same could hardly be true of Pharasmanes. Furthermore, if the work were written and received as a well-structured (if equally well disguised) series of images, it seems strange that not one homily or commentary can be shown conclusively to have drawn from it. It was, after all, a well-known text which provided a fertile source for writers of geographical and pseudo-geographical texts. Details from it even found their way into maps².

1. He was represented as such by literary forgers from about the third century. Cf. W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum*, Munich, 1971, pp.22; 27(n); 253-4.
2. The second map accompanying the text of Jerome's *De Nominibus Locorum* in a twelfth century MS (BL Additional 10049) places the *Gorgones insula* in the Red Sea and, on this island, two rivers named *Gargalo* and *Capi*. These two river names appear in association with the name *Gorgoneus* (another corruption of the first name) in Mir and OFr:

Gargalo 12,130Fr.

Gargulum 12,13Mir.

Capi 12,1Mir.

Cabes 11,80Fr.

THE ITINERARY TRADITION

Mediaeval readers and editors did not rank the *Letter* with other examples of the epistolographer's art or with other texts used for the interpretation of the Bible. They took the text at its face value, frequently associating it in codices with geographical writings and itineraries.

The key to the structure of the work lies in the lengthy prologue of FL, in which the writer describes a method of collecting data:

*Interea cognovi ut nationes hominum et qualitates
locorum que in terris nostris sunt exquisivi meis
litteris conexa transmittam. Quamobrem sive quae
ipse nobis sive parentes atque germanos quae
addiscere potui amplexus pariter adnexui.*

In the meantime I have learned about the nations of men and types of places which are in our lands and I transmit them appended to my letters. On which account I added equally those I could, either personally or by means of my relatives and siblings.

There can be little doubt that the composition of the *Letter* was a cerebral exercise, based on books rather than exploration, but the method of presentation is carefully designed to maintain this fiction.

Although the geographical data is vague and inadequate, there are some attempts at realism. Many of the places named can be identified (some admittedly

not with complete certainty, usually because of the habit of naming a new town after an existing one). The *Letter* presents the view of the traveller on the ground, following a route between one town or country and another. This was a familiar approach in geographic writings, well known from the many itineraries which provided a more reliable guide to a traveller than mediaeval cartography. The itinerary has two clear advantages over the map. It preselects the best route for the traveller and it provides a commentary, indicating which areas are hostile or where it is easy to find a night's lodging.

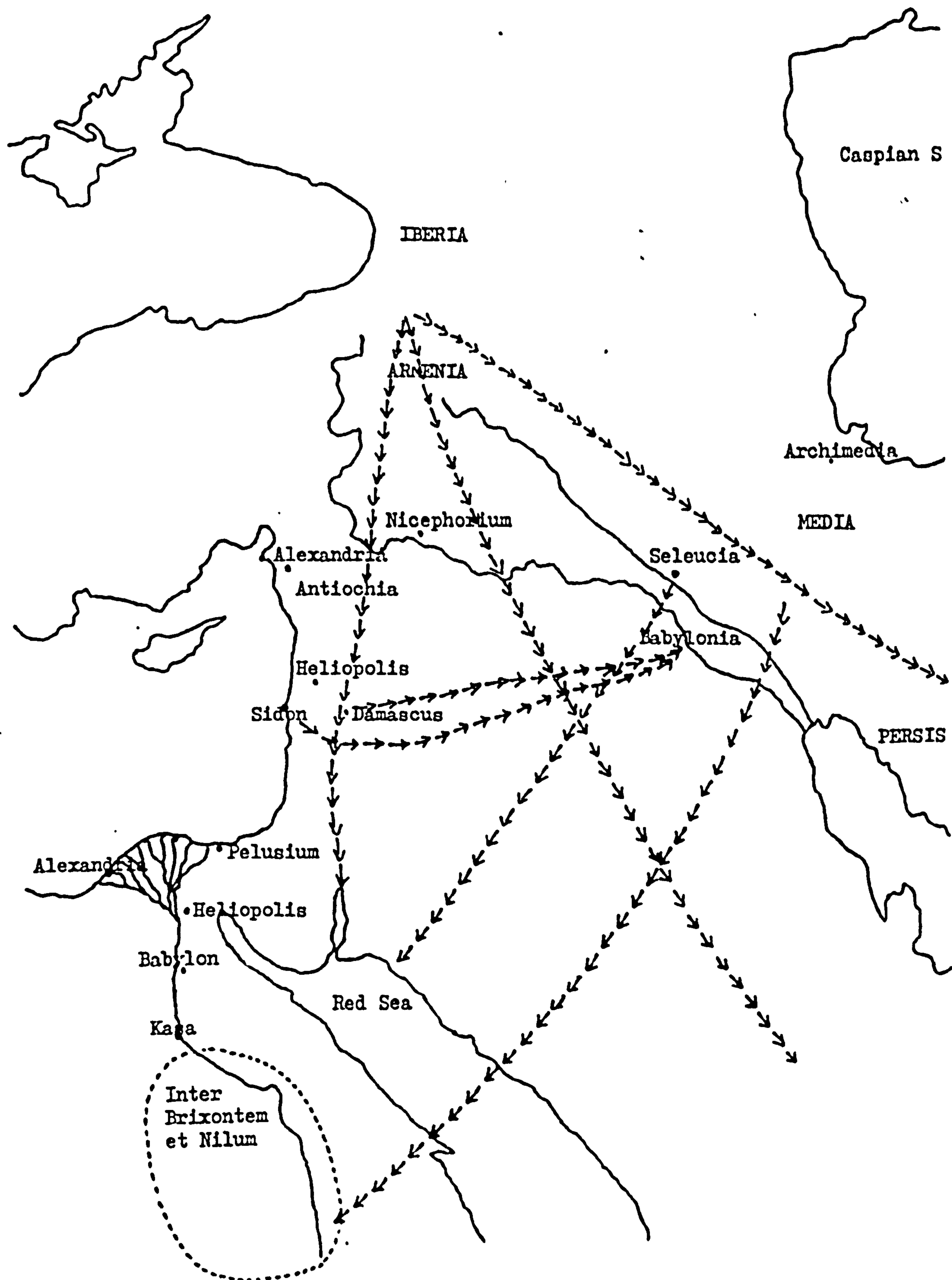
The *Letter* differs from itineraries in that it does not record one single journey in sequence for other travellers to follow the same route. Small snatches of many journeys are described, selected because of their interesting inhabitants. These details are given not in terms of absolute position, as on a map, but in relationship to travellers passing from one named place to another. Present participles such as *euntibus*¹, *pergentibus*² and *proficiscentibus*³ are employed to express this concept of geographical relationship to a person on the move. In conjunction with these participles

1. 3,5FL; 3,15FL; 4,IP; 10,2FL; 20,5FL.

2. 6,3FL.

3. 28,3Mir.

The Area of Investigation and Routes Referred to



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MISSING
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we find the terms left and right¹; they also appear in relationship to a named place².

There are also references to trade routes and other links, such as would have been of interest to a ruler as much as to a traveller. These references are often distorted in the less faithful versions, but they include *inter has vias*³, *collationes sunt*⁴.

Gervase certainly classified the *Letter* with other itineraries, a form he was very familiar with for he incorporated the text of Theodosius' *De Situ Terrae Sanctae* into his work⁵. One of the phrases he employed to fill the gap left by a redundant measurement in stadia was *mansiones pleraeque sunt*, an indication that the traveller would not run short of hospitality, which has been drawn directly from itineraries.

1. The terms 'left' and 'right' can mean 'north' and 'south' respectively, because of the orientation of most mediaeval maps to the east. The OE translator has taken the terms in this way. The use of the present participles, however, indicates that this interpretation is mistaken.

2. e.g. *Hi in dextera parte a babilonia*, 8,1 Mir, EP.

3. 13,1 FL, Pit.

4. 20,8 FL.

5. *Ortia Imperialia*, *Decisio* 11,xxii.

Geographically, the work concentrates on the areas visualised by cartographers as at the edge of the world; it is in the remote corners of the mediaeval map that the fabulous creatures are situated. The account begins, however, with descriptions located in regions closer to the known world, a device to encourage the suspension of disbelief¹. As the text penetrates deeper into the realms of the fantastic the geography becomes more and more perfunctory. Although no one would suggest that the *Letter* was written to guide *real* travellers to *real* places it is clear that such guides provided the compiler with the underlying structure for his work.

PRESERVATION OF THE LETTER

We may be unable to divine any clear motives for the composition of the *Letter*; there are, however, several hints at the reason for its preservation and proliferation. The work is coupled again and again in MSS with texts which are not fictional accounts but frequently consulted works of reference - Bede's computistic tracts figure

1. A device which is used to good effect in LM, see pp.324-325.

largely. Outstanding exceptions to this are the vernacular translations in BL Cotton Vitellius Axv (where OE appears with *Beowulf* and other works dealing with monsters) and Brussels BR 14561-64 (where OFr is found with an Alexander text and a history of the kings of France). This association with specific classes of material is especially found in the case of FR, the three later MSS of which contain virtually identical collections of texts, with fictional writings conspicuous by their absence.

Computistic tracts were self-evidently working tools; so also are many of the medical and alchemical treatises associated in codices with the *Letter*. However, not all the texts which were transmitted in conjunction with the *Letter* are of such obvious practical use. Another main area of interest is history, both secular and ecclesiastical.

The presentation of geographical material in conjunction with computistic, historical and medical writings seems to have characterised an early stage in the development of a certain type of encyclopaedia. This is perhaps best typified by the *Imago Mundi* of Honorius Augustodunensis¹, which responded so well to the needs of his time that many MSS survive. Unlike the dictionary-type lists compiled by Isidore and

1. PL 172, coll. 115-188, written during the twelfth century.

others, Honorius combines a description of the natural world with a guide to the calculation of dates and a synopsis of world history, demonstrating the same three foci of interest as several codices containing the *Letter*. This suggests that the *Letter* was preserved not for any significance it might have had for Biblical exegesis in the symbolism of its contents or because of the elegance of its style but because it was held to contribute to the sum of knowledge about the created world. It was the acceptance of its contents as fact which created the interest which ensured the survival and the proliferation of the *Letter*.

THE ALEXANDER CONNECTION

At a later stage in its development, the P-Group version of the *Letter* appears to have become associated with the Alexander canon. F-Group and Pit, (which is the P-Group text which best preserves ancestral readings) contain no references to Alexander¹. The association was probably made because of the similarity between the name *Parmenis* (and variants) and the name of *unus ex principibus militie*² in *Historia de Preliis*, a certain *Parmenio*.

1. The corrupt reading *Athenas magni Alexandri* (3,7-8Pit) is almost certainly a cognomen for a town and not a reference to the person of Alexander.

2. ed. A. Hilka, Halle, 1920, p. 119.

As well as appearing in Leo's basic account¹, his name is found in some interpolations² and in some passages in the OFr translation for which there is no corresponding Latin text³. This suggests that despite his insignificance in the basic history he was a character who had captured the mediaeval imagination - possibly because of the *Letter* which could so easily be ascribed to him.

P-Group texts contain three references which can be traced to the Alexander writings⁴; the peculiar description of the hippopotamus in §15 and direct references to Alexander himself in §§22 and 23, where more reliable versions refer to 'our comrades'⁵. The latter two instances confirm that the writer of the *Letter* came to be seen by some editors as a soldier accompanying Alexander on his campaigns.

Mir is alone in having a fourth reference to Alexander in §3, where a reference to 'estates' (*praedia*) and a town named after Alexander has been

1. Archipresbyter Leo, *Vita Alexandri Magni*, ed. G. Landgraf, Erlangen, 1885.

2. ed. A. Hilka, Halle, 1920, p.114.

3. *ibid.* p.116.

4. These are all analysed at length in the Commentary.

5. e.g. Pit, FL.

replaced by an account, which could have been drawn from any of the Alexander histories, of the self-glorifying memorials erected by Alexander to commemorate his own exploits¹.

SEQUENCE OF THE ANCESTRAL *LETTER*

For the most part the two groups agree on the sequence of the accounts presented in the *Letter*. Many of the differences are due to interpolation, to which P-Group has proved particularly susceptible. There is, however, one portion of the text where their descriptions, although similar in basic detail, differ greatly in sequence. The subject of this passage is the City of the Sun at Heliopolis.

Creatures with oracular powers (*quasi divini*) appear in 26F and 29P, although the details of the two descriptions differ widely. The many kings, found in both groups in §23, appear again in 27P. The balsam trees are described in §28 in P and §32 in F. In §§32-33 the same objects are described, but the order reversed - P-Group tells of a priest, a vine and a bed and F-Group of a bed, a vine and a priest.

1. See Commentary to §3.

It is particularly to be regretted that we lack the evidence of Pit at this stage in the text, for that version frequently has readings combining characteristics of both groups, thus giving a clear indication of the priority of one reading over another. Among the texts we have, none stands outside the readings of its group, so the unravelling of these sections of the text must perforce rest on hypothesis.

After consideration of various possibilities, I would propose the following suggestion of the ancestral order:

26F creatures with oracular powers (29P)

27F and F Sun and Moon lakes

28P balsam trees (32F)

30F and P panotii (fan-eared men)

(31P on men with luminous eyes may be an interpolation)

32F and P Heliopolis.

(There seems to be no cause to prefer either sequence for the details in the description of Heliopolis).

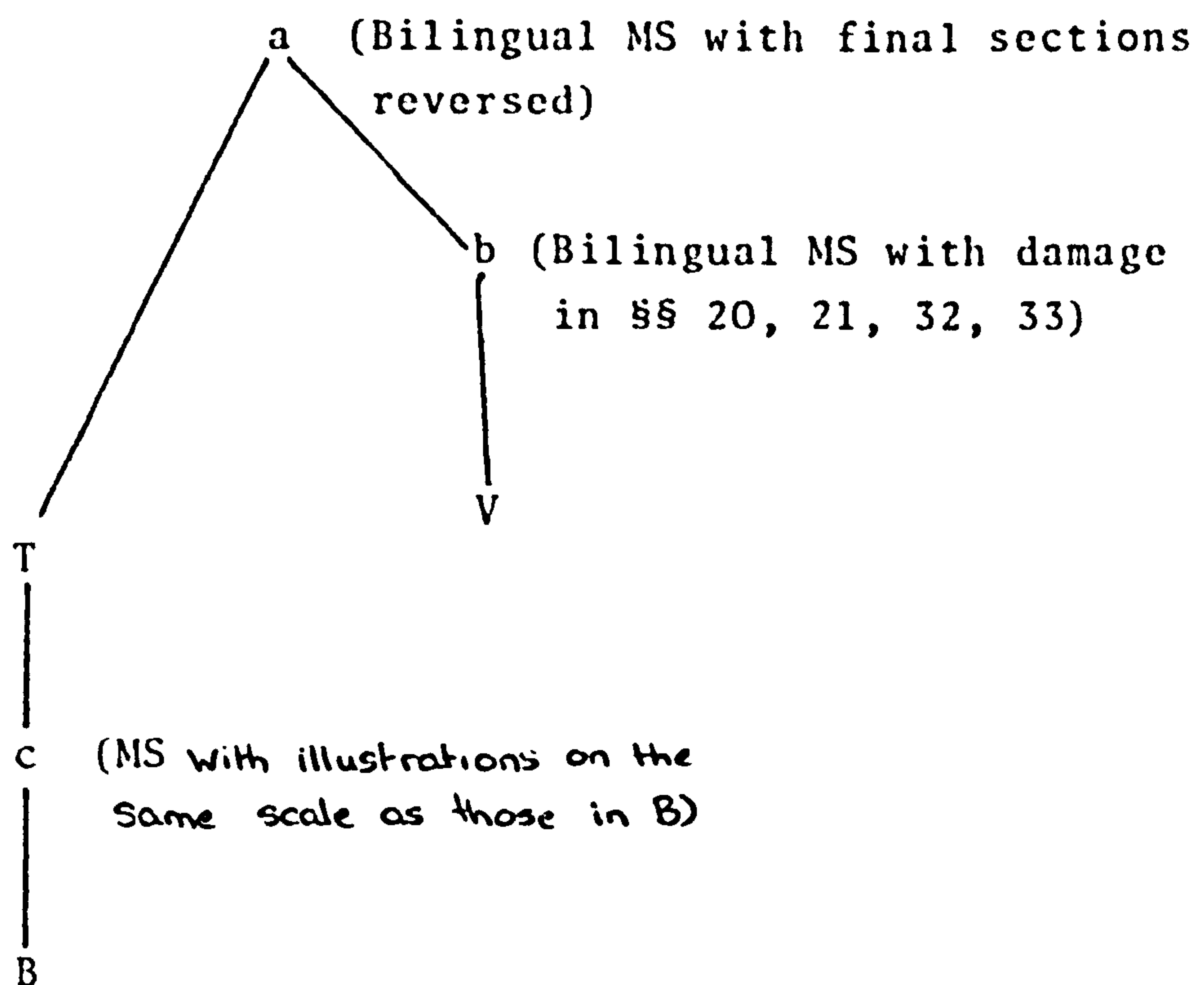
The advantage of this hypothesis is that the oracle, the sun and moon lake and the balsam trees (all related, however distantly, to the prophecy made by the sun and moon trees in the Alexander legend) are not separated.

The modified order in P may be a result of deliberate editorial reworking of the text (although usually in such cases some positive change of emphasis is achieved) or it may be the result of accidental misplacement. §§27 and 28 in P-Group together occupy about as much space on the page as §29. One possible reason could be misinterpretation of the sequence in a MS containing illustrations and written in double column, for if the illustrations and the text are fully juxtaposed the reader has the option of reading in vertical or in horizontal sequence. However, we have no evidence to suggest that there were any illustrated MSS except the direct ancestors of Mir.

In keeping with the policy of this edition to present the texts in a manner which is loyal to the MSS and without undue emendations, no attempt has been made to change the order of these sections. In those instances where identical or similar passages appear at different points in the two groups, each appears in its proper position. The corresponding passage is presented facing it for comparison, but in a smaller type-face to indicate that it is out of sequence.

SECTION 2

MIRABILIA AND THE OLD ENGLISH WONDERS



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MIRABILIA (Mir)

and

THE OLD ENGLISH *WONDERS* (OE)

THE MANUSCRIPTS

These texts are preserved in three codices, of which the oldest, BL Cotton Vitellius Axv, contains only the OE translation. BL Cotton Tiberius Bv, written nearly a century later, contains a parallel Latin and OE text and the twelfth century MS Bodley 614 has only the Latin version. All three MSS are illustrated, and the picture cycles of all three are available in the facsimile edition of M.R. James¹.

BL Cotton Vitellius Axv (V)²

Probably the most intensively studied of all MSS containing Old English texts, this MS is best known as the *Beowulf* MS after the most celebrated of its

1. M.R. James, *Marvels of the East*, Oxford, 1929 (Publications of the Roxburghe Club).
2. Frequently described. See N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, Oxford, 1957, pp.281-282. The facsimile edition by K. Malone, *The Nowell Codex*, Copenhagen, 1963 (Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, 12), contains (pp.11-20) an exhaustive analysis of the codex and the minutiae of its script.

contents. It has been bound with another MS is post-mediaeval times, but the *Beowulf* MS itself consists of 115ff. The margins were damaged in the fire of 1731, and the original dimensions are unknown. The edges have been repaired and the codex reassembled as single sheets, not conjoint leaves. In reassembly, the fourth quire was inserted between the second and third quires.

Contents: f.94 *Life of St. Christopher*

98^V OE *Wonders of the East*

107 *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle*

132 *Beowulf*

202 *Judith*

Compilation, Dating and Provenance

The history of this MS has been investigated as thoroughly as the rather limited evidence permits. The texts display different dialect traits, which seems to suggest that they were not transmitted together over a long period. The common link which brought them together appears to be an interest in monsters (although this is to take a rather extreme view of Holofernes). The MS, which was written by two hands (of which our text is in the first) is dated to about 1000 A.D. There is no definite information about its history prior to 1563 when it passed through

the hands of Lawrence Nowell¹, Dean of Lichfield.

Illuminations

The picture cycle which accompanies the OE *Wonders* consists of crude, unfinished drawings executed by a scribe with very little artistic skill. They do, however, in some instances correspond more closely to the accompanying text than do the lavish illustrations of T². They are coloured, although large areas have often been left untinted.

BL Cotton Tiberius Bv (T)³

This most lavishly produced codex contains a miscellany of texts of a geographical and historical nature and computistic tracts. It has been fully described elsewhere⁴ and it is not necessary to list the contents in full here. The texts of Mir and OE appear on ff.78^v-87^v.

1. He signed and dated the first folio, '*Laurence Nouell 1563*'.
2. e.g. the fan-eared men of §30, which are portrayed in T with long, ribbon-like ears draped over their arms.
3. See N.R. Ker, *op.cit.*, pp.255-256. A facsimile edition, edited by Dr. P. McGurk, is in preparation in the Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile Series.
4. K. Miller, *Mappae Mundi*, 3, 1895, pp.29-37. B.L. Garrad, *The Wonders of the East* ... Ph.D. thesis, London, 1925 and P.A. Gibb, *Wonders of the East* ... Ph.D. thesis, Duke University, 1977 both devote a good deal of attention to the contents and the compilation of the MS.

Compilation, Dating and Provenance

The codex was evidently assembled as a collection of important writings on a specific topic or theme, and it continued to develop as a *Florilegium* after T was written, for B, which is descended from it, contains additional entries. The order of items given in the earliest catalogue entry for T¹ shows that the leaves were differently arranged when it was in the possession of Lord Lumley.

Palaeographic evidence dates the MS to the second quarter of the eleventh century. Additions were made at Battle Abbey up to the beginning of the thirteenth. The name of Swithhun² is given prominence in the episcopal lists, indicating associations with Winchester. Dumville³ has shown that among the exemplars used in compiling the MS were three MSS, two of which are known to have been at Christ Church Canterbury in the eleventh century. The third served as exemplar for another MS known to have been written at Canterbury. He concludes from this that T was probably written at Canterbury for use at Winchester.

1. See M.R. James, *op.cit.*, p.2.

2. ff.20^v-22. See N. Ker, *loc.cit.*

3. D.N. Dumville, "The Anglian Collection of Royal Genealogies and Regnal Lists", *Anglo-Saxon England*, 5, 1976, pp.26-28.

Illuminations

The illuminations are splendidly produced, with a wealth of detail, and are brightly painted in oils. (Those in V are in insipid water-colours.) They are lively and imaginative and make excellent use of the space available. Each is bounded by a coloured frame, but these frames are not rigid boundaries; they are sometimes incorporated into the picture as in the case of the headless man on f.82 who is standing on his frame and supporting himself by holding its sides. The five illustrations reproduced in this volume¹ also show the frame being treated as an integral part of the artistic composition.

Bodley 614 (B)²

Bodley 614 is a far smaller codex than either of the others, measuring only 6"x4 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". It is all in Latin, and contains a small selection of texts taken from the compilation in T.

Contents: 1^v Calendar
17 Astronomical treatise
20 *Mirabilia*

1. Frontispiece and plates 3 - 5.

2. Described in Oxford, Bodleian Library, *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, 2, 1, Oxford, 1922, p.229.

Dating and Provenance

The MS is dated to the last quarter of the twelfth century on palaeographic grounds. Nothing is known of its history before it came into the possession of Ralph Hopwood¹ in the sixteenth century. It was acquired by the Bodleian Library between 1605 and 1611.

Illuminations

The illustrations accompanying the Latin text of Mir are copies of those in T. Several additional paragraphs have been introduced at the end of the text, mostly taken from Isidore, and these are illustrated in a similar style. Several of the more complex illustrations have pinpricks marking outlines².

1. It is inscribed *Sum liber Radulphi Hopwood*.

2. See pp. 90-91.

THE TEXT OF MIR

Mir is the most complete of all the Latin P-Group texts, although it alone lacks any trace of the epistolary format of the archetype. It is fuller than EP in that it includes §§2,3 and §28. At the end of the text it contains much material which is lacking in Pit, §§18, 23-25 and 27-35.

The one continental vernacular translation, OFr, contains the same sections as Mir. These two texts have several characteristics in common which indicate that they form a sub-group within P-Group, sharing a common ancestor. OFr is, however, more faithful to the ancestral text in retaining some of the epistolary trappings which have been discarded in Mir.

Among the most distinctive features of this common ancestor of Mir and OFr was the conversion of all but one of the measurements in Greek stadia¹ into leagues. The use of the Greek unit of measurement, although not unknown in the Latin world, is one of the indications that the *Letter* may originally have been written in Greek². Pit and FL consistently preserve the archaic measures; FR retains them in the few instances where such geographical data has not

1. In 6,2 Mir and OFr both read '9 stadia': *stadia ix; .ix. estades*

2. See p.26.

been removed¹. All distances have been removed in EP, possibly because the term *stadia* was no longer current. It was clearly misunderstood by the editor who added the conversions to leagues in the common ancestor of Mir and OFr, for these have been based on the assumption that the *stadion* was equivalent to a Roman mile (1000 paces or 1619 yards). In fact there were 8 *stadia* to the Roman mile, and 12 to the ancient league. In the early Middle Ages it was generally assumed that a Roman mile was equal to two-thirds of a league (although the Gallic league was in fact a little under 1500 paces) and of the Old English mile (12 furlongs)².

Accuracy of the calculations

Although the basis on which the calculations were made was the wrong one, it is nevertheless interesting to examine the degree of accuracy of which the early mediaeval mathematician (probably in this instance a scribe with limited mathematical training) was capable. The figures, as we have them, contain many discrepancies, which may be due either to errors in calculation or to distortion during transmission.

1. See pp. 249-250.

2. P. Grierson, *English Linear Measures*, University of Reading Stenton Lecture, 1971.

Mathematical calculations were usually made on an abacus in the Middle Ages, a method which had certain limitations. All fractions appearing in the answers to these calculations are treated as halves, although in 3,11 and in 9,3 they should be thirds. The simplest calculations have been handled accurately and have not suffered in transmission.. Two-thirds of 300 is given as 200 in 3,6; two-thirds of 200 as 133½ in 3,11 and 27,8 (although OFr omits the fraction in the latter instance). Two-thirds of 168 is calculated correctly as 112 in OFr 2,6, but in Mir the final two minims have been misinterpreted as *v*, giving *.c. et .xv.*¹. The fraction has again been omitted in 28,4, where OFr renders two-thirds of 151 as 100. Mir in this instance reads *.l.* instead of *.c.* but includes *et .i. miliarium*, which must represent the fraction here as in 25,3. This seems to indicate that the original calculation showed a greater degree of precision than is found in OFr. In 32,3 a single digit appears to have been omitted from the numeral in OFr, where two-thirds of 360 is given as 140 (*.c. et .xl.*) instead of 240 (*ccxl*). Further omission in Mir has reduced the number to 110 (*.cx.*)

1. The numeral is omitted in Mir-T but can be restored on the basis of the OE translation.

In 25,3, two-thirds of 323 is given as 253 leagues and one mile in both Mir¹ and OFr. The presence of the same reading in both texts, when the correct calculation should be $215\frac{1}{2}$ (*ccxv*) may point to an error in calculation or to miscopying at an early stage in the transmission after the conversion was added.

The two remaining numerals also appear to have been wrongly calculated, although again errors in transmission cannot be ruled out. In 2,3, two-thirds of 500 is given as 368 in Mir and 363 in OFr. The correct calculation would be $333\frac{1}{2}$. An error in transmission is arguable, for in both cases the digits *ccc x iii* (the bulk of the correct answer, *cccxxxiii*) are present. Another possibility is that the scribe who made these calculations did not understand the procedure for dealing with a sum which required him to carry 200, as when dividing 500 by 3. The abacus offers several methods of tackling this, one involving the use of two or more rows of beads at once, another the adoption of 50 (*l*) as the unit for the next stage of the calculation, instead of 10. The suggestion

1. Mir-T's reading *colui* almost certainly represents *ccliii*, as found in Mir-B and the OE texts. *u* is rarely used to represent the numeral 5 (*v*) in MS T.

that he had not mastered any such technique is supported by the fact that the other instance in which the fault seems to lie not in transmission but in the original calculation also involves carrying 200. In 9,3, 800 stadia are converted into $623\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in Mir instead of into $538\frac{1}{2}$. (OIr gives *lxxiv*, which is patently corrupt.) As with the earlier example, several of the digits in Mir's *dxxiii* correspond to those in the correct answer, *dxxviii*, so the possibility of error arising during the course of transmission is again present.

On the whole, the calculations were made reasonably accurately, given the limitations of Roman numerals and the abacus for such purposes. They were probably made on the continent, since the term *leuga* was seldom used for the Old English long mile in Anglo-Saxon England. The scribe who made the conversions had only the haziest notion of the meaning of the term *stadion*, which he clearly made no attempt to verify. The variations and inconsistencies are due, in the main, to errors which occurred during transmission, the miscopying of digits and the omission of parts of numerals.

The retention of two sets of measurements, both meaningless to the average reader, in Mir and OE is a peculiar and unexplained characteristic of these texts.

The crocodile accretion

Another striking feature found only in Mir and OFr is a short, but highly significant, interpolation at the end of §29 on the hyaena or corocotta. The whole passage is one which was added to the ancestral P-Group text, for it is lacking in all F-Group versions. It describes a creature which lured men to their deaths by addressing them by name in their own language and which ate its victims. Unnamed in most P-Group texts¹, this creature is demonstrating the behaviour attributed to the hyaena or its hybrid offspring, the corocotta². The account in Mir ends with a description of the creature weeping over the head of its victim, a characteristic not of the corocotta but of the crocodile. (In OFr, a change from *plorant* to *orant* in the Latin source causes the creature to pray instead of weeping.) The confusion between the two must rest on the similarity of their names, although the corocotta is not named in any surviving P-Group text. It implies that the creature was identified, and then wrongly associated with the behaviour of the crocodile, or perhaps that the scribe in question had access to a Bestiary or similar text with an alphabetical arrangement in which the two had

1. The name given in Mir is a vestige of another passage, see Notes.

2. A selection of the many classical descriptions is given in the Commentary to §29.

been conflated¹. Whatever its source, this detail is further proof that Mir and OIr shared a common ancestor which included material not present in the ancestors of EP and Pit.

The Misplaced Material in Mir

In both MSS of Mir and in both versions of the OE translation, but in no other texts of either group, the sequence of the text has been disturbed. Two blocks of text have been reversed, with §§20-24 appearing between 33,3 and 33,4. The two blocks are almost identical in length, supporting the hypothesis that the cause of the rearrangement was wrong folding of a pair of conjugate leaves or, in an unillustrated MS or one with very large leaves, reversal of a single leaf. §33, which is treated as a single section in most versions of the *Letter* is subdivided in OIr at the very point where the split occurs in Mir.

There is little evidence on the question of whether the displacement first occurred in an early, Latin MS of Mir or whether it was a later development in a bilingual MS. What evidence there is proves difficult to assess. At the point of division in

1. Such conflation did occur. In MS Bodley 614, in the passages from Isidore which follow Mir, the passage which begins by describing the chamaeleon (f.49) ends with the giraffe (*camelopardus*).

§33 both Mir and EP tell of a vine from which hang pearls (*de qua nascentes pendent margarite*). OE refers not just to pearls but to other precious stones as well (*swylce meregrota oððe gymmas* OE-T). This could be seen as elaboration by the translator, were it not that the same phrase is found in OFr (*marguerites et pierres precieuses autres*). This being so, it seems likely that the gemstones were mentioned in Mir, but dropped from the text after translation of the OE. It would be convenient to suggest that their loss coincided with the displacement; that, coming at the point of the break in sequence *et gemmae* was omitted because it was on the following page. This argument, however, is incompatible with the layout used in the extant bilingual MS and the layout which must have been adopted for the bilingual ancestor of V^1 , in both of which Latin precedes Old English - which would suggest that if any part of the text were to be lost at the end of the passage it should be in the translation. Misplacement occurring in a bilingual MS is not ruled out, but neither can it be considered proven.

1. The omission of §6,1-4 is best explained by an exemplar in which the regular sequence was Latin, Old English, Illustration. See pp. 104-105.

Other characteristics of Mir: Ancestral features

The text of Mir contains a small number of readings in which it preserves the ancestral text better than do any of the other P-Group texts. There are several passages in which a case can be made for the priority of Mir's reading, but in all but two instances the reading could be the product of later editing. The two instances are points at which a dislocated phrase has been preserved uniquely in Mir; the first is the summing-up or displaced rubric which follows the description of the stork-men. The nature of these men is made clear only in Pit and F-Group, for their transformation into birds (*in avibus*) has turned into transportation by ship (*in navibus*) in the majority of P-Group texts¹. Their nature was still remembered in an ancestor of Mir, however, for the beginning of the next section (15,1) reads *Item liconia* (derived from *ciconia*, a reading preserved in OE-V) *in gallia*, a statement which not only identifies the birds in question as storks but also names their historical destination (as distinct from the *indiam* stated in Mir 14,8).

The hyaenas of §29, whose mistaken identification with the crocodile has already been considered at

1. This was further corrupted in Mir, after the OE translation was made, into *suīs manibus*.

length, are described in Mir 29,3 as:

genus quod apud nos appellatur donestre. quasi divina.

There is nothing to correspond to this description in any other P-Group text. As has already been demonstrated, the animal in this passage was identifiable as a corocotta to a mediaeval scribe, for the crocodile accretion depends on such identification. This name, together with the reference to divination, is all that remains in P-Group of the passage found in all F-Group texts in 826 on the oracle. The name there is different, but the verbal similarity of the rest of the line is remarkable (FR 26,2-4):

*orhaci qui apud nos tritognides appellantur,
quasi divini.*

Accretions unique to Mir

There are few passages in Mir which can be stated to be accretions unique to that version of the text.

Most of the additional material in Mir is shared by OFr, and some of it by EP. That which is not found in other versions of the text is all concerned with Alexander the Great, the inspiration for the bulk of the late interpolations in the P-Group texts.

In 3,7 the great estates (*praedia*) which in Pit and OFr have some unclear connection with Alexander¹ have

1. Almost certainly as the cognomen of a place, see Notes.

been transformed in Mir into the memorials (*illa magna insignia*) which Alexander erected to commemorate his own exploits.

In the other P-Group texts, Alexander¹ is said to have killed a few of the monstrous women (22,11) because he was unable to capture a specimen alive. Mir greatly exaggerates the number killed, referring to *multe ex ipsis*, and waxes eloquent on the moral justification for this slaughter:

*pro sua obcenitate ... ideo quia sunt publicato corpore
et inhonesto.*

Mir further demonstrates an interest in Alexander in the way in which his name has been amplified in two of the three places where it occurs. While the other texts describe him simply as *Alexander magnus*, Mir adds a cognomen:

22,11 *a magno nostro macedone alexandro*

23,11 *Alexander autem macedis*

In the first occurrence of the name in the text the cognomen is not found in Mir (*magnus alexander* 3,8) but it is present in the OE translation, which describes him as *se micla macedonisca alexander*. This may indicate that the formula was present in Mir when the translation was made.

·1. In Pit, which antedates the Alexander accretions, this action is attributed to 'our comrades' (*socii nostri*).

Misreadings in Mir influencing the picture cycle

Mir contains several examples of textual errors which have been faithfully reproduced in the picture cycle, thus indicating that the illustrations, in their present form, were produced after the source of Mir had separated from the source of OFr. The text of Mir continued to develop and was in turn influenced by the artist's conception of the creatures described, as will be demonstrated¹.

The other P-Group texts describe the stork-men as having *scapulas nigras* ('black shoulders' or 'black backs', 14,6), a feature which corresponds to the colouring of the ornithological stork. In Mir, *scapulas nigras* has been corrupted to *capillis nigris*, and the illustration shows black-haired men. Their Janus-like appearance can be traced back to a gloss inserted in an ancestor of Mir. Other P-Group texts, with the image of the stork's ball-like head bisected by a vivid bill present in the archetype, describe the stork-man's head as *bipertita* (IM 14,4). Mir has misunderstood this uncommon word and replaced it by *duas in una habentes capite facies*, thus giving rise to the two-faced man.

The Amazonian huntresses of S21 are clad in skins and use horses (*pelliculas vestimentis et equas habentes*, Pit 21,4-5) according to the other

1. See pp.81-83.

F-Group texts. In Mir this has been conflated to produce garments made of horse-hide (*pelliculas equorum ad vestimentum habentes*, 21,4-5) and the illustration in T depicts this clearly. Around the woman's waist is draped a greyish skin on which the ears and tail of a horse are visible.

The process of anthropomorphisation, which is a general tendency in many of the accounts of animal monsters, was complete before the hippopotamus of §15 was drawn. The textual corruption in this case must have passed through several stages, with the first syllable *hi* becoming separated from the remainder of the word and identified as a pronoun. An intermediate, but inflected, stage is found in Pit's *hos potamos*, although both EP and OFr preserve the name correctly (*hyppotami*, EP 15,8; *ypotames*, OFr 15,8). In Mir the reinterpretation is complete, with *potami* changed to a broadly similar verb, *putantur*, and the predicate *homines fuisse* added. The resulting sentence, *Hi putantur homines fuisse* (Mir 15,8) explains the humanoid appearance of the monster in the accompanying illustration¹.

1. See frontispiece.

The fish-eating dwarfs or ichthiophagi of §11 have been transformed by the misinterpretation of a single digit in the Roman numeral describing their height. In Pit, EP and OFr their height is given as two feet (*pedum binum*; *pedum binorum* and *ii pies* respectively, 11,2). The first minim of the numeral has been changed to *v* in Mir, transforming these men from dwarfs into men of above average stature. It is as such that they are portrayed in the illustration¹.

Other Corruptions

The text of Mir contains other corrupt readings, some of which can be demonstrated to have arisen after the OE translation was made. These are analysed in detail in the study of the OE texts². One corruption which a scribe has attempted to improve (although only the mutilated reading appears in OE) is in the description of Heliopolis (32,3-6). The name of the shrine, which is accurately retained in EP and OFr, appears fragmented to *belis templum in diebus regis et iobis*³ and it is this reading which is translated. However, an attempt has been made to restore the correct name, from what source one can not tell, for Mir 32,6 reads *quod etiam beliolibilis dicitur*.

1. See Plate 3.

2. See pp.92-100.

3. The name is confused with that of the eponymous founder of Babylon; see Commentary.

Similiter ibi nascuntur cenocephala quos
nos conopoenas appellamus habentes tubas
equorum. ap. rum dentes. cuncta capita igne
et flammâ flantes hic ē ciuitas cuncta diues om
nib. bonis plena deuotione paste ducit illa
item ab aegypto :

Eac swylce þær beoð cende healfhundungas ða
 syndon hærene conopornas. In habbad hore
 mannan 7 oðre 7 cweas 7 hunda heapas 7
 heora oðra bið swylce 7 7re lig. 7 arland beoð
 man ða burz 7 se beoð eallū worod 7 cū 7 swylce
 7 arad healse ægyptia landes.



Malicia nascantur homines statura pedum
vi. barbas habentes usque ad genua. comas
usque ad talos qui homo durus appellantur
et pisces crudeles manducant.

Onsumon lande broð men in a þende Sabroþ
on lunge þi þot mæla lange hi habbað brugað
of a coppe de þæw oð helan homo dabi hi
þindon hærene þi broð cylice þe hyra þan
þi ceon hi libbað þi a ead :



apifluruius in eodē loco apellat gorgoneus
ibi nascuntur formice statura canū habentes
pedes q̄si locuste rubro colore nigroq; fodientes
aurū. & quod p̄noctam fodiunt subterru. **I**
pferunt foras usq; diu horā quātū. Omnes
autem qui audaces sunt illud tollere. Sic
tollunt. ap̄it camelos masculos & feminas illas
q̄q; habent focas. focas autē trans flumen
gargulum alligatos relinquunt & camelis foc
minis aurum imponunt. Ille autē picatē ad
suos pullos festinantes. ibi masculi remanent.

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Textual changes in Mir inspired by the picture cycle

There are a number of features in the descriptions in Mir which are unparalleled in any of the analogues. These are all aspects of the appearance of the creatures described, notably their colour and other physical characteristics. In each case, the additional material in the text mirrors the accompanying illustration.

Although the remaining P-Group texts describe the venomous hens as *quales et apud nos similes colore* (4,3-4) 'the same colour as ours', Mir specifies the colour, reading *rubicundo* 'reddish' in place of *similes*. The illustrations depict the hens as pink and red.

The gold-digging ants, described as black in all other texts of both groups (12,6P; 12,7F) are depicted in T as orange-red, with the detail added in black. V's illustration shows six ants, of which two are black, two uncoloured, one orange and one piebald red and black. The text of Mir describes them as *rubro colore nigroque*, a reading which could describe either artistic interpretation. However, it is of interest to note that the additional detail is, in both these passages, strictly true to life. Hens are indeed reddish; ants appear in both red and black forms. This might suggest that V's image of different

coloured ants is closer to the original artist's intention than T's two-tone ones.

The *homodubius* of §11 is represented in the other P-Group texts as a dwarf, a mere two feet high. He is endowed with the one distinctive feature common to all folklore dwarfs, a long beard. An error in the transcription of the Roman numeral *ii* has transformed him into a man of exceptionally large stature in Mir, and this corruption was already present at the time when the illustration (Plate 3) was added. The artist has adorned this giant with another striking characteristic, ankle-length hair. In the illustration it seems quite appropriate and does not look in the least like a late addition. This new detail has been added to the text in Mir, *comas usque ad talos*, where it is almost certainly an example of the artist's imagination influencing the copyist's hand.

It is possible, of course, that the additions to the text were made at the stage when the illustrations were first added, possibly by the artist himself. In his consideration of how best to illustrate these strange creatures he would have given thought to such matters as colour and hair length, and it is likely that he added these thoughts to the text he was copying.

The mysterious *lertices* of §17, creatures added in the archetypal P-Group text and of which the source and pedigree remains unidentified, are not described

in any of the other versions. The illustrator, however, had to decide on a way to depict them. He was probably drawing on his own imagination when he envisaged them as the most unmonstrous monsters imaginable, sheep-like quadrupeds with clawed feet. The illustration is described precisely in the text of Mir 17,4:

auribus asininis. uellere ouino. pedibus ouium. (Mir-B)

Each of these changes appears in the OE translation as well as in Mir, showing that they had appeared in Mir by the date when the translation was made. None of them is found in even the closest of the other P-Group texts. The modifications to the readings and the picture cycle itself must have been added at about the same stage in the development of Mir, if indeed they are not the work of a single man. (Who would be more likely to see the text as standing in a close relationship to the picture cycle than the artist who drew the pictures on the basis of the text?) The modifications, therefore, supply evidence that the picture cycle in its extant form was designed to accompany the text of Mir and that it was not an ancient feature of the *Letter* preserved uniquely in this one branch.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO MSS OF MIR

It is evident, both from the use of identical picture cycles and from the great similarity between the readings, that T and B stand in some close relationship to each other. Previous scholars, observing certain readings in B which make better contextual sense than those of T, inferred that both were independently derived from a common source¹.

I shall examine each of these readings in turn, and demonstrate that in every case the reading in B can be explained as an attempt to elucidate a crux by reference to the illustrations, the OE translation (both of which must have been to hand when these modifications were added) or simple ingenuity. In almost every case the reading of T, although showing some degree of corruption, is supported by that of another P-Group text.

One small detail in the text demonstrates conclusively that B is a direct descendant of T. In 9,3, the distance between Babylonia and Persia is described in T as *dcxxiii & dimidium miliarium*, a conversion to leagues of the 800 stadia of the inherited text. Exactly the same figure (*sxx hund 7*

1. K. Sisam, 'The compilation of the *Beowulf* MS', *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, Oxford, 1953, pp.77-78 and M.R. James, *Marvels of the East*, Oxford, 1929, p.51.

.iii. 7 .xx. 7 i healf mil) is given by both OE texts. B, however, reads *dcxxx & dimidium miliarium*, omitting *iii*. The reason for this omission is apparent when one turns to the MS of T. On f.79^v the last three digits of the numeral (*iii*) have extended beyond the end of the line and have been written in the frame surrounding the adjacent illustration. They were subsequently painted over in grey and even now, with the paint somewhat flaked, are barely visible.

In two instances B supplies wording which is not present in T and which may be an omission in that text. The wording corresponds to the OE, and would have been to hand for a scribe working from a bilingual exemplar. The first example is clear omission of a numeral:

2,6 T: *que faciunt leuwas.*

B: *que fatiunt leuwas .c. et .xv.*

OE: 7 þæs micclan þe leuwa hatte fiftyne 7 hundteontig.

In the second instance it is uncertain whether the word *longi* would have been present in an antecedent of T, but its inclusion in B was probably inspired by the OE reading:

15,4 T: *pedibus .xx.*

B: *longi pedibus .xx.*

OE: 7 hi beoð twentiges fota lange

In many instances the corruptions facing the scribe who made these corrections were far more complex than the mere omission of a numeral. In 6,1 the place name *Seleucia* has been conflated with the preposition *a* to produce Mir's *Hascellentia*. No scribe could have deduced that T's:

Hascellentia babiloniam proficiscentibus ...

masked a reading such as Pit's:

A Seleucia ad Babyloniam proficiscentibus ...

'From Seleucia for those going to Babylonian'

The OE translator assumed that *Hascellentia* was a place-name, and made what sense he could of the Latin:

Hascellentia hatte þæt land. þonne mon to babilonia færð ...

B has again adopted this interpretation; by inserting 6,3-4 after *Hascellentia* it also contrives to describe this new-found country:

Hascellentia regio que subiacet regionibus medorum omnibus bonis plena. babiloniam proficicentibus ...

In 11,2 the ancestral text told of a land (*terra*) or possibly an island, as in F-Group (*insula*) in which (*in qua*) the ichthiophagous dwarfs live. *In qua* appears in Mir-T as *In aliqua*, its antecedent entangled in the preceding sentence. A change in the section division has completed the separation, and the OE translator saw the need to insert a noun with this ambiguously placed adjective:

On sumon lande ...

Once again his solution has been adopted by B, which reads:

In alia regione ...

Another instance shows B combining an intelligent guess at expanding what appeared to him to be an abbreviation (*aput* 12,11) with the information given by the OE version. T is problematic, not only in using the less common form of *apud* but in lacking a verb:

12,11-12 Pit: *sic tollent. Ducunt apud se camelos ...*

T: *sic tollent aput camelos ...*

B: *sic tollunt. accipiunt camelos ...*

OE: *nimen þonne lædað hy mid him olfendan ...*

In the description of the mysterious *lertices*, already discussed as an example of the amplification of Mir on the basis of the illustrations¹, T assigns to them *pedibus ovum* (17,4). The illustration depicts the feet as clawed, like a bird's, and the OE describes them as *fugles fet*. Either, or both, of these facts have caused B to emend the reading to *pedibus avium*.

In 22,9, where a corruption entered Mir after the ancestral text had been correctly rendered *eoseles ted* in V, Mir-T reads *aprinos*, lacking an accompanying noun, and OE-T reads *eoferes ted*. To restore *dentes aprinos* in B was one of the possibilities facing the scribe who made these corrections, but the same teeth had been described as *dentes aprorum* in 22,3 and the

1. See p. 82.

repetition was perhaps too close for the scribe to accept. B has omitted *aprinus* and makes no further reference to the teeth.

The river names in §12 have become very complicated in T. No fewer than three names are given, all apparently for the same river: *Capi fluvius* (12,1), *apellatur gorgoneus* (12,2) and *flumen gargulum* (12,13). Both OE and B have introduced a verb at the beginning (*Capi hatte seo ea* and *Capi vocatur fluvius*), allowing the phrase *apellatur gorgoneus* to stand as a description of the river, rather than as an alternative name. For this reason, both have dropped the later appearance of *gargulum* which, although attested, as are all three appearances, by other P-Group texts, does not make sense in the context.

The narrative in this passage is complicated and the sequence of events often unclear. B has added several phrases in an attempt to clarify the position. He explains that the men *qui ad flumen predictum pervenientes* (12,12-13) leave the baby camels behind and that *ipsi cum camelis fluvium transeunt*. Both steps are logically necessary, and omitted in all other versions including OE. Lest the purpose of the whole exercise be unsure, he adds, as does OE, to the detail of the men's safe return with the female camels that they bring the gold (*cum auro*, 12,21).

Previous commentators¹ have made much of the agreement between B and the illustrations in two instances. In the first, 29,4-5, the text of T is patently corrupt, describing as it does a creature who is:

a capite usque ad umbilicum quasi homines. reliquo corpore similitudine humana.

like men from the head to the navel, with the rest of the body in human form.

There is obviously no contrast here, but EP reveals the likely ancestral reading, which is virtually identical to that of T, replacing *similitudine* by *dissimile*. The OE reading would have been of little help to the scribe emending Mir, for it contrasts an upper half 'like a soothsayer' with a human lower half:

sja frihteras frām ðam heafde oð ðone nafelan ⁊ se oðer dæl bȳð mannes līce gelīc

The illustrations show a monstrous head and shoulders on a human body, and this is what is described in the revised reading of B:

a capite usque ad umbilicum deformatum ab hominum specie. reliquo corpore similitudine existens humana.

This is clearly a rewriting of the text, which must have become corrupted in T after this image had been conveyed to the illustrator.

In 25,6-7, B reads *cruribus* in place of T's

1. Notably Sisam, *op.cit.* p.78 and J.D. Pickles, *Studies in the Prose Texts of the Beowulf MS*, Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1971, p.44.

pedibus, an attractive reading which corresponds well to the illustrations and to OE *sconoan*. Comparison with OFr, however, reveals that *pedibus* refers not to a part of the body but, in the archetype of P-Group, was a unit of measurement: *xii pies de lonc*. The change in B has moved the reading of Mir still further from the original intention.

Although T and B both contain the fragment on *Jamnes* and *Mambres* following Mir, B also includes an interpolation in the phoenix passage (34,12-18) taken from Isidore (*Etymologiae* XII,vii,22) and Ambrose (*Hexameron* V,xxiii,79). B also includes a number of passages at the end, many of which have also been drawn from Isidore. Despite the similarity of the iconographic style in the illustrations accompanying this additional material, none of it belongs historically with the text of Mir. The presence of *Jamnes* and *Mambres* in both MSS provides further proof of their close relationship, while the other passages demonstrate that the collection became regarded as a *Florilegium* and continued to grow during the period of time between the compilation of T and the transcribing of B.

We cannot tell how many stages the text passed through between the two MSS we have; it may have been copied several times, or perhaps only once or twice. We do know that B, which is directly descended from T and which includes corrections dependent on the OE translation,

was not directly copied from T. An examination of the illustrations in B reveals pinpricks marking the outlines of some of the more complicated designs. One way of copying a picture was to trace it by laying the exemplar on top of a clean sheet of vellum and pricking round the outline with a sharp point. There are no pricks in T, which shows that this method was not used either in producing T or in copying from it. The pictures in T are in any case on a larger scale than those in B. Direct descent could still be arguable if the pinpricks in B had been produced while copying from that MS, but we have evidence that they were not. In copying the complicated interwoven *amphisbaena* (86) the vellum slipped. B f.37^v has a double set of pricks; one set is in the correct place and has been used for the outline of the drawing; the other is out of alignment. This proves that the pinpricks were made in the production of B, for the double image would not appear in the exemplar, but only in the tracing. It is clear, then, that while B is a descendant of T, at least one other copy intervened. B was copied directly from another MS with illustrations on the same scale.

THE STATE OF MIR WHEN USED BY THE TRANSLATOR

Evidence found in both MSS of OE

The OE translator was, on the whole, very loyal to his source, and his version reads as a close rendering of the extant text of Mir. There are, however, some indications that the text used by the translator was a slightly less corrupt version of Mir which was in places closer to the ancestral text than is Mir-T. A few examples are present in both versions of OE. Most of the more striking instances have been edited out of OE-T, presumably because they were no longer supported by the accompanying Latin text, and are retained only in OE-V.

One single example demonstrates clearly that both OE versions are descended from a less corrupt state of Mir. This example is to be found in 27,3, where lakes (*laci*) governed by the sun and moon are described in EP. In Mir, *laci* has been changed to *loci*, a corruption which also occurred, presumably independently, in the Latin version used by the OIr translator, who rendered it *lieus*. *Sead̃* is the word used in both OE texts to describe these objects. It normally means 'pit', but is used to translate *lacus* in the fragmentary *Jamnes and Nambres* in T¹.

1. f.87.

The picture cycle in *Mir* cannot have provided the inspiration for this reading, for T depicts wheel-like objects (which are probably well-heads) which would not easily be identified as either lakes or pits.

Both OE texts also contain translations of a few phrases which are present in other P-Group texts but are lacking in *Mir*. Among these is the explanation of the danger from the hens in §4, given in Pit 4,6 as *quia veneficae sunt* 'because they are poisonous'. OE offers a similar, although not identical, explanation: *þæt syndon ungefrægelicu liblac* 'which are unheard of sorcery'. The Latin reading needed to give such a translation would be *quae veneficia sunt*¹, a reading which differs only in an abbreviation and two letters from that in Pit.

The sudden nature of the death inflicted by a certain type of beast is expressed in OE by the adverb *sona* (8,6). Although no adverb at all is to be found in *Mir* at this point, *sona* is a literal translation of *cito*, present in both EP and LM and glossed in OFr by *tantost*. It is therefore highly probable that the adverb *cito* was still to be found in *Mir* when the translation was made.

1. *Ungefrægelicu* is an embellishment by the translator, as in 5,8.

Evidence found only in V

OE-V preserves the ancestral reading in a number of passages which have subsequently been modified in Mir and OE-T. The most striking example of agreement between OE-V and other P-Group texts against Mir and OE-T is the retention in 14,8 of *on scipum* to describe the means by which the stork men travel to India to reproduce. This reading represents an intermediate stage of corruption between the ancestral *in avibus* (retained only in Pit) and the final change to *suis manibus* ('by their own hands', a meaningless phrase in the context) which is found in Mir. The intermediate stage *in navibus* is present in EP and translated as *en nes* in OFr. It is this intermediate stage which is preserved in OE-V, confirming that Mir passed through the same process as EP and OFr. OE-T omits the phrase entirely, presumably because the two readings found in the exemplar were contradictory.

In 22,9, in the description of the monstrous women, Mir-T has a puzzling lacuna. After describing the women as

*dentes aprorum habentes, capillos usque ad talos in lumbis
caudas boun. Quae sunt altae pedum xiii, specioso corpore
quasi marmore candido, pedes habentes cameli*

having the teeth of a wild boar, hair down to their ankles and a bull's tail at the back, they are 13 feet tall, with a beautiful body like white marble. They have camel's feet

the next item on the list in Mir-T is simply *aprinor*, with no accompanying noun. Comparison with the other versions of the Letter demonstrate that in the ancestral text at this point there was a second reference to the teeth¹, which are here described in EP as *dentes asinorum* 'asses' teeth'. Exactly the same reading was found at one time in Mir, for OE-V has preserved it as *eoseles teð*. OE-T reads *eoferes teð*, echoing its earlier *eoferes tuxas* (22,3).

The corruption may have developed first in the Latin, as a means of eliminating the contradiction found in the inherited description. Alternatively, the orthographic similarity between *eoseles* and *eoferes* could have given rise to a change in the OE reading which was then carried over into the Latin.

However the corruption arose, OE-V is unique in this branch of P-Group in retaining the ancestral reading.

Near the beginning of the text (3,4-5) is a passage to which considerable significance has been

1. The repetition, which is probably due to the conflation of two separate descriptions at a very early stage in the development of the text, is discussed at length in the Commentary.

attached in the past because of the use of an OE construction in the Latin of Mir¹. The other P-Group texts tell of a city named Archemedon, which is large (*magna* - Pit) and which lies a specified distance from Babylon. The wording of OE-V gives an almost literal translation of this, although the punctuation has to be supplied:

sio is mæst. to babilonia burh þonon syndon ...

it is very big. From there to the city of Babylon is ... The line is unpunctuated, and this deficiency led a scribe to reinterpret the sentence taking *mæst to* as an example of an OE construction meaning 'second biggest after; biggest except'. This new reading required him to insert *to babilonia* a second time before the distance, and it is this new reading we find in OE-T:

seo is mæst to babilonia byrig. þanon is to babilonia in ...

It is biggest after the city of Babylon. From there to Babylon is ...

This reinterpretation then spread from the OE into the Latin of Mir, in the form of a gloss, *i. excepto babilonia*, which has been added after *maxima est ad*

1. K. Sisam, 'The compilation of the *Beowulf* MS', *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, Oxford, 1953, pp.75-76, adduces it as evidence for the composition of Mir in England.

babiloniam. As in OE-T, *ad babiloniam* has been repeated with the distance. Thus, far from proving that Mir was written by an author whose Latin was influenced by the idiom of his native OE, as Sisam claims¹, this introduction of an OE construction into the Latin confirms that the text underwent a continual process of modification, and that the translation made from Mir came to be considered a suitable authority for emending its own source.

The place-name which in Mir and OE-T has become *Liconia* (15,1) is found in OE-V as *Ciconia*, in the phrase *Ciconia in Gallia*. Here OE-V is once again preserving an earlier reading than that found in Mir or the other OE text. *Liconia* is indeed a place-name, but OE-V's *Ciconia* represents all that remains of an explanation of the legend in the previous passage (possibly as a misplaced rubric, or perhaps a codicil) and *Ciconia* corresponds to FL's *in ciconias* 'into storks', while *in Gallia* refers to the nesting sites chosen by the storks, *apud vos* in FL.

These same stork men are described in OE-V as having red feet and knees (*fet 7 cneowu swyðe reade*, 14,5). Although the word *rubra* or *rubea* is not

1. *loc.cit.*

present in any of the other P-Group texts, vestiges of it are to be seen in Pit's *pedes et genua sub ea*. All P-Group texts describe both feet and knees, except for Mir and OE-T, which both tell only of knees (*bið þæt cneo swiðe read*). The omission of feet from these texts after the translation was made may have been influenced by the illustration to this passage, which in T depicts a man with a red spot on his knees. V's illustration shows a colourless man modestly wearing a pink kirtle.

Late amplifications to Mir

The text of Mir continued to develop and, as has already been demonstrated, corruptions and deliberate modifications appeared after the OE translation had been made. The extant texts of Mir also contain a few phrases which are not present in the translation. Considering the loyalty the translator showed to his source, which he modified little except when the meaning of the Latin was obscure, the appearance of these untranslated phrases suggests that they are late additions to Mir, further modifications made after the translation had been written. There are two such phrases, for which there is no support from any of the other P-Group texts, but both are problematic. In each case the additional wording appears repetitive;

it is possible that the translator omitted them because they seemed to add nothing new.

The fan-eared men when they sleep spread one ear out beneath them and the other over them, and *tegunt se his auribus* 'they hide / cover themselves with their ears' (30,7). This last phrase is not translated in OE, nor is it paralleled in any other P-Group text. It is, however, possible that the translator felt that *ureod*, which he used to gloss the earlier *se cooperiunt*, adequately expressed the sense of this later verb as well. The phrase is probably, although not indubitably, a late addition in Mir.

The name Heliopolis, which has been fragmented in Mir to *belis ... et iobis* at the point at which it appears in all P-Group texts (32,3-4) is repeated in Mir in a slightly less corrupt form, *quod etiam beliobilis dicitur*, two lines further on (32,6). This repetition is unique to Mir and is not found in OE, where the first occurrence of the name has suffered still greater corruption. Whether the phrase in Mir, which must almost certainly be a late addition, is the product of an inspired guess or whether the scribe drew it from some now untraceable source is a matter for conjecture. It does, however, provide further proof of the continuing development of the Latin text.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE OE TEXTS

In selecting a version to form the base text for this edition, it was felt essential to examine whether one of the OE copies had a better claim to represent the original intention of the translator than did the other. At the superficial level, T corresponds more closely to the Latin text which accompanies it, and for this reason T has often been selected as base MS for both OE and Mir by earlier editors¹. No one would dispute the selection of T's version of Mir, in view of Mir-B's proven dependence on Mir-T; the same is not true for the OE text.

OE-V represents an earlier state of Mir than Mir-T

OE-V, which is found in a MS dated at around 1000 A.D. has been rejected by previous editors both because of the close agreement between Mir-T and OE-T in certain readings and because of the numerous evident corruptions contained in OE-V. Eight instances of agreement between the OE translation and P-Group texts excluding Mir have been considered above as evidence for the use by the translator of a less corrupt Latin text than Mir-T. Of these eight, five are found only in OE-V, for they have subsequently been edited out of OE-T when the latter was modified to conform to developments in Mir.

1. Most recently by P.Gibb, Ph.D. thesis, Duke University, 1977.

Readings where OE-V is more loyal to Mir than OE-T

In addition to the instances where OE-V preserves a reading which better represents the ancestral text than does that of the extant MSS of Mir, there are other instances where OE-V is closer in reading to the Latin text than is OE-T.

The horned onagers of B7 are remarkable for their size; they are described in Mir as *forma maxima* 'of great size'. This is accurately translated in OE-V as *on þære mæstan wæstm* 'of great size', although the gender is irregular, for *wæstm* is usually masculine. In OE-T not only has the article been changed to *ðam* (assuming that the feminine form was present in an antecedent of T, which is not necessarily the case as *þære* may be a late development in OE-V) but the noun has also been changed, from *wæstm* 'stature' to *wæstene* 'desert'. Although Lf refers to the 'deserts of Persia' as the home of these asses, none of the closer relatives have any such reading and OE-T's emendation has support only from the general context. Unlike several of the modified readings in the OE text, this one has not spread back into the Latin of Mir, a fact which may indicate that this change occurred after the changes in Mir had been made.

Hospitales (Mir 23,6) is correctly rendered in OE-V as *gæstliþende*, although miscopying has transformed it into *eastliþende* in OE-T. In 21,2 OE-V retains *acenned* which is omitted in OE-T, and in 30,9 the word pair *geseoð oðþe ongytað* is found only in OE-V. Word-pairing is a stylistic trait of the translator, and there is therefore a strong possibility that this pair was part of the earliest translation, although it is, of course, a trait which lends itself easily to imitation.

Numerals are not reliable as evidence of textual relationships because they are so vulnerable to miscopying and, particularly in the case of parallel texts such as T, to restoration and correction. However, there are several instances in which it should be noted that OE-V has better preserved numerals than OE-T:

32,3 *cæ* as in Mir and OFr. OE-T: *æc*

25,3 *ccliii* as in Mir-B and OFr and as probably intended in Mir-T (*cclui*).

OE-T: *cc.l.u*

Finally, in two instances OE-T has additional words which are not supported by the Latin texts and which are not found in OE-V:

28,2 *eall* (added in OE-T only)

33,2 *lange* (added in OE-T. *de lone* is found in OFr, possibly as an independent development as both accompany a measurement in feet.

Major Corruptions in OE-V

OE-V has sometimes been rejected by editors when selecting a base text because of the omissions and the smattering of ludicrous readings it contains. These omissions and peculiarities provide more evidence for the source of V and the working methods of a scribe (whether the scribe who copied V itself or one who made an earlier transcript we cannot tell) than any other data in the text. The possibility that the scribe in question may have been the man who copied both OE-V and the first half of *Beowulf* makes this newly discovered evidence on his approach to his task the more exciting.

The omissions in OE-V include a short section near the beginning, the final 2½ sections and 9 incidental words which are necessary to the sense, four of them crucial words near the beginning of sections. The omission of the final passages coincides with the reversal, in the MSS of English origin, of large sections of text. This misplacement or wrong folding of a leaf comes directly before the missing section, and the loss may be due to the same accident as the displacement. We can state confidently that the end of the text was never present in V, for the end of the text in that MS faces a blank leaf which bears the mark of offsetting which occurred

when the MS was written. This proves that these two pages have always been in the same relationship to each other within the codex.

The missing section at the beginning of OE-V is very interesting, because it supplies evidence both on the nature of the copy used by the scribe and on his working method. In T the first four lines of §6 have been treated as a separate section, insofar as the OE translation for these four lines follows the Latin and is in turn followed by the Latin text of 6,5-9. This happens in no other copy of the *Letter* except Mir-B, which has been shown to be directly descended from Mir-T. The reason for this division cannot now be determined; it was probably something as simple as the need to turn the page in the Latin exemplar from which the first bilingual copy was made. Every other section in T is followed by an illustration, the sequence being Latin; OE; illustration. This newly-created section has none. The scribe who copied a MS laid out in this way to produce V (or its antecedent) - a copy of the OE text only - located the translation by working back from the next picture. Using this method he overlooked the small passage of OE sandwiched between two paragraphs of Latin. (His ignorance of Latin will be confirmed by later evidence.) The omission of this section proves, therefore, that

OE-V derived from a bilingual exemplar laid out in the same way as T.

The incidental omissions in V seem, on the whole, to indicate careless copying. Some of the words which have been omitted are so significant in the context that one suspects that a gap may have been left for later rubrication which was never completed. There are, however, no gaps or guide letters in V to support that hypothesis. The missing words are italicised below:

11,3 þa beoð on lenge syx fotmæla *lange*

12,4 hy habbaþ *fet*

13,9 On þyssum *stowum* beoð acende

16,4 seofon fota *lange. hi beoð sweartas hiwes*
hostes hy synd nemned.

17,1 Ðonne seondon on *brixonte* wildeor

18,2 on þon beoð *menn akende* buton heafðum

19,1 Ðar beoð *dracæn* cende

23,1 Æ þæm garsecge *is* wildeora cyn

25,4 homodubli þæt beoð *twylce*

The fact that nearly half of these words appear at the beginning of a section lends some weight to the theory that they were omitted in a MS in which rubrication was intended but never added. However, V is descended, as we shall demonstrate, from a copy which had suffered physical damage, and such damage cannot be completely ruled out as the cause of these omissions.

One of the great puzzles to editors has been the complete divergence between the readings of OE-V and OE-T in the description of the palace of Heliopolis. So widely do the texts differ, that it can only be explained as independent translation, but the reason for this and the source of the peculiar readings in OE-V have, until now, remained a mystery.

OE-T is faithful to the Latin, and represents the earlier version of the text. There is, in fact, sufficient overlap with the reading of OE-V to show that the copyist of OE-V, following a text similar to OE-T, arrived at the bottom of a page and found only the italicised portion legible:

OE-T 32,3-9

þær wæs timbred on Beles dagum þæs cinges
 7 iobes templ of isernum geweorcum 7 of ærenum geworht.
 7 on ðære ylcan stowe is east ðanon eac oper templ
 sunnanhalig to þam is sum gepungen 7 gedefe sacerð to
 gesett 7 he ða hof... healdað 7 begymep.

The copyist followed what text he had, but had to find some means of filling the gaps. He appears to have picked a few familiar-looking words from the Latin, perhaps referring them to a colleague for an oral translation as he cannot be said to have attempted more than glosses on individual words.

Mir 32,3-9

ubi est bellis templum in diebus regis et iobis aorco of
ferreo opere constructum quod etiam bellobilis dicitur.
et inde est edis *solis ad orientem* ubi est *sacerdos*
quietus qui illa oppida *maritima* observat.

The scribe picked on the words italicised and constructed his replacement text around them, basing it more on his knowledge of the habits of bishops than on any serious attempt to retranslate the Latin. The oysters, which are a semi-fasting diet, may have been inspired by the similarity between *oppida* and *ostrea*. *Quietus* appears twice, once in Latin and once translated. The product of his labour was:

OE-V 32,3-9

þær *æres* *getymbro* *on* *beles* *dagum*
? *iobes* *temple* *of* *isernum* *gejorcum* ? *of* *glæs* *gegotum*
? *on* *ðære* *ilcan* *stowe* *is* *æt* *sunnan* *upgange* *setl*
quietus *þæs* *stillestan* *bisceopes* *se* *nænine* *operne* *mete*
ne *þige* *buton* *sæ* *ostrum* ? *be* *þam* *he* *lifede*.

From the evidence of this passage, we can be certain that V is descended from a damaged MS, but we have not yet discovered much about the nature of the damage. There is, however, another clue. In T, at exactly the same point on the page as this passage, the next three columns all contain passages which appear in a modified or mutilated version in OE-V.

The passage just examined begins in T on f.84^r, col.1. Although it must have been at the foot of the page in the damaged copy, it continues into the next column in T. At the same point in col.2 is one of the passages which marks a break in continuity in these texts. 33,3 describes the vine at Heliopolis which bears pearls instead of grapes. OE-T reads

on ðam bergean beoð cende swylce meregrota oððe gymmas

which corresponds exactly to the description in OFr, although Mir refers only to pearls, not gems.

In OE-V the whole of *swylce meregrota oððe gymmas* has been reduced to *saragimmas*. This term, with its inherent sense of 'a work of art wrought by hand by the skill (*searo*) of the craftsman' is quite inappropriate to describe this remarkable, but utterly natural, phenomenon.

On 84^v of T, at the same point on the page and directly backing onto the passage about the pearls appear the words:

þær syndon gedefelice menn þa habbað him to kynedome (20,7-8)

The words italicised are omitted in OE-V, and the following two phrases are reversed. In the following line (20,9) OE-T's *þa deoworðan gimmas* has once again been replaced in OE-V by the word *sarogimmas*. In this instance neither OE version accurately represents the Latin of Mir, which talks not of gems but of *margaritae*.

The last of these four passages appears in T in 84^v col.2, where it backs directly onto the Heliopolis passage. Although less damaged than the earlier example, the scribe has yet again been forced to turn to the Latin to fill lacunae, although in this case the lacunae are single words, not whole lines.

OE-T 21,5-9

*þa syndan huntigystan swiðe genemde 7 fore hundum
tigras 7 leopardos þæt hi fedað þæt syndon þa kenestan
deor 7 ealra ðæra wildeora kynn þæra þe on þære dune
akende beoð þæt hi gehuntigað.*

In OE-V, *þa syndan* is omitted; *huntigystan* appears as *huncigean*; *fore hundum* has been reduced to *from*, obliterating the meaning of the passage. *Leopardos* has been translated as if it were its constituent parts (with a total disregard for Latin grammar) as *leon 7 loxas*. At the end of the passage, for some reason which is not apparent, the scribe referred back to the Latin yet again and has inserted *mid heora scin(lac)e* 'with their witchcraft'. This can only derive from *cum illis* misread as *cum illusio*. As with the other rewritten passages, this also has the appearance of blind glossing, glossing done by a scribe with little or no knowledge of Latin who referred individual words from the Latin text to a colleague for translation.

There was, therefore, patchy damage causing partial obliteration across four columns in a MS from which V is descended. The type of damage found in the first passage affected, 32,3-9, would be consistent with a tear, but that would have caused a similar pattern of damage on the verso, in the fourth passage (21,5-9). Although this last passage is more seriously damaged than the intervening two, it still shows only partial obliteration, not the complete loss of half-lines of text or even larger sections which would have been caused by a lost corner. A seeping stain, whether by ink, water (or even, as at the beginning of the Exeter Book, beer) would explain damage which was heavier on one side of the vellum than the other and which spread across the bottom of both sides of the folio.

The evidence of these damaged passages not only shows us a scribe using whatever resources he can muster to fill lacunae in his copy, it also confirms that one ancestor of V was a bilingual MS (for the Latin was readily to hand) in which the spread of material on the page was almost exactly the same as in T, although the positioning was probably different.

Donne is sum ealand midan beodmæn aken
 þara eagan jennad þa leohre þa ma mæc
 blace mænle on þætne mæte :



ge þorlre gondaie ylaun scope is eise danon
me oþer amþl summan halig to þa mænle
þæt ge dege pæcend to ge sta þæt dæ liopa
licaldes þæt ge mæn



Est alta insula stadia habens longitudo
 & latitudine .ccc. lx. quæ facit leuaf. er
 ubi est belis templum in dieb: regis ætobis
 aere & ferro ope cstrueta qd etiam belobles
 dr. æide e. cæt solis adonente ubi e. sacerdos
 qætus çilla oppida manima obseruat :

Don is sum ealand þæt dæ lappan mæge
 tæle de pædia hære on lence þon þære
 æt .xl. þæt vndan de leua hære æt þæt
 þæt amþled on belis dæ mæn þæt æt
 þæt templ on þætne gætne þæt ætne mæn

Est ætne auna moriente ad solis ostium
 quæ habet uas pedum .cl. dæ nascentes
 pendens marginis

Don is gylde þæt gætne ætne mæn
 þæt hære beuan hundreontæge þæt mænla
 lunge þæt ætne on dæ mæn beod cende
 þæt ætne mæn ætne oðde gætne mæn

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Phonological Evidence from the Alterations in OE-V

Although there is only a small sample on which conclusions on the dialect of the person who made the emendations in OE-V can be based, this sample does include some of the more peculiar forms to be found in the text. Of these, *sarogimmas*, which has been inserted in 20,9 and 33,3, is perhaps the most puzzling. In *Beowulf*, in the same MS and copied by the same hand, the first element appears consistently as *searo* in compounds. *Saro-* may be an example of Northumbrian retraction of *æ* to *a* before *r*¹, or possibly an example of **saru* with an unbroken vowel extended analogically to cases in which *u* had become vocalic.

o for *u* appears also in the p.part *getynbro* (32,3), a form which is suspect because the ending is either fem.nom.sing. or neut. nom.acc.pl. - and the noun qualified is *temple*, neut.nom.sing. In view of its proximity to an area damaged in an antecedent MS (see above) this ungrammatical form may be seen as an error of transcription. The use of *o* for historic *u* is frequent in later MSS².

1. A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, Oxford, 1959, §144.

2. *ibid.* §377.

The remaining dialect forms found in the alterations all indicate eWS. *Hiera* (5,8)¹ appears instead of *hyra* and *heora*, the only forms used in the body of the text. Unchanged Latin *eo* as in *leon* (21,8)² is a characteristic WS form; *lea* is usually found in Anglian. *Setl* (32,8) lacks the parasiting regularly found in Anglian forms³.

The phonology of the alterations thus presents a rather puzzling picture. Predominantly eWS, it appears to include a sprinkling of Northumbrian forms. However, the scribe who made these alterations has already been shown to have been far from learned in Latin, and it is possible that his OE spelling was equally weak when he had no exemplar to follow.

Other corruptions in OE-V

Among the minor errors in OE-V are several instances in which the word which correctly glosses the Latin, and which is present in OE-T, has been replaced by another word. One instance which occurs repeatedly throughout the text is the substitution of *leuua* 'leagues' by various forms of the word *leon* 'lions'. The league was a gallic unit of measurement, not widely known in pre-Conquest England, and the word never appears correctly in OE-V. *Leon* appears in 3,6 and 3,10; elsewhere the form given is *leones*.

1. *ibid.* §703.

2. §281, f.7; §510.

3. §§360-367.

In the passage which follows the description of the gold-digging ants and the ruse involving camels there is a reference to a large number of elephants (*þa miclan menigeo ylpenda*, OE-T 13,10). The words *ylpenda* and *olfenda* are very similar (indeed, they both derive from *elephas*) and in this line OE-V, possibly still thinking of the camels in §12, has substituted *olfenda* for *ylpenda*.

The whiteness (*quasi marmore candido*, Mir 22,7) of the bodies of the monstrous women is described in OE-T as *hwitnysse*. This appears in OE-V as *hiwnesse*, a corruption which has been wrongly accepted by some lexicographers.

There are other corruptions in OE-V which have led, as in this instance, to the appearance of meaningless forms. *Ceremonnum* (3,1) is easy to explain as a scribal corruption of OE-T's *cypemonnum*. *Geneornesse* (8,8) appears in place of OE-T's *geornfulnysse*, and may represent an unsuccessful attempt to rewrite as *geornnesse*. The river name *brixonte* appears as *byxon* in 18,1, and the verb in *nan lað don* (23,14, glossing *occidere*) appears in OE-V as *on*. In 28,1, the scribe became confused in copying *laurbeame*, and produced *lawernbeaba*, and then muddled the reading still further by underdotting the first *b* and not the second for deletion.

Although numerals are unreliable as evidence, they provide easily identifiable data provided that one remembers that they can be corrected as easily as they are corrupted. OE-T preserves numerals more accurately than OE-V in 3,11 (*cxxxiii*, OE-V omits the final three digits) and 27,2 (*cx*, second digit omitted in OE-V).

Corruptions common to OE-V and OE-T

The monstrous women in §22 are said to have been killed by Alexander the Great because they were so disgusting (*pro sua obscenitate* Mir, 22,10). Both OE texts claim that Alexander killed them on account of their great size (*for hyra micelnesse*), an error almost certainly deriving from miscopying of *unclennesse*, involving minim confusion and reversal of *e* and *l*.

The description of the venomous hens (§4) ends in OE with the statement *þæt syndon ungefrægelicu liþlac* 'that is incredible poisoning'. There is nothing to correspond to this phrase in Mir, and it would be considered an embellishment on the part of the translator if there were not similar phrases referring to the venomous nature of these creatures at the same point in the texts of Pit and OFr. When a similar phrase, *þæt syndon þa ungefrægelicu deor*, appears at the end of the following section,

in a position where it has no support from any of the other texts (5,8) it looks very much like duplication. There are two possibilities. Either the translator echoed the end of the previous section deliberately, for artistic reasons, in which case it should be seen as part of his original contribution to the text, or this phrase was added at this point during the course of transmission, in which case it would provide additional evidence for the joint transmission of the two OE versions. There is evidence that the reading of 4,6 provided the inspiration for this addition, evidence which seems to suggest that the second hypothesis is the more likely. The Latin reading in 5,8 is problematic: *corpora sua inarmant* (which has been given the inadequate gloss *id. pugnant* in EP) has been wrongly translated in OE-T: *þonne geƿræðað hy sona grimlice ongen* 'they at once savage back fiercely'. OE-V retains more of the actual wording of the Latin, but instead of having them arm (*inarmant*) their bodies, they are said to burn them (*hiera lichoman þæt hy onælað*). There is a possibility of some confusion between *inarmant* and *inurunt*¹, but the major influence must surely have been the reference to burning (*forbærnað*) in 4,6. Whether OE-V or OE-T

1. First suggested by Slsam, *op.cit.* p.80.

comes closer to the intention of the translator, or, indeed, whether each is offering its own solution to a crux in a common ancestor, is a question we are not in a position to answer. It does, however, seem probable that the similarity between OE-V and OE-T in the additional phrase at the end of this section points to common transmission after the translation had been made.

TECHNIQUE AND SKILL OF THE TRANSLATOR

Unlike the great translators of the Alfredian period, who transformed and refurbished their sources¹, the translator who worked on Mir produced a serviceable version of his original which cannot be considered a work of literature in its own right. Perhaps he cannot be held wholly responsible for this. The sub-literary nature of Mir, combined with its highly factual content, went far to precluding any display of creative genius. There are, in any case, indications that the translator was not an inspired writer. His insensitivity is amply demonstrated by his mechanical repetition of the lengthy phrase:

*þæs læssan milgetæles þe stadia hatte ... 7 þæs
miclæn milgetæles þe leuua hatte ...*

1. cf. Janet M. Eately, *The Literary Prose of King Alfred's Reign: Translation or Transformation?* London, 1981
(Inaugural Lecture, King's College, London)

with little variation whenever measurements are given. The phrase is one which he added to explain these unfamiliar units of measurement, but it tells the reader nothing he could not have learnt from an examination of the numerals.

The translator was responsible for a handful of additions to the text. He attempted to make sense of some of the corrupt passages in Mir, using several different methods of approach. There is little to characterise his style - the only noticeable trait is a penchant for word-pairing, the use of two verbs to render a single Latin one.

The Addition of Explanations

The translator attempted to make the text meaningful to his Anglo-Saxon readership by adding explanations for some of the more obscure concepts contained in Mir. In some cases, as in the use of a repetitive but uninformative formula to describe the measurements, as already discussed, he enhances neither the literary nor the factual content of his text.

Glosses have been given for the words *balzamum* (28,2) and *cinnamomum* (34,8), couched in terms which imply that both were known to him only from books. He appears to have expected them to be totally

unfamiliar to his readers. He shows that he is aware of the essential nature of cinnamon as a spice and of balsam as an oil, but beyond that the glosses are very similar:

28,2 *balzammum se deorweorðesta ele*

34,8 *ða deorweorðestan wirtgemangum þe man cinnamomum
hateð.*

Other terms, such as *hostes* (16,5) and *adamans* (34,1) are reproduced in their Latin forms, without translation or explanation.

Some of the laconic phrasing in Mir has been expanded in order to make the meaning clear. The result does not always conform to the archetypal text of the *Letter*, and the spread of revisions and new readings from OE into Mir has already been considered. In some instances the translator has done no more than state the obvious, as when he added *þæt is geteald* to the expression of distance which appears in Mir 25,2 as an abrupt *oceanò dexteriore parte stadia ...*

In other cases his amplifications are more controversial. Mir 30,10 tells us that when the fan-eared men wish to flee they *tollunt sibi aures*. The meaning of the *Letter* was that the ears are lifted up (*tollunt*) as if they were wings, but the translator specified a different means of lifting:

nymað hy hyra earan him on hand.

Vltim hoc ad orientem nascuntur homines
longipedū. xv. latū pedū & caput magnū
aurēs habentes tanquā uariū ueniam
sibi nocte subternunt de alia se copiam



Ɗanari ƳƳearc Ɗear beoð men aƳcermed þa beoð
 aƳferne ƳƳearcne Ƴotalarige ƳonþraƳe Ƴyn
 Ƴotmarla hi habbað mude heaƳa Ƴearpan
 ƳƳa Ƴarin oþer earc hi him on milt Ƴan deƳ
 beoð Ƴum oðƳari hi ƳƳeod him beoð
 þa earpan ƳƳde leolice Ƴhi beoð on lichomari
 ƳƳa hi Ƴe ƳƳa meolc ƳƳi hi hi Ƴilene maran
 on ðam landū ge Ƴeod þon mmað hi heaƳa
 earpan on hand ƳƳearc Ƴe hi Ƴeod ƳƳa hi Ƴa Ƴlice
 ƳƳa ƳƳen Ƴe hi Ƴeod gen.



Et alia insula in qua nascuntur homines quorum
oculi sicut lucerna lacent.

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By adding the two words *on hand* he transforms the description. It is no longer the fan-eared men but the long-eared men he is describing; and it is a long-eared man which is depicted in the illustration in T¹. V's crude design shows the fan-eared man with his ears sticking out, unsupported by his hands - although OE-V includes the new words. Whether the long-eared man appeared first in the illustration or in the OE text, this is one change which has not infiltrated the Latin.

In 33,4 Mir reports the existence of a vineyard, *est et vineola*. In what is for him an elaborate extension of his source, the translator has transformed this to a land where viticulture thrives:

Donne is sun land wingeardas weaxet on swiðast.

It is not surprising that the translator, in his handling of a text which in places shows a considerable degree of corruption, offered for some of the peculiarities explanations which are not historically correct. *Hascellentia* (6,1, a corruption of a *Seleucia*) and *Ciconia in gallia* (the explanation of the stork men in 15,1 which has already been referred to) were both taken to be place-names. The translator defined them

1. The separate classical traditions are considered by R. Wittkower, 'Marvels of the East: a Study in the History of Monsters', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5, 1942, pp.159-197.

as such by adding, in both cases, *hatte þæt land*.

Modifications to the Sense

There are several ways in which the translator has chosen to modify the sense of the reading he found in Mir. Usually his modifications are minor; a change in the degree of specificity or a reduction in linguistic complexity. Sometimes he chooses to replace a general concept by a more specific or more detailed one, as in 5,3 where *sonum hominum* 'the sound of a man' which causes the eight-legged beasts to flee is narrowed to a particular kind of human noise, the voice, *mannes stefne*. He renders *aprorum dentes* in 10,4 and 22,9 by the specific term *eoferes turas* instead of the more general *eoferes teð*.

There is one physical characteristic in which the translator shows considerable interest, and that is luminous eyes. It is in his descriptions of these that he comes closest to independent writing, although briefly. Mir on two occasions describes eyes which *sicut lucera lucent* 'shine like lamps'. In the first instance the translator elaborates this to:

scinað nihtes swa leohte swa blæcern (6,9)

and in his second rendering of the same Latin phrase (31,4) he excels himself:

scinað swa leohte swa man micel blacern onele þeostre nihte.

Some of the more literary phrases of the Latin source have been simplified in translation. *Maxima negotiatorum* (3,1) has become *swyðust oypemonnum geseted*, while a similar Latin phrase, *locus hominum barbarorum* (27,1) has been paraphrased to *stow elreordge men beoð on*. In his rendering of *bestiole* (17,1) he has discarded the diminutive, reading simply *wildeor*.

Very little has been omitted from the Latin text. The bulk of such omissions as there are consists of attempts to resolve cruces in Mir. There are only two instances of the omission of unproblematic details and these are found in consecutive lines in the lengthy passage on the gold-digging ants. Both form part of the ancestral text and are not new additions to Mir, because both are supported by the readings of other P-Group Latin texts. The fact that the ants follow the male camels (*sequentes*) is not present in the translation, nor is the fact they devour them (*et comedunt eos*). There is no obvious reason for the omission, unless it was part of the general refashioning of this section which the translator undertook in order to restore a logical sequence of events¹.

1. See p. 120.

Handling of Difficult Passages

The translator adopted several different approaches in dealing with the cruces and problematic readings in his source. In some cases he removed the problem by simplifying the wording, as in 24,2 where the sequence of tenses is awkward in Mir, with a present passive followed by a future passive, the second of which should certainly be active:

nascuntur et ibi germinabuntur

The translator reduced this to

synd ofacende. þanon hi growað.

In doing so he lost track of an incipient pun on the double meaning of *gemma* ('bud' and 'gem') which was elaborated on by the OFr translator.

The passive use of the verb *duco* presents difficulties in 11,1, where Mir reads *dexteriore parte ducitur illa terra ab aegypto*. The translator sidestepped the problem by replacing the problematic verb with *is*:

þæt is on þa suð healfe egyptana landes.

The translation of *dexter* by *suð* almost certainly introduces a type of direction which is not that intended by the original compiler of the *Letter*. It is, however, in accordance with the cartographic practice of the time of the translation, and is

interesting evidence of the translator's familiarity with maps with orientation to the East.

In some cases the translator took the easy option, omitting a difficult phrase altogether. *In occulto* (8,2), a description of the habitat of the *caerastes*, and *manum suam* (4,6), which is impossible to relate to the rest of the sentence unless the case is changed (Pit reads *manu sua* 'with his hand' as the archetype of P-Group must have done) have both been omitted.

Another word in Mir which does not fit into its context is *initium* (2,1) which appears in the very first line of the work. The Latin form cannot be used adverbially, and it is probably derived from a rubric designating the beginning (*initium*) either of the text or of the journey. Both translators opted for an adverbial interpretation, OE paraphrasing as *onfruman*, OFr as *premierement*.

In some of the cruces the OE translator has made a more determined attempt to restore meaning to the passage. The river associated with the gold-digging ants appears to have two distinct names in Mir 12,12, *Capi* and *Gorgoneus*. The translator's solution to this ambiguity was an ingenious one, and one which arose from the practice in Anglo-Saxon and

certain other mediaeval societies (as in modern Russian society) of referring to people by a name and a patronymic. The translator rejected the possibility of taking *gorgoneus* as an adjective, as in 5,5, where he rendered it *wælcyrīan*, but saw it as a patronymic, a further definition of the name for the purposes of identification, based on the name of a parent; so he repeats the Latin, *þe is haten gorgoneus* and adds the explanation, *þæt is wælcyring*.

Mountains are described in Mir 20,3-6, but the text is ambiguous about the number of them. There appear to be at least two, both described as *maximus et altissimus*. The translator has reduced the duplication, making it clear that there is only one mountain (*seo mæste dun*) but that it is the highest mountain in the world (*seo is ealra duna mæst 7 hyhst*, 20,6).

The description of the corocotta-like creature which the translator found in his source in 29,4 contains the nonsensical statement:

a capite usque ad umbilicum quasi homines. reliquo corpore similitudine humana.

By changing the division of the sentence, the translator contrived a contrast between an upper half *quasi divine* (from an earlier reference to their fortune-telling powers) *swa frihteras* and a lower

quasi homines ... similitudine humana (mennisce onlie).

This ingenious solution was later adopted by Mir-B where the Latin is further modified.

The most extensive example of refashioning by the translator is to be found in 812, where Mir gives an impossible sequence of events, sending the female camels home ahead of the men carrying only the gold, when they are also required to effect the men's escape. The translator realised this and adds, after the account of loading the gold, *7 hy sylfo onsittað* (12,15). This required him to omit the following line in Mir (*ille pietate ad suos pullos festinantes*) because the flight is not described until 12,20. He reinforces the impression of a deliberate strategy by telling us *7 þa stedan þær forlætað* (12,17) 'and they abandon the male camels there'. Mir tells us only that the males remain there (*ibi masculi remanent*). At the end of the section, the translator reminds us again of the object of the exercise by adding a mention of the gold to the successful escape:

*þonne þa men mid þam merun 7 mid þam golde ofer þa ea
fareð.*

Free Translation

The translator rarely departs far from the phrasing of his source. There are no examples of extensive paraphrase such as are found in the major Alfredian translations. The translator permitted himself restricted freedom, or, alternatively, showed limited creativity in a few passages which he chose to paraphrase.

The interest in luminous eyes already observed seems to have been part of an enthusiastic response to images of fire, for one of the lines paraphrased is the description of the fiery breath attributed to the cynocephali:

ignem et flammam flantes (10,5)

breathing fire and flame

is lengthened in the OE translation, although nothing is added to the sense except insofar as a statement of fact (*flantes*) has become a comparison:

heora orod̥ bið sylce fyres leg

their breath is like the flame of a fire

The translator's normal practice in dealing with Latin present participles is to convert them into a finite form.

Mir is unique among the Latin texts in describing the *cativa gens* (EP 23,2) as a species of wild animal:

sunt genera bestiarum quae catini nuncupantur.

The translator renders this line literally. However, when Mir goes on to refer to the 'kingdom of the Catini' in 23,5, the translator paraphrases so as to avoid the contradictory impression given by Mir that these creatures are human after all. Mir's reading:

In sinistra parte regio est catinorum

The kingdom of the Catini is to the left
is paraphrased as:

*In þæm wymstran dæle þæs rices þe þa dcor on beoð
catinos*

In the northern part of the kingdom which the catini
animals are in

Such, then, is the extent of the creativity shown by the translator. His version is serviceable and competent, but never transcends translation to become a literary creation in its own right.

Misunderstandings

The translation contains few errors, apart from cruces in Mir, where the translator had no means of ascertaining the ancestral reading, and apart from the many errors introduced into the retranslated passages in OE-V¹.

1. See pp. 106-110.

Mir describes the Nile as *capud fluviorum* (13,6), which, with the meaning 'source of rivers' almost certainly refers to the Nile delta, where the one river becomes many. The translator took *capud* to mean 'prince' or 'chief', and rendered it *ealdor*. His paraphrase *ealdor fulllicra ea* 'prince of full rivers' changes the description from a geographical detail to a mythological one, although as a translation it is not indefensible.

The 'neighbouring kings' (*tyrannos confines*) in Mir 23,7 have been changed into 'kings whose boundaries lie next to the ocean' (*leodhatan. heora landgemæra buaþ neah þæm garsecge*). Every detail in the OE version is to be found in Mir, except that *confines* 'neighbouring' has been misread or misinterpreted as *confinia* 'boundaries'.

In Mir 32,3-4 the name Heliopolis has been fragmented to give *belis templum in diebus regis et io bis*. With a corruption such as this there can be no truly 'correct' rendering, but the translator has chosen a less likely interpretation by linking all the genitive singulars and relating them to *diebus*, leaving *templum* unqualified:

on beles dagum þæs cinges 7 iobes templ (OE-T).

Stylistic Traits

There is little to characterise the style of the translator. The use of word pairs to represent a single Latin word was a recognised method of paraphrasing and of defining the sense more closely¹, and it is this use of word pairs which provides the translator's one recognisable trait. There are only ten such pairs in the text, not all of which are present in both MSS, and the majority of them gloss Latin verbs. Alliteration appears only once, and the pairs usually express two different aspects of the Latin.

<i>sleað oþþe æthrined</i>	glosses <i>percusserint</i>	8,6
<i>hy lifiað 7 þa etaþ</i>	glosses <i>manducant</i>	11,7
<i>ongitað oððe geseoþ</i>	glosses { <i>cognoverint</i>	15,6V
<i>geseoð oðþe ongytað</i>	<i>viderint</i>	25,8
	<i>viderint</i>	30,9V
<i>feorriað hy 7 fleoð</i>	glosses <i>fugiant</i>	15,7T; 25,8T
<i>to kynedome 7 to anwealde</i>	glosses <i>imperio</i>	20,8
<i>geþungen 7 gedefe</i>	glosses <i>quietus</i>	32,8T
<i>healdeoð 7 begymeþ</i>	glosses <i>observat</i>	32,9T

Other pairs, such as *maust 7 hyhst* (20,6) are drawn directly from the Latin.

There is little evidence that the translator was concerned with euphony, a concern which would imply that the text was intended for reading aloud. Neither the subject matter nor the picture-book layout

1. C.f. I. Carlson (ed.), *The Pastoral Care*, Stockholm, 1975, p.11.

of the extant MSS would lend themselves very well to this purpose. However, there is one puzzling feature, found twice in OE-V and not present in OE-T, which is difficult to explain if it is not a stylistic device to improve the sound of the sentence. That feature is the appearance before the verb *æthrined̃* ('touches') of the vocalic adverb *a* (8,6; *o* 4,5). This adverb, which is usually interpreted 'ever', is used nowhere else in either MS of OE. It does not translate any word from the Latin in either position, so the only possible explanation for its inclusion is that it is a stylistic device which pleased the translator (or possibly a later copyist, since it is present in only one MS). Whether the appeal was on the level of meaning or of sound we cannot be certain. In 4,5 the phrase *him o æthrined̃* is easier to pronounce than *him æthrined̃*; but the same is not true of *oppe a æthrined̃* in 8,6. It remains a puzzling instance of concern for literary quality from a translator who in the main cared little for such things.

PROVENANCE OF THE TRANSLATION

The language of the OE translation was the subject of intensive study by both Knappe¹ and Garrad², both of whom concluded that the translation was originally made into an Anglian dialect but that its subsequent transference into WS was almost complete. Their work is not without errors, and was based on the assumption that the whole of the text of OE-V represented the work of a single translator. The present study has demonstrated that sections of OE-V can be isolated as the work of a corrector whose orthography may well have been as haphazard as his translation. The linguistic traits shown in his work have already been considered³. We are now in a position, which neither Knappe nor Garrad were in, to consider the phonology and other significant linguistic traits of those sections of OE-V and OE-T which are descended from the first translation into OE.

1. F. Knappe, *Das angelsächsische Prosastück Die Wunder des Ostens; Überlieferung, Quellen, Sprache und Text nach beiden Handschriften* ... Berlin, 1906, pp.21-42.
2. B.L. Garrad, *A Collation of the Anglo Saxon texts of the Wonders of the East* ... Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1925, pp.i-xlvi.
3. See pp.113-114.

This examination of the phonology is based on a comparison with the standard eWS forms. The presence of forms typical of nWS dialects is noted and where possible an explanation of such forms is offered. Reference is made to sections in Campbell's *Old English Grammar*¹.

Phonology

A. Stressed Vowels and Diphthongs

1. \check{a}

eWS \check{a} normally appears as *a:* *assa; dagum; faran; habban.*

l:l \check{a} +nasal appears exclusively as *a* in: *camb; hand; upgang* and in compounds beginning *land-*.

a predominates, with occasional *o* in both MSS in: *land; lang.*

a and *o* are evenly mixed in both MSS in: *man; mancyn; nama.*

V prefers *o*; T prefers *a* in: *ealond; fon; þanon.* (For may be due to misinterpretation as *swæfon*, see 9:2) V has a higher proportion of the *o* spellings than T, which has a higher proportion of 10E *a* spellings.

§130.

2. $\check{æ}$

eWS $\check{æ}$ normally appears as *æ:* *æfter; æt; dæg; gæstliþend; græshoppan; hrædlice; wæstm; wæter.*

1. A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, Oxford, 1959 (repr. 1964).

2:1 *e* for *ǣ* is seen in: *fercǣ* (4,1V) where it may be due to Mercian 2nd. fronting or represent a Kt spelling of a front vowel; *milgeteles* (V, 4x beside *milgetailes*) which may again be Kt. or an analogical form based on *tellan*. (2nd. fronting is unlikely before *l*). §§131-133; 164-166; 288-292.

3. *ē*

eWS *ē* normally appears as *e*: *berge*; *cennan*; *cwellan*; *delfan*; *eft*; *ele*; *etad*; *fretad*; *mete*.

3:1 The i-mutation of *ǣ*+nasal appears as *æ* instead of *e* in: *næmnað* (T); *mænegeo*; *mænigeo*; *menigo*.

This sound change appears to be a characteristic of eastern WS, but is rare in eWS¹. In *mænegeo* etc., which is found in both MSS, the development may have been caused by the analogical influence of *mænig*. §§193d; 380.

3:2 Back mutation of *ē* is found in: *eofer* (in which it is common in WS) §§210; 221.

eosel; *weorold* (in which it is more common in Anglian and Kt. than in WS) §§211; 518.

3:3 *ē* appears as *y* in: *sylfe* (the regular lWS form) §325.

1. I. Carlson, *The Pastoral Care*, Stockholm, 1975, pp.38-39 summarises what is so far known about the localisation of this change.

4. \check{i}

eWS \check{i} normally appears as *i*: *fisc*; *frihtere*; *gif*; *gimm*; *grimlice*; *hwile*; *lifiað*; *micel*; *sittan*; *swifte*.

4:1 Particularly in the neighbourhood of labials, but also elsewhere, \check{i} frequently appears rounded to *y*:

abysgode; *gyf*; *gyfan*; *gymmas*; *hwylc*; *lyfað*; *ongytað*.

This is a feature of later WS. §318.

For the converse, the lWS unrounding of *y* to *i* see 7:1.

Rounding of *i* to *y* has even invaded unfamiliar Latin place names: *Bryxonte*.

4:2 Back mutation of \check{i} appears as *eo* in: *seofon* (the regular WS form); *meole* (the Anglian form of this word is usually *mile*, §331.3) §§212-213; *seondan* (beside *syndan*; *syndon*; *sindon*) (back mutation in this word is more frequently found in Anglian and Kt. than in WS) §217.

5. \check{o}

eWS \check{o} normally appears as *o*: *fola*; *gold*; *hof*; *nosu*; *oððe*; *wordum*.

5:1 \check{o} appears as *æ* twice in T: *mænigfealde*; *þænne*; and once in V: *fræm*. This is a lWS development which is restricted to a limited number of words. §380. (In each case the *æ* spelling could be based on a form with *a*.)

6. \ddot{u}

eWS \ddot{u} appears as *u*: *cunnon*; *fugelas*; *hundas*.

7. \ddot{y}

eWS \ddot{y} normally appears as *y*: *gecynd*; *oynn*; *dyrstig*; *yse lum*.

7:1 \ddot{y} appears as *i* in: *genihtsumnis* (lWS unrounding of *y* before a palatal) §§316-317.

7:2 \ddot{y} appears as *e* in: *embe* (12,19V) This may represent a Kt. development or a modification to *ymb e* in positions of low stress. §§288; 372f2.

8. \bar{a}

eWS \bar{a} appears as *a* in all positions: *brad*; *hatan*; *lad*; *stan*.

9. $\bar{æ}$

eWS $\bar{æ}$ normally appears as *æ* in all positions: *ær*; *gefætað*; *lædað*; *læten*; *mærða*; *nænig*; *sæ*; *swætað*; *læm*.

9:1 $\bar{æ}$ appears as *e* in: *ungefregelicu*; *ungefrelicu* (both in T) and *onele* (V) §§128; 257.

9:2 The form *swæ* is found twice in V; in both instances it is in the phrase *swæ fon*, which appears in the MS written as if it were a single word, *swæfon*, the pret. pl. of *swafan*. In this way an obsolete spelling may have been preserved.

10. \bar{e}

eWS \bar{e} appears as *e* in all positions: *fedað̊*; *gedefe*;
wæn; *wenað̊*; *wepað̊*; *wæstene*.

11. \bar{i}

eWS \bar{i} appears as *i* in all positions: *æthrinan*;
heswican; *fif*; *fiftan*; *gelic*; *tid*; *vif*.

12. \bar{o}

eWS \bar{o} appears as *o* in all positions: *blod*; *gedon*;
fot; *god*.

13. \bar{u}

eWS \bar{u} appears as *u* in all positions: *buton*; *cud̊*;
dun; *muð̊*; *suð̊*.

14. \bar{y}

eWS \bar{y} appears as *y* in all positions: *fyr*; *hyd*.

15. $\check{e}a$

eWS $\check{e}a$ through breaking of Prim. OE æ normally appears
as *ea*:

before *l+cons.*: *ceald*; *ealdor*; *healded̊*; *healf*;
geteald; *anwealde*.

before *r+cons.*: *sweart*; *earn*.

before *h+cons.*: *eahta*.

eWS $\check{e}a$ through palatal diphthongisation of Prim. OE
 æ normally appears as *ea*: *sceancan*.

15:1 *a* occurs before *l*+cons. in: *oald*; *half*;
getald (all in T); *arwalde* (in V). (These spellings
are typical of Anglian texts) §§88; 143.

15:2 *e* appears in place of *ĕa* in *mehte* (in V).
(This is an example of LWS smoothing, but other
influences may have been at work in this case. T
has *mihte* in the same position.) §312.

15:3 Palatal diphthongisation is absent in *gescape* (T);
sconcan (V). (Retention of *o* before the nasal may
have inhibited diphthongisation in the latter instance.)
§179; 181-185; 260; 302.

16. *ĕo*

eWS *ĕo* appears as *eo* in all positions: *eorðe*;
geornfulnys; *geveore*; *veorð*.

17. *iĕ*

eWS *iĕ* normally appears as *i* in all positions: *gif*;
gifað; *ongitað*; *willað*.

17:1 *y* appears for early *iĕ* in: ^{abysgode}*gyf* (the only form
found in T); ^{gymnas}*gyfan*; *jongytað*; *vyrst*. (LWS rounding).
§§300-301.

17:2 *ie* from the *i*-mutation of Prim. OE *ĕa* appears as
e in *gefælde*. (Normally considered a characteristic
of Kt., although also found in eastern parts of WS.)
§§200-201.

18. $\bar{e}a$

eWS $\bar{e}a$ of whatever origin appears as *ea* in all positions: *geara*; *heafod*; *lawernbeame*; *leaslicum*; *sceapes*; *slead*.

19. $\bar{e}o$; $\bar{i}o$

eo is far more frequent than *io*: *beod*; *cneowu*; *eletreowu*; *fleogen*; *fleod*.

io is found only in: *sio* (1x V); *biod* (1x T).

(*io* spellings are more common in eWS.) §296.

20. $\bar{i}e$

eWS $\bar{i}e$ appears as *i* in: *lig*; *six*.

20:1 $\bar{i}e$ produced by i-mutation appears as *e* in *leg*; **cepemonnum*. (Spellings with *e* are typically nWS but increasingly frequent in later WS.)

§§200-201. Note, however, that the miscopying of *p* as *r* in *ceremonnum* suggests that the word looked unfamiliar to the scribe.

20:2 lWS *y* is found instead of *i* in: *cypemonnum*; *hy*; *gehyrad*; *onsyne*; *syr*. §§299-301.

B. Unstressed Vowels

1. 10E reduction of *a* to *e* is found in: *fare* (pres. 3 pl.); *fleogan* beside *fleogen* (pres. subj. 3 pl.) §735.

2. *-um* in dative plural endings of nouns and dative singular and plural endings of adjectives appears as *an*: *bergean*; *hrecwan*; *myran* and once as *un*: *merun*.

(*-un* is fairly frequent in eWS, but *-an* is a characteristic of lWS.) §378.

C. Consonants

1. *g*

g is lost in the suffix *ig* in: *nænine*; *frecwliti*; *hunie*.

Loss of *g* with compensatory lengthening and contraction of the newly produced diphthong gave rise to lWS *silhearwan*, the form found in T. V has the earlier form *sigelwara*.) §§243; 268.

Final *g* is unvoiced in *wælcyrɡinc* (T) §450.

2. *h*

h in initial position is lost only in *raðe* (T).

f appears for *h* in *frifteras* (V), presumably through scribal error.

3. *ð*; *þ*

ð for *þ* appears in *weaxet* (T).

Accidence

The accidence of both MSS shows few traits which are distinguishable as particularly early or late or as nWS. There are, however, two areas in which the MSS show unusual features; and these areas merit examination.

1. In the verb conjugations, unsyncopated forms predominate in both MSS. The only syncopated forms found are: *cymð*; *færð*; *swylt*. Unsyncopated forms are traditionally held to be a characteristic of Anglian texts, although they are in fact present to some extent in almost all OE prose MSS¹. Their overwhelming predominance in this text may indicate early date.

2. Latin case-endings are fairly well preserved in V. although it is very frequently the wrong case which is used: *from babiloniam*; *oð persiam*;

T consistently reads *from babilonia*.

A Latin accusative plural has been preserved once in both MSS and once only in V in the account of the *catini*: *þa hatton catinos* (23,2V)

þe þa deor on beoð catinos (23,5)

Neither of the accusatives is grammatically correct, and in neither instance is there an accusative in the Latin of Mir. The choice of the -os ending may

1. J. Hedberg, *The Syncope of the Old English Present Endings; a Dialect Criterion*, Lund, 1945.

indicate the beginnnings of a feeling that -s was an appropriate marker for the plural.

Conclusions on the date and provenance of the Translation

T shows a greater number of lWS features than V, and it is, in the main, the language of V which provides the clues for the provenance of the translator. The absence or limited instance of Mercian characteristics such as retraction, smoothing and second fronting (V has no examples of the first and few which could be attributed to the others) probably indicates that the text is not descended from an exemplar written in pure Mercian. There are a large number of eWS features in both MSS beside Anglian features, and this would seem to suggest that Mir was first translated not into a pure version of any of the dialects of OE but into a literary language which contained features of both eWS and Anglian. The translation was certainly made at an early enough date for early, rather than late, WS to provide the underlying dialect. This would suggest that the translation was made anything up to 100 years before the copying of V.

During the subsequent transmission of the text the WS predominance increased and all the recognisably late features in the language of the text are of WS origin. The later MS, T, as well as showing a greater number of lWS features than V, as would be expected, also shows several nWS features. These are all to be found within 5 sections which in the ancestral text are consecutive, although their order is disrupted in the extant MSS of Mir and OE. These characteristics are:

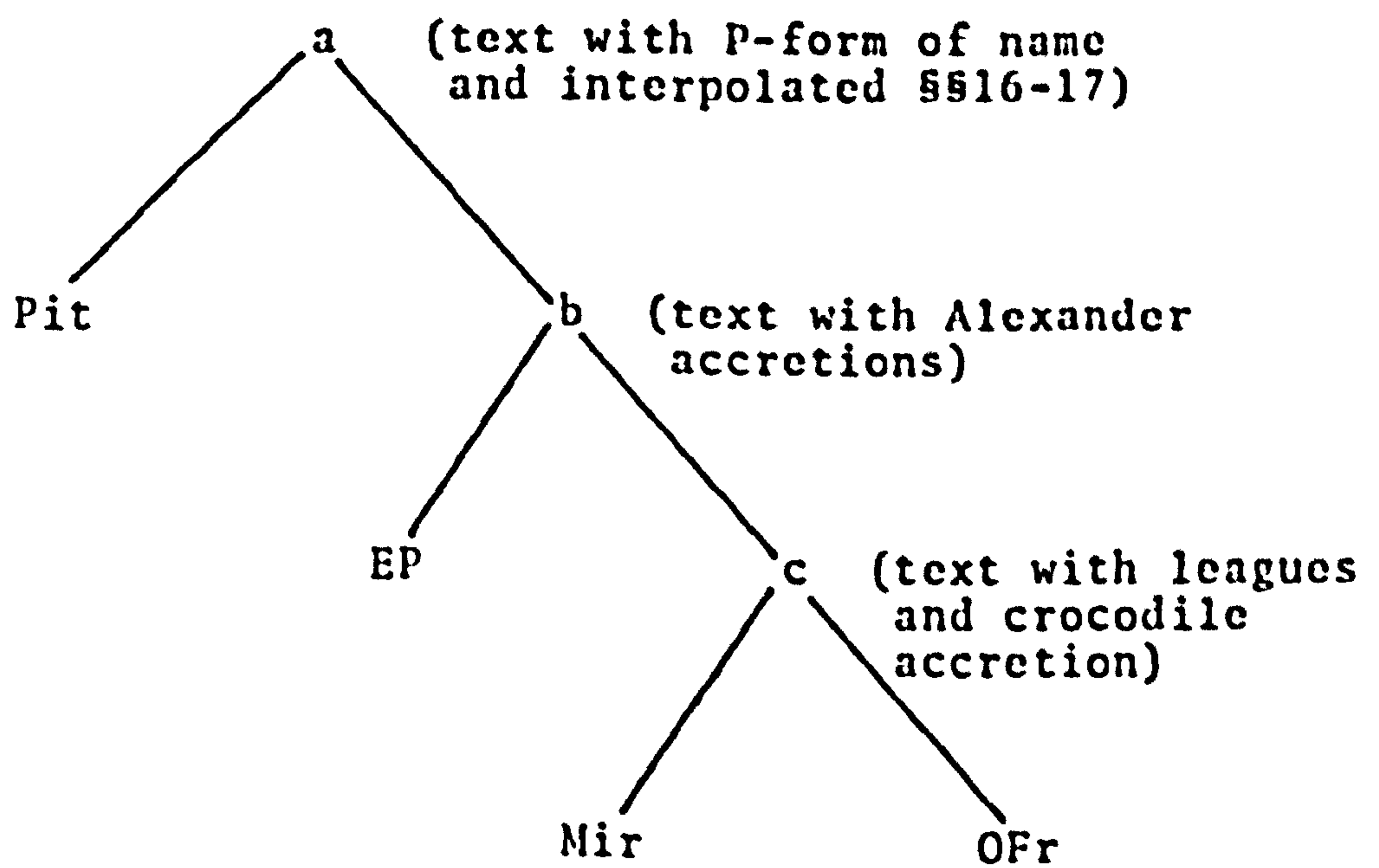
22,10	<i>gefelde</i>	(Kt or eastern WS)	see 17:2
25,2	<i>half</i>	(typically Anglian)	see 15:1
25,5	<i>gescape</i>		see 15:3
27,2	<i>getald</i>		see 17:2
27,6	<i>cald</i>		see 17:2

The evidence is too sparse for us to draw any conclusions, but it is interesting to note that this particular section in T appears to have been under greater influence from an Anglian or Kt dialect than the remainder of the text.

The original translator, therefore, appears as a scribe writing a mixed literary language probably within the West Saxon area, possibly not long after the time of Alfred.

SECTION 3

THE OTHER P-GROUP TEXTS



**PAGE
MISSING
IN
ORIGINAL**

EPISTOLA PARMOENIS (PIT)

SOURCE

J.B. Pitra, at the very end of the second volume of his *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi*¹ published the text of an

*Epistola Parmoenis ad Trajanum (cod. trojanum)
imperatorem data de locis aut incolis aut
ubi quales homines nascuntur, vel qualia
monstra vel montium figuras et hominum vel
bestiarum.*

This text follows his *Analecta ex vetustis Physiologis*, which ends with a transcript, much abridged, of the text of FR from MS Cava 3. *Epistola Parmoenis* was presumably included because of its similarity to FR.

He presents the text as if he had found it on some long-forgotten paper, newly rediscovered. He is able to give no details about the MS, from which he presumably made the transcript, except:

*Ex aliquo codice Batavico, fort. inter
Vossianos in bibliotheca Lugduni Batavorum.*

This text cannot be traced among the collections at Leiden² and has been sought in vain among the

1. J.B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi*, vol. 2, Paris, 1884 (repr. Farnborough, 1966), pp.648-649.
2. I have spent some time examining MSS at Leiden, and others with a better knowledge of the collection have been unable to trace this MS. Cataloguing of the *Codices Vossiani* is now complete.

other major Dutch collections.

We are thus forced to depend entirely upon the transcript made by Pitra, who gives us no indication of provenance or date. This is most unfortunate, for the text proves to be a very significant one, coming closer to the readings of F-Group (and thus to the archetypal text) than any other text in P-Group.

RELIABILITY OF THE TRANSCRIPT

Pitra's intention in these volumes was to present *analecta* or excerpts of little-known texts. These he edits silently, and he is not the most faithful of intermediaries. (In fact, he is probably as likely to have introduced errors or 'corrections' into the text as any mediaeval copyist.)

His unreliability as a source is well demonstrated by his treatment of FR, of which he prints only the first and last paragraphs (3,11 - 5,7 and 34,4 - 34,20). In this small sample he produces the following errors:

sunt for *est* (4,1)

itemque for *idemque* (5,4)

debent for *debet* (5,7)

inserts *circa Indiam et Arabiam* (from 21,2)
after *monte* (34,4)

omits *ampla* (34,5)

quas for *qua* (34,11)

vivat for *vivet* (34,17)

ignoratr for *ignoratur* (34,17) (printer's
error?)

nidum suum seseque (34,18) is broken up,
to give *nidum suum ... seseque*
vivat for *vivit* (34,20)

Pitra gives no indication of editorial changes,
such as the movement of one phrase from the
middle of the text to the end, and he does not
state how much of the text has been omitted -
in this case the omissions constitute the bulk
of the text.

However, he does not take very many liberties
with what little of the text he has printed.
The errors are, on the whole, minor and are
probably due to misreading of the difficult
late Beneventan hand of the MS. Most of the
significant details are reproduced fairly
accurately.

From this it is evident that we cannot
assume that material omitted in Pit, whether from

the middle of the text or at the end, was lacking in Pitra's exemplar. For instance, it would be unwise to base any theories on the omission of §18 on the Blemmyae or of the handful of details which are omitted without apparent reason at various points in the text. Some of these are also lacking in other versions, but we have no way of telling which, if any, were present in the mystery MS. Consistent omission, on the other hand, as of the conversion from stadia to leagues (found in Mir and OFr but not EP, where all measurements have been suppressed), probably reflects the state of affairs in the MS.

The four points at which Pitra has inserted dots (...) into the text (6,2; 16,1; 16,3 and 20,1 - see the text in Appendix 1C) need not, as we see from the example of this practice in FR, indicate that there is any omission or illegible reading in the MS.

Where the evidence of other texts does not point to an omission we can assume that the dots are superfluous.

On the whole, while we would be unwise to trust too heavily in the minor details of spelling or to base a stemma on such minutiae, we have no reason to suspect that the general detail of the text has been tampered with, except in omissions.

FEATURES OF THE TEXT OF PIT

This text indisputably forms part of P-Group. The name *Parmoenis* is coupled with that of Trajan (here supplied by Pitra in place of the reading *trojanum* he found in his source) as in the other P-Group Latin incipits. The interpolated sections 16 and 17, unique to P-Group texts, are both present. The creatures in section 15 are given their correct name of hippopotami (here corrupted to *hos potamos*) and not the name *yppofogi* as substituted from §18 in I-Group.

A detailed comparison of the wording confirms this conclusion and indicates a closer relationship with OFr and GerII than with the other P-Group texts.

Pit is shown to occupy a unique position in the history of the text by its remarkable agreement with I-Group texts in 5 significant instances.

Individually, some of the instances of agreement could be regarded as coincidences, but taken collectively they form strong evidence that Pit represents the earliest known stage in the textual tradition of P-Group. Incidentally, these points of agreement confirm certain readings of FL as representing the ancestral *Letter*. In view of Pitra's knowledge of FR, caution must be exercised in the analysis of any passage which might have been corrected

on the basis of the F-Group text.

In 3,7 Pit and FL both describe some wealthy estates (*praedia*) which are situated 200 or 300 stadia away from a place which FL names *Anteletens* and to which Pit gives the cognomen 'the Athens of Alexander the Great' (*Athenas Magni Alexandri*). This passage is not present in FR but is preserved vestigially, in a form corrupted beyond comprehension, in OFr. A similarly corrupt version must have been present in an ancestor of Mir, for the idea of something large associated with Alexander the Great has been identified with a description common in the Alexander canon of the pillars (*illa magna insignia*) erected by Alexander as a memorial to his exploits.

In 14,8, where the majority of P-Group texts describe a race of men who travel away in ships (*in navibus*), Pit alone of the P-Group versions has them transform themselves into birds (*in avibus*). The reading of FL confirms that this is indeed the legend of the stork, said to live as a human being in a far country but to turn into a stork and fly to Europe to breed. Pit, while retaining the correct ancestral version of the transformation, lacks the reason for it - FL, Ger and Mir alone refer to breeding.

The hippopotami are described by the majority of P-Group in 15,2-3 as three-coloured (*tripartito colore*, Mir) with leonine heads (*quorum capita sunt leonum*, EP) and between 18 and 20 feet in length. The picture presented by Pit is somewhat different; they are described as *quadrupedia* the colour of horses (*colore equorum* where the other texts read *colore. quorum*) and having feet like lions (*pedes leonum*). The length is not specified. At first glance it would be easy to dismiss Pit's reading as the corrupt one: horse-coloured seems meaningless (although it may not have been before improved transportation made it possible to improve local breeds with imported stock) and *pedes* looks as if it could have been transferred from the length. However, comparison with I-Group indicates that Pit's reading is closer to the ancestral text than that of the other P-Group texts. FL and FR both describe the beasts as *colore similes equorum pedes habentes leonum*, adding a single dimension, variously length and breadth. This passage is found in IR-C, although not in the section printed by Pitra, and could feasibly have provided the source for an emendation in Pit. It is, however, unlikely that Pitra would have modified the description to agree with the other version while leaving the name of the creature in so divergent a form - Pit reads *hos*

potamos appellans (15,8), a name which the reader is unlikely to associate with FR-C's *ippophagi appellantur* (15,10).

The radical difference between Pit and the other P-Group texts in this description is due not to an accident of transmission but to deliberate remodelling of the text in the common ancestor of Mir, OFr and EP here, as in two further passages, to introduce details drawn from the Alexander canon¹.

The most conclusive example of all is found in 20,4, where Pit tells of a mountain in which there is a race of tyrants (*in quo natio Tyrannorum est*). None of the other P-Group texts tell of tyrants at this point², or indeed of men of any kind, but FL describes a *natio si leonum* (later corrected in the MS to *natio quasi leonum*), similarly in a mountain near Babylonia. These readings are sufficiently close to indicate a common source, yet diverse enough to rule out any possibility of late cross-contamination during transmission either in mediaeval times or by Pitra.

1. Alexander himself is introduced in §§22 and 23. The modifications in §15 are considered in detail in the Commentary.

2. Tyrants appear among the various races described in §23. In the other P-Group texts, a point to which they may have been removed from §20.

The final passage of Pitra's transcript, 22,11-13, is one which, like the description of the hippopotamus in §15 and the hospitable kings of §23, has been modified in all P-Group texts except Pit by the introduction of details drawn from an Alexander text. Unfortunately we do not have a reading from Pit for the third of these passages, so conclusions on the stage at which the interpolations were made are based on the first two passages only.

Here in §22 EP and OFr both cause Alexander to kill a number (which varies between the texts) of the monstrous women because he was unable to take them alive. Mir takes this several steps further, fulminating against their immorality (*sua obscenitate*) which provoked Alexander to kill many of them. Pit has no reference to Alexander, instead it is *socii nostri* ('our companions') who kill them to examine them (*propter quarum inspectionem*). This detail, which occurs at the end of the passage, is omitted in both FR and Ger, but the writer of IL informs us that he was frustrated in his hope of catching some for exhibiting in Rome, although three armed *comiti* ('companions, followers') managed to kill one after a protracted fight.

There are several corruptions which indicate that Pit, whilst retaining these early features, had passed through several stages of transmission.

In 16,3-4 miscopying of a word has combined with haplography to render the text incomprehensible. EP and Mir both supply two dimensions for the black giants known as *Hostes*, the combined length of their legs and thighs (12 feet) and the combined measurement - whether length or breadth is not stated - of their sides and chest (variously 3 or 7 feet). In Pit, a copyist has jumped from the first *pedes* to the second, leaving a single numeral (*pedes n.iv*) and thereby omitting *latera cum pectore*, a slightly problematic dimension. Total incomprehensibility is achieved by the corruption of *foemora et surras* to *foemora et subta*. The resultant reading is

*Est in brixontem flumen ad orientem nascuntur homines
longipedes et macri foemora et subta ... pedes n.iv.
colore nigro. Hos ostes appellant, nam quoscumque
capiunt comedunt.*

Pitra was understandably puzzled by this, and attempts to clarify by the use of punctuation, indicating omissions after *orientem* and *subta*. The evidence of his handling of FR indicates that there is unlikely to have been any illegible passage or visible lacuna in the MS.

In 20,5, the names *Mediam et Armeniam* (Mir, EP) which appear in FL as *in media autem Armoenia*¹ are found in Pit corrupted to *Mbeniam et Arimeniam*. The similarity of the two names clearly led to the first being modified to resemble the second. Corruptions such as this need not point to a lengthy transmission, for they could occur in a single step, but they demonstrate beyond doubt that Pit as we have it is not an ancestor of the remaining P-Group texts.

An editorial change or gloss based on a misunderstanding has led to the replacement of *pro canibus* 'in the place of dogs' (21,6), describing the use of savage beasts as hunting hounds, by *in forma canis* 'in the shape of a dog', which suggests that whoever modified the reading saw the tigers and leopards as being physically transformed into dogs.

Dubious readings

There are several points at which Pitra indicates by his use of punctuation that he is uncertain of the reading. As he provides no footnotes or other explanation, pending rediscovery of the MS we can only note his doubts and treat the passages indicated with caution. His treatment of IR has shown us that he raises some queries at points where the MS is quite clear, presumably because the reading seemed unsatisfactory.

1. Both readings are equally satisfactory on grammatical and geographical grounds. See Commentary.

In several instances where at least one other version of the text has a problematic or unclear reading, pronouns have been added in Pit in an attempt to reinforce a distinction or emphasize the subject:

8,6 *Hi hominem quem percusserint morietur*
Mir: *Hii quem percusserunt moritur*
EP: *Si quem hi percusserint cito morietur*

8,8 *hi serpentes ... sed hi homines*
(Here Pit has reassigned the phrase *sua industria* - which in Mir and EP refers to the snakes - to the men. The same phrase is applied to the men in IL.)

12,4 *habentes pedes senos. Qui pedes quasi locustae marinae sunt*
EP: *senos habentes pedes et quasi locustae marinae*

12,7 *Quae formicae aurum fodiunt*
EP: *et formicae ibi aurum fodiunt*
Mir: *fodientes aurum*

Most of these reinforcing pronouns occur at points in the text at which the reading of at least one other P-Group text is obscure, and are therefore probably the product of attempts by a mediaeval editor to clarify the text.

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EPISTOLA PREMONIS (EP)

THE MANUSCRIPT

The text of *Epistola Premonis Regis ad Traianum Imperatorem* from Strasbourg MS C.iv.15 was printed by Graff¹ as a footnote to an article on the Old Saxon glosses to Isidore's *Etymologiae* on ff.4^v - 14^v of the same MS. In 1870, 43 years after the publication of Graff's work, the MS was destroyed by fire, along with most of the collection. No independent record of it, not even a catalogue entry, is known².

Contents: Graff lists the contents of the MS, which contained, in addition to *Etymologiae* and *Epistola Premonis*:

Bede: *De Natura Rerum*

De Ratione Temporum

Augustine: *Dialectica*

Boethius: *In Topica Ciceronis Commentaria*

De Syllogismo Hypothesica

1. E.G. Graff, *Diutiska, Denkmäler deutscher Sprache und Literatur aus alten Handschriften*, vol. 2, Stuttgart, 1827 (repr. Hildesheim, 1970), pp.194-198.

2. Mme. Zehnacker, of the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, Strasbourg, advises me that no other studies or accounts of the MS are known to her.

Bede: *De Ratione Calculi*

Jerome: *Expositio super Epist. ad Ephes.*

Dating: Graff estimated the date of the MS as 8th or 9th century, but gave no indication of his grounds for this assessment. The most common hand for MSS of the 9th century is Carolingian minuscule, which is easily distinguished from the hands which preceded it. Unless this MS were in a localised hand, a dating to the 8th century would imply a different script from a dating to the 9th century, and we must regard the dating given by Graff as hypothetical.

Provenance: The Old Saxon glosses indicate that the MS was in Saxony in the Middle Ages. The glossator concentrates on the Isidore, but extended his attention to EP, entering glosses for *onagri* (*uuildi esil*) and *constructa aere et ferro cooperta* (*erin timbar isarnin thecina*). It is possible that a study of the language of all the glosses would contribute to our knowledge of the date and provenance of the MS, but no such study has as yet been undertaken.

Graff printed the text of *Epistola Premonis* as a footnote, without comment and without subdivision. He does not explain the italics he uses

for *ceperunt* (30,7, where LM and Mir read *cooperiunt*). The text of EP has been known to editors since Faral¹, and frequently reprinted.

THE TEXT OF EP

Until the rediscovery of Pit, EP was the only Latin P-Group text known to scholars which retained the epistolary trappings, at least in the *incipit*. For this reason, EP has long been regarded as the classic P-Group text, a position it is not entitled to claim.

Although fuller than Pit, EP is not complete, lacking §§2-3, 17 and 28. In common with all other P-Group texts, the epistolary framework is quickly abandoned, and there is no attempt to return to it at the conclusion of the text². There are few first person references (in 18,7 the writer claims to use a Greek name - *hos epifagos vocamus*).

Textually, EP appears to occupy a position midway between that of Pit, which comes closest to F-Group in many readings and lacks both the conversion of stadia to leagues and the accretions from the Alexander canon in §§15 and 22, and that of the common ancestor of Mir and OFr, which contained both of these, together with the Alexander accretion in §23 and the addition from the crocodile legend in §29.

1. E. Faral, 'Une Source Latine de l'Histoire d'Alexandre: La Lettre sur les Merveilles de l'Inde', *Romania*, 43, 1914, pp.199-215 and 353-370.

2. The *explicit* in OFr has been transferred from a Latin *incipit*.

EP contains all three accretions from the Alexander legend, but not the crocodile interpolation. It is impossible to tell whether the conversion from stadia to leagues had been made in the text from which EP is descended, for all distances have been suppressed.

MEDIAEVAL EDITING OF THE TEXT

The text has been subjected to fairly heavy editorial interference. This presumably took place in the course of its transmission in the Middle Ages, for we have no reason to suspect that Graff tampered with it.

This editing concerned itself with two main areas of the content of the text. As in IR, there has been a deliberate attempt to obscure all geographical data. Not only are all distances omitted, leaving only the length of the ivory bed (33,5) and some of the dimensions of the creatures described, but many of the details intended to localise the description have been rendered less effective. In some instances they have been omitted entirely:

12,1-2 Pit: *Est ibi fluvius in eadem insula, Gurgarus apellatur.* Omitted in EP.

15,1 Mir: *Item liconia in gallia* Omitted in EP.

In 13,3-7 the other P-Group texts discuss the source of the Nile (Pit, OFr, IM) and the way in which the Nile joins the Brixo (Pit, Mir, OFr). All these details,

which were clearly intended to encourage the reader's belief in an otherwise incredible account by the introduction of familiar concepts, are lacking in EP.

The other area on which the editor (or perhaps a different editor) concentrated seems to show a move in the opposite direction, the replacement of the obscure or difficult by the familiar. EP contains, thanks to this editor, a large number of readings which have been accepted, from time to time, by modern editors because they make such excellent contextual sense. The evidence of Pit, and sometimes of I-Group, reveals them for the late emendations they are, demonstrating that the readings formerly considered 'less appropriate' which occur in Mir or the vernacular versions are often those which most closely resemble the inherited text. An examination of these instances reveals that EP has been edited by someone both intelligent and well-read, but whose emendations move the text further away from the ancestral readings.

In 5,5, the simian creature with some of the attributes of the Siamese twin (eight feet and two heads) is described in the other P-Group texts as having eyes like a gorgon (*oculos gorgoneos*). In EP this has been changed to *oculos quaternos*, a detail which brings this creature even closer to the Siamese twin.

The serpents in 8,2 are described in Mir and Pit as inhabiting 'secret places' (*in occulta loca*). EP refers to these places as *inculta* 'uncultivated; wild'. In this instance it is possible that EP has retained the ancestral reading, for F-Group texts also read *inculta*. A corruption shared by Pit and Mir which is lacking in EP is difficult to explain in view of the other evidence for the stemma, but so little separates the readings *inculta* and *in occulta* that EP may have a restored reading, or Pit and Mir may have developed the corruptions independently.

The same serpents are given the name *corsia* (a corruption of *caerastes*) in the other P-Group texts (8,4); EP has replaced this by the familiar name *corsica*. An unfamiliar name has been replaced by a familiar (but incorrect) one again in 34,1, where the *mons adamans* appears as *montes Riphei*, the name of a range of mountains in Scythia.

In 13,1 a colony is described by both Pit and IL as lying between two *vias* 'trade routes'. This reference is followed closely by a description of the relationship between the rivers Nile and Brixo, and EP has emended *vias* to *aquas*, in anticipation of the waterways, and has reversed the order of the following phrases to juxtapose the reference to *has duas aquas* and the names of the rivers.

Precious gems which grow in trees are described in 24,1 in the other P-Group texts, possibly arising from the use of *gemma* with the dual senses of 'bud' and 'gem'. (F-Group texts provide a better attested alternative source for the jewels, the bed of a river.) The mediaeval editor of EP also sought a source for these gems which conformed to other descriptions he had read, and settled upon an emendation from *arbores* to *serpentes*, recalling the legendary source of the *dracontia* or dragon-stone.

The mediaeval editor did not seek only to improve the factual content of the text by adding details such as these. He also added incidental detail intended to make the narrative smoother, as in 12,9 where he tells that the gold-digging ants, after they have brought the gold to the surface, *abscondunt sub terra*. (HP, which also felt a need to explain the activity of the ants between the fifth (EP *quartam*, but *quintam* elsewhere) hour and sunset tells us that they spend that part of the day above ground.)

He also chose to add glosses in several places, and these are mostly inaccurate. In 5,8 *corpora sua inarmant* 'they arm their bodies' has been glossed *id pugnant* 'i.e. they fight'. *Cenodubii*, a corrupt form in 11,6 combining the ancestral *homodubii* with part of one of the names given to the cynocephali in

the preceding section, *cenocephali* (Mir 10,1) or *canis cemonulli* (EP 10,1) has been glossed as *homunculi*, a reading also found in OFr and doubtless inspired by the height of two feet attributed to these men in most P-Group texts. The name *cynocephali* is itself provided with a lengthy gloss in which the editor appears to be attempting to cover himself from charges possibly of heresy¹:

*canis cenonulli homines vel bestiae quaedam vel
verius homines mixti cum capitibus canum* (10,1-3)

There are errors in the text which may result from inaccurate transmission or from editorial interference. In the description of the ruse to steal the gold from the ants, the female camels are said to hurry back to their young *ubi cum masculis remanent*. (12,17). The reading of Mir, *ibi masculi remanent* 'the males remain there' evidently underlies this error, for the male camels are required by the plot to be left behind as bait to delay the ants in their pursuit.

In two instances the phrase *omnibus bonis plena* 'full of all good things' has been transformed by the addition of a prosthetic *h* into a statement about the population: *plena est hominibus* (6,4) or about the type of opulence: *hominum plena bonis* (10,7) 'full of the good things of men'.

1. Cf. the concern over the origin of the centaur exhibited by Thomas of Cantimpré, Appendix 3.

ACCURATELY PRESERVED READINGS IN EP

EP does preserve readings in several instances which represent the P-Group archetype better than those of any other text, thus demonstrating that EP cannot be directly descended from any of the other extant texts.

In 15,8 it is the only Latin P-Group text to give a recognisable form of the name *hippopotamus* to the animals which sweat blood. EP's *hyppotami* is closely echoed by the reading *ypotames* in OFr, but in both Pit and Mir the first syllable of the name has been separated from the rest and treated as a pronoun.

EP's *cativa gens* (23,2) echoes the 'truly encircled colony' (*coloniam vero cinctam*) of FL, indicating that this reading should be given priority over the apparent name *catini* in Mir and OFr.

Alone in the P-Group Latin texts, EP describes the objects assigned to the sun and moon in 27,3 as *laci*, a reading present in earlier versions of Mir, giving rise to OE *sead̥as*.

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THE OLD PICARD TRANSLATION (OFr)

THE MANUSCRIPT

The unique copy of the Old Picard translation of the *Letter* is preserved in the Brussels MS, Bibliothèque Royale 14561-64¹. This codex, which measures 14" x 10", contains 210 ff. written in double column with 52 lines to the page. Although it has been rebound in modern times, the cover description '*Du roy alixandre et de coroniques de france*' has been preserved from an earlier vellum binding and is now inside the front cover.

Contents: f.1 *Comment li grans roys Alixandre envoia
une epistle a aristote sen maistre.*

5^v *lepistle le roy perimenis a lempereur*

7 *Grandes Chroniques de France*

167 *Recits d'un menestrel de Reims*

195 *Chronique artésienne, 1295-1304*

1. J. van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, 12, 1901, pp. 132-133, no. 6936.

See also:

C. Gaspar and F. Lyna, *Les principaux Manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Première partie*, Paris, 1937, pp. 288-289. No. 116.

The text of OFr was first published by A. Hilka, 'Ein neuer (altfranzösischer) Text des Briefes Über die Wunder Asiens', *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, 46, 1923, pp. 92-103.

Dating: The *Chronique artésienne* in this MS ceases in 1304, indicating that the MS was written not long after that date. There has been no attempt to bring the chronicle up-to-date, such as frequently occurred when a chronicle which was noticeably out-of-date was copied. Palaeographic and phonological evidence support a dating to the first half of the fourteenth century.

Provenance: The hand in which the MS is written is a clear Flemish-Gothic one, which implies that the scribe was trained in the Flemish tradition even if the MS was not written in Flanders. The dialect is Picard, and there is no conflict of the type one would expect in a MS which had passed through different dialect areas in the course of its transmission. The phonology indicates an area close to Amiens¹. Two minor details in the text suggest that our MS is not the earliest version of the translation but a copy:

12,22 *quil sanle car eles volent*. Abbreviation for *que* misread as *car*.

14,5 *les genous et les pies tous nus*. A combination of the readings of Mir and Pit shows that the source of the translation would have

1. A phonological analysis of the language of OFr follows this investigation of the text.

read *pedes et genua rubra*. The French words *roux* and *nus* are far more likely to have been confused than Latin *rubra* or *rubea* and *nudata*.

THE LATIN SOURCE USED BY THE TRANSLATOR

The Latin text on which OFr was based was one which preserved the epistolary nature of the text, (unlike Mir, to which it was closely related) although the incipit, which appears to have been freely translated, differs from that found in the extant P-Group texts. The text used was not directly descended from any of the other P-Group texts. Individual features are shared with each of them, and a clear picture can be established both of the relationships and of the state of the Latin text which lay before the translator.

OFr shared a common ancestor with Mir, in which the stadia of the ancestral text had been converted to leagues. In OFr distances are given only in leagues, with the exception of 6,2, where Mir gives only *stadia ix* and OFr also gives the Greek measurement, *ix estades*. This demonstrates conclusively that the two versions go back to a single source, in which this particular measurement was not converted. In all other instances, the same erroneous calculation has been used in both

texts to produce a figure for the leagues, again indicating that the conversions were derived from a single source. The stadia have been converted to leagues as if they were Roman miles, calculated on a basis of 3:2. In fact, there were 8 stadia to the Roman mile. Although the numerals are highly prone to corruption, there is sufficient similarity between the figures given in Mir and those of OFr to confirm that they are derived from the same source.

The beginning of OFr, *Premierement il i a vne isle* (2,1) appears to be a direct translation of Mir's *Colonia est initium*, for the translator rendered *colonia* by *isle* again in 3,2. Later in the text the word *terre* is used to translate *colonia*.

In the complicated account of the gold-digging ants both Mir and OFr make it clear that it is the young camels which are tied up (as an inducement to their mothers to return), whereas EP and Pit both read as if all the camels were left beyond the river. In the same section (12,13) the names given to the river in OFr (*gargalo*) and Mir (*gargulum*) are considerably closer to each other than to the forms given in the other P-Group texts. The names may represent a development away from the ancestral reading, just as the more logical sequence of events

may be the product of editorial interference, but in both cases the similarities between OFr and Mir point to their descent from a common ancestor, even if these features represent a fairly late stage in the development of the text.

Mir and OFr agree in naming the race of shore-dwellers *Catini* or *Catins* (23,2). EP's description of them as *cativa* may be closer to the original intention of the *Letter*¹. Hilka reads OFr as *catius*, demonstrating how easily this particular change could have occurred. (Unfortunately we do not have a reading from Pit on this point.) If the reading in OFr and Mir is a modification, it probably points to common descent, although in this case it is possible that a similar development took place independently in both texts.

In the case of the corocotta, however, there is room for no such doubt. Both Mir and OFr add, after the description of the hyaena-like monster (or corocotta - no name is given) which lures men to their deaths by imitating voices, a detail taken from the traditional description of the crocodile. The creature is said to weep over the heads of its victims after devouring them. (This had been further modified

1. This point is discussed at length in the Commentary on §23.

in the Latin source of OFr by a change from *plorant* to *orant* or *implorant*, so that instead of weeping they *se metent en orisons sur les testes* (29,13), but the origins of this detail in the crocodile story are clear.) This anomalous accretion was probably drawn from a Bestiary-type account of the crocodile, perhaps found in a work with an alphabetical arrangement, so that *corocotta* and *crocodillus* appeared together. It is possible that it was taken from a work in which the two had already become confused¹. What is highly improbable, however, is that this same inappropriate addition could have been made independently in two separate versions of the text.

Several of the points at which the source of OFr agreed with Mir against the other versions are thus seen to involve late developments in the transmission of the *Letter*, not features which could have been inherited from the archetype. This indicates that the sources of OFr and Mir were transmitted together until a fairly late stage in the development of the

1. An example of this type of development is found in the passage on the chameleon in Mir-B (f.49) which forms part of a series taken from Isidore:

Est & in india camelon unum colorem non habens. sed diuersa uarietate consparsus ut pardus. (Isidore: Dictus autem ita ... hulus chamaeleontis corpusculum ad colores quos uidet facillima conversione variatur, quod aliorum
ctd.

text and certainly after the sources of Pit and EP had branched off.

Unlike the features shared with Mir, those which OFr shares exclusively with Pit are, on the whole, proven to be characteristics of an early stage of the text by support from the readings of F-Group.

The garbled references to Athens and Alexander in 3,7-11 are retained in OFr. The accusative *Athenas*, which fulfils no structural function in the surviving fragment of the Latin text, was present in the translator's source and has been taken as directional, echoing *dusques a* from 3,5. The unexplained *Alexandri Magni* of Pit (which in Mir has been transformed into a subject) is rendered by an oblique case in OFr. The source of the translation probably had a reading closely similar to that of Pit. The characteristic polishing and smoothing which the translator gives to almost every other crux is singularly lacking here, probably because he was unable to make any sense at all of the Latin text before him.

ctd. animalium non est ita ad conversionem facillis corpulentia.

19. Cameleopardus dictus, quod dum sit) ut pardus id est
albis maculis super aspersus. collo equo similis.
pedibus bubalis. capite tamen camelo est similis.
(Isidore, *Etymologiae*, XII,11,18-19.)

There are also several other instances in which OFr, Pit and F-Group preserve the ancestral reading at points where Mir and EP show divergence or loss. The comparison of the 'little beasts' of §5 to monkeys (*quasi simiae; ossi que singes*) is found only in Pit and OFr in P-Group, although it is present in all F-Group texts. In 13,1, where Pit and OFr agree in referring to routes (*vias; isles .v voies*) they are again supported by F-Group although none of these texts makes it clear which routes are intended. Mir and EP both show emendations which are intelligent in the context, referring back to the doubly-named river of §12. OFr was evidently also uncertain about the reading *voies*, for it offers an alternative, *isles*, a reference to the setting of the previous section.

Further instances of agreement between OFr and Pit, although lacking the support from F-Group which identifies those listed above as early features, show that the source of the translation shared other readings with Pit. The explanation of the venomous hens in 4,6, previously believed to have been an embellishment by the OFr translator, *car eles sont enuenimees*, is seen to be a direct translation of *quia veneficae sunt*, as in Pit. A similar reading in Mir, now no longer present, probably lay behind the

explanation *þæt syndon ungefrægaliou liblac* which appears in both copies of OE.

The source of the river Brixo (*Brizont*) is said in 13,3-4 to be unknown, like that of the Nile, according to OFr, Pit and LM. The opinion is expressed later in the same section by the first two of these versions that the Brixo is a tributary of the Nile. (F-Group reverses this to produce a description which is patently inaccurate, for the Nile delta was world-famous, and which Gervase has attempted to obscure by elaborations on the fertility imparted by the Nile.)

The difficult word *partikes*, which the translator used in 14,4 to describe the face of the stork man, is closer to Pit's *parthica* than to either LM's *bipertita* or Mir's elaboration, presumably originating in a gloss, *duas in uno habentes facies*.

Although the points of agreement between OFr and EP are less striking than is the case with the other two texts, they raise the possibility that the Latin source of OFr included some readings which were closer to EP than to any other extant text.

The self-evident explanation for the change in colour effected in the pepper *propter flamma*;

pour le fu (8,11) is found only in these two texts in P-Group, although FL and FR both read *propter flamma*. The statement may be an ancestral feature, although it is so obvious an explanation that it could easily have been added in some of the texts which include it.

EP and OFr agree in moving the last phrase of the section on the dragons (19,5) to the beginning of the following section. In OFr this may have arisen because of the reversal of clauses in the preceding sentence, which separated the adverbial *trans flumen* (Mir) from the verb it modifies.

The reference to the hospitable king is misunderstood in OFr (23,6), and rendered as *Et la est uns hospitaus*. The use of the singular indicates a Latin source similar to EP's *rex hospitalis* rather than Mir's plural *reges sunt hospitales*, which is unsatisfactory in the context for it produces a veritable plethora of kings, with a definite but unclear hierarchy.

There is one striking instance of agreement between OFr and LM. It is found in 17,3, where the mysterious *lertices* (Mir) or *lerueis* (Pit) are designated *c(a)lestices* in both OFr and LM. This agreement poses problems in the stemma, for a reading

found in Pit and Mir usually comes closest to the ancestral text, and yet Mir and OFr belong to a branch of transmission which appears to have been different from the one to which the text used by the compiler of LM belonged. Several hypotheses can be suggested. Pit and Mir may show independent loss of *ce-*, a syllable which appears prone to loss in words such as *cynocephali*. LM may have drawn this particular passage from a different source from that which provided the rest of the passages it drew from the *Letter*. The transmission of this particular section may be abnormal because it is clearly a late addition to the text, appearing in neither F-Group nor EP.

There is one point, after the text of Pit ceases, at which a problematic reading in Mir is elucidated only by the version given in OFr. The description of the centaur in §25 has been the subject of considerable discussion¹, because the illustrations in T and V seem to agree more closely with the readings of EP than those of Mir. The pictures show a traditional centaur with cloven hooves; Mir describes a creature with bird-like legs (*longis pedibus ut aves. lena voce.*) OFr demonstrates clearly that

1. e.g. K. Sisam, 'Compilation of the *Beowulf* MS', *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, Oxford, 1953, p.78.

it was not the text of EP (*pedes habent ut equus*, 25,7) which lay before the illustrator, but a version very close in wording to that of Mir, with the inclusion of a numeral after *pedibus*. By a minor emendation, the addition of a numeral (OFr reads *xii*) Mir is made to correspond exactly both with the reading of OFr and with the creature depicted in the illustrations:

*qui ont fourme domme iusques a le boutine et
apres fourme dasne sauuage. Il ont .xii. pies
de lonc. et souef vois comme oisel. (25,5-7 OFr)*

*qui usque ad umbilicum hominis speciem habent.
reliquo corpore onagro similes longis pedibus xii.
ut aves lena voce. (25,5-7 Mir)*

which have the appearance of a man down to the navel; the rest of their bodies are like the wild ass. They are twelve feet long and have soft voices like birds.

It is clear that the Latin text which provided the translator with his copy belonged to the same branch of textual transmission as Mir, with which it shared a common ancestor. This common ancestor included the conversion of stadia to leagues and the accretion from the crocodile legend into the account of the corocotta, details which appear only in these two versions. In several respects the text used by the translator was a more faithful representation of the archetype than Mir is; it preserved the epistolary format and gave several

readings which are either shown by agreement with Pit and/or F-Group to be correctly preserved ancestral readings or which can be used to elucidate cruces in Mir, thus demonstrating their precedence. In the part of the text which can be compared with Pit (§§1-22) the source of the OFr translation does not appear to have had any readings which are closer to the archetype than those of Pit, except in cases where both Mir and OFr contain such readings. This demonstrates that readings inherited from the ancestral text were received via the common ancestor shared with Mir.

TECHNIQUE AND SKILL OF THE TRANSLATOR

The translator brought to his work a sensitivity and an intuitive approach which resulted in a far smoother and more readable version than that produced by the OE translator. His intelligent treatment of cruces meant that he passed on far fewer difficult passages than he received, although his solution was inevitably not always the historically correct one. Where he was unable to restore the text of the ancestral version, he at least restored an intelligible text.

At the very beginning, immediately after the opening lines, he received a text which appears to have had the same difficult reading as Mir:

Colonia est initium ab antimolima ...

His ingenious solution was to disregard *ab* and to place *colonia* (glossed *isle* here as in 3,2) in apposition to *antimolima*:

*Premierement il i a vne isle qui a non
atymolimus.*

The reading produced does not conform to the intention of the earliest writer, who was describing a place which was a certain distance from *antimolima*, but it overcomes the problem posed by the absence of a second place name in Mir.

In Mir, two radically different names are given to the river associated with the gold-digging ants - *Capi* (12,1) and *Gorgoneus* (12,2) or *gargulum* (12,13). The same situation existed in the text on which OFr was based. Great care has been taken to remove the contradiction, not only in reducing the names in the first two lines of the section but also in removing conflict with the later instance. This implies that the text was read through carefully before being translated. (It is conceivable that some or all of these modifications were made at a different stage, either in copying the Latin text or after translation, but a translator's involvement with the form of expression of his text is far greater than that of a scribe who merely copies, so these

thoughtful changes which in some instances indicate careful study of an extensive portion of text are most likely to have been introduced at the time of translation.) The names have been rationalised in the following way: the first name, *Cabes*, has been reassigned to the end of the previous section, where it appears as the name of the river in which the ichthiophagoi catch their fish - a logical development, but one for which there is no support from any of the Latin texts. The second name, *gorgoneus* 12,2 in Mir and *Gurgarus* in Pit, is omitted. This double solution to the problem of conflict leaves the beginning of the passage with no name for the river. The third name is retained, and introduced as if no river had up till now been mentioned:

oultre une riviere. le quele a non gargalo
translates and amplifies the Latin

trans flumen gargulum (12,13).

In the same section, the inherited text, in common with all three P-Group Latin texts, neglected to say that the men, after tying up the foals, crossed the river with the female camels; the next stage in the account as given is the loading of the female camels with gold. The translator has been very careful to cover every step in the process; crossing the river, loading the gold, crossing back.

(Italics are used for those details for which there is no support from any of the P-Group Latin texts):

*Et metent les meres outre le riviere en le terre
ou li ors est. et les karkent de chel or. Et
eles par lamour queles ont a leur petis cameus
passent le riviere pour aler a aus atout chel or.
et li camel masle demeurent avec les hommes. (12,15-17)*

Only in the final detail has the translator made a wrong assumption. As is revealed later, and as the OE translator added here, the men escape with the female camels, leaving the males as bait to delay the ants.

The monstrous women of §22 for historical reasons acquired two sets of teeth. The first set, in 22,3 are like those of boars (*dens de saingler*), whereas the second, in 22,9 are like asses' (*dentes asinorum*, EP). Several different ways of resolving this conflict have been attempted in the different texts, which are discussed in the Commentary. The method adopted by the OFr translator was to retain the asses, but to change the teeth for an attribute of the ass which is perhaps even better remembered in legend, its ears: *et oreilles dasne*.

The 110 kings in §27, which in Mir are described as subservient to (*sub*) and in EP as dwelling among (*in*) a race of barbarians (27,2)

have been transformed into the rulers of that race, with *sub* rendered as *sur*, and, just to make the relationship quite clear, *qui les gouvernent* added.

Some of the changes made by the translator seem to be influenced by the traditions and attitudes of his time. The direct form of address used in the epistolary incipit is almost certainly the translator's work. The other P-Group texts which retain the epistolary format do not introduce in the first and second persons and FL, which does, uses a highly rhetorical manner. OFr's introduction neither implies subservience nor a long-standing correspondance; it sums up the subject matter of the *Letter* succinctly and without the lengthy list used in the P-Group Latin texts:

*Haus empereres. Je vous senefiie aucunes
coses qui sont merueilleuses en Inde.*

The misunderstanding of the gift of women to visitors (23,10-11) seems to have its roots in Christian ideas of morality. The archetype of P-Group (although probably not the original *Letter*) described a race of men who were long-lived and so generous that they gave visitors women to take away with them (*cum mulieribus eos remittunt*). The translator misunderstood this, taking *cum* as causal and *remittunt* as conditional upon *cum mulieribus*,

hence:

les renuoient sil ont femmes.

This in itself probably did not seem to justify the description *benigne* (23,9), so a further instance of their thoughtfulness towards the traveller was added by the translator:

il leur baillent conduit.

Some of the additions made by the translator show an intuitive response to the text. In 18,6 the headless men (*epiphongos*) are described, uniquely in OFr, as:

et ressanlent as ypotames.

The remarkable thing about this assertion is that the true hippopotami, described in §15, are given the name *yppofogi* (like *epiphongos*, derived from Greek ἵπποφύγος) in the F-Group texts. Nowhere else in OFr is there any sign that the translator was aware of different versions of the text, and it is likely that this remark was made purely on the basis of the similarity of the names, but the coincidence is strange.

In the description of the gem-producing trees (24,1-2) the translator introduces a gentle pun on the dual meaning of *gemmes* as 'bud' and 'precious stone'. The pun, which would be equally valid in Latin, which has the same dual function for

gemma, is not present in the Latin texts which refer not to *gemmae* but to *lapides pretiosi*. The pun is further extended in OFr by the introduction of a name for the trees, *gemmer*, which is neither found in the Latin nor attested elsewhere as a tree name.

In several of the instances discussed above, it is interesting to note that as well as reinterpreting the Latin text the translator has introduced additional phrases to support his innovation, as if he lacked the confidence to reword the text without justifying it. One type of modification he was happy to make with no such support was the rearrangement of phrases, usually to prevent the repetitive introducing of section after section in an identical manner. He rearranges freely, especially in the first third of the text. Nearly all such instances are at the beginning of sections: 3,1; 4,1-4; 5,3-5; 6,3-4; 9,1-2; 19,3-4; 23,9; 25,1-3. Only in one case does this have a major effect on the meaning of the passage. §8 describes the cultivation of pepper and its harvesting in *occulto ad mare rubrum* (8,2 Mir). The P-Group Latin texts begin the following section by referring to *persiam civitatem ibi nascitur piper*. §8 had begun with a reference to Babylon, and OFr, by reversing two small phrases at the beginning of §9, neatly locates the pepper in Babylon:

*Et de babilone ou li poiures naist iusques a
Perse la chite* (9,1-2 OFr)

There are very few instances of poor or incomprehensible readings in OFr. There are some minor misreadings, mainly due to errors in copying after translation, which have been considered above. The very corrupt passage on Athens and Alexander was left as it stood by the translator, for he was obviously unable to make any sense of it. In 3,11 he split the numeral, leaving *xxxxiii liues* as the distance, and the half mile (part of the original figure for leagues and present in Mir) has been attached to the beginning of the following section. Half miles presented a problem to the translator. For some reason he never included them as part of the distance in leagues, omitting half miles in 9,3; 27,8, and a whole mile in 28,4. This may be due to incompatibility between the Roman mile and the Gallic system of measurement.

The translator is revealed as a competent writer who did not allow respect for his source to force him into a stilted and unreadable style. He felt competent to modify his source material where it seemed unsatisfactory, but frequently inserted additional justification for such action. His work reads easily and presents a clear rendering

of his source.

THE DIALECT OF OFr

Phonological analysis of the OFr translation reveals that the dominant dialect is Picard, with very few intrusive forms from other dialects of Old French. If the evidence of the handful of scribal errors is taken as indicating that the text was copied at least once after translation, it is of interest to note that there is no apparent conflict between the language of the translation and that of the copyist.

Gossen, in his definitive study of the Picard dialect¹, lists 82 traits which identify Picard charters. Just over half of these features (46 in all) can be compared with readings in this translation, but this half includes nearly all the major phonetic points. Evidence from charters is more abundant for some areas than for others; in many instances the material available for comparison is so limited that not more than 22 specific features can be compared. Gossen, who cites material ranging from the eleventh century to the fifteenth, concentrates on localisation rather than dating so the comparison is of more use in

1. C.T. Gossen, *Grammaire de l'Ancien Picard*, Paris, 1970.

identifying an area with which the translation is likely to have been associated than in pinpointing the date at which the translation was made. The dialectal traits which show variation between the different areas of Picard remain fairly constant throughout the period under consideration in Gossen, and the localisation based on the following analysis, limited though it is by a lack of material for comparison both within the text and in charters from certain areas, is probably reasonably accurate in defining the area within which the transmission of the translation is most likely to have occurred. This area is indicated on the map showing percentage agreement between our text and the charters of different centres. The area pinpointed is that surrounding Beauvais and centring on Selincourt, Doullens and Amiens. It is interesting to note that another MS of the *Letter* has associations with the same area; the sole surviving MS of FL was in Beauvais Cathedral Chapter Library until it passed to the Château of Troussures. Yet another MS which contained extracts from the *Letter* was at Tournai, to the north of the Picard-speaking area, until its destruction during the bombardment in 1940¹.

1. See pp 311-312.

Analysis of Significant Dialect Features

(Note: Paragraph numbering and layout follow Gossen in order to facilitate comparison. There is no comparable material in the text for the following sections of Gossen's study: 4; 14; 17; 18; 21; 22; 23; 24; 27; 31; 35; 36; 39; 40; 44; 49; 53; 60; 62; 64; 65; 67-82.)

Vowels

1. Stressed free A gives *e*. *mer*, 4,2 etc; *chite*, 3,4 etc; *apeles*, 4,1. Picard form *ei* is not present.
2. AVU gives *au*. *caus*, 27,5. Southern Picard form *eu* is not found.
3. *ar* replaces historic *er*. *markaande*, 3,1; *darraine*, 8,1. The back-formation, common in Picard, is not present: *barbes*, 11,4.
5. -ALIS gives -*es*. *tes*, 4,3.
6. A+yod gives *ai* which is sporadically monophthongised to *a*. Confusion between *ai* and *a* is evident in this text: *brehagne*, 9,4 against *montaigne*, 20,3.
7. -ATICU gives -*age*. *sauuage*, 25,6; *lignago*, 29,9. This appears as -*aige* in Northern Picard.
8. yod+ATA gives *ie*. *edefiie*, 32,5.
9. -EUS gives -*iu*. *liues*, 2,3 etc. (**logua*).

10. Open E in free position gives *ie*. *lieuant*, 30,10.
This develops into *i* occasionally in Picard and frequently in neighbouring dialects.
11. Open E in blocked position gives *e*. *pres*, 3,11;
apelas, 4,1; *tastes*, 5,6; *bestes*, 5,1; *vestues*,
21,4. Neighbouring dialects and some areas of
Picard show *ie*.
12. -ELLUS; -ELLOS give -*iaus*. *chiaus*, 16,6;
piaus, 21,4; *biaus*, 22,7; *kauiaus*, 22,4;
oisiaus, 34,4.
ILLOS gives *aus*, 12,16.
13. Open E+yod gives *i*. *lis*, 33,4 (*lectus*). This
characteristic distinguishes Picard from dialects to
the North and East but not from Francien.
15. Open E+nasal+consonant are confused with historic
-an. *menguent*, 11,7; *ensi*, 12,11; *tampa* 12,19;
anemis, 16,5. (*en* and *an* are frequently kept
distinct in Picard.)
16. Closed E in free position: E, I give *oi*.
prenderoit, 4,5; *arderoit*, 4,6.
19. Closed E+nasal gives *ain-e*. *alainnes*, 10,5;
saingler, 22,3.
20. -ILIUS gives -*ius*. *chius*, 27,4.

25. *loeu* becomes *lieus*, 4,1 (not *liu* as in some areas of Picard).
focu becomes *fu*, 8,9.
oculos becomes *iax*, 18,3. (*oculi* is glossed by *vis* in 31,3. This form may be due to scribal mutation of *ius*, a theoretically possible Picard form although unattested.)
26. Closed 0 in free position gives *eu*. *keurent*, 12,18; *coulour*. 12,6; *heure*, 12,9.
super appears as *sur*, 8,2. (Certain areas of Picard have the forms *sor*, *sour* and *seur*.)
28. Closed 0+nasal gives *o*. *couronne*, 34,7. (There is one possible example of the common Picard development to *ou* in Hilka's reading *doume*, 25,5; I prefer *domme*.)
29. A in initial syllable is conserved after a velar. *kauiaus*, 22,4.
30. E in hiatus after loss of consonant gives *e*. *meisme*, 19,1. (In North and East Picard this is further reduced to *misme*.) (**met ipsum*)
32. e+yod gives *i*. *nient*, 18,2. (**neo+ente*, possibly influenced by *nego*.) There are no examples of verbs in -ECARE. Verbs in -ICARE give *-ier*. *seenefie*, 1,2; *edefie*, 32,5.

33. e, o+s give *i*. *orisons*, 29,13 (-ATIONE to -*eison* to -*ison*). The Francien form *poissons* is present (11,7) and not the forms *pisson* and *pisohon* which occur in Northern Picard.
34. e+l, n gives *e*. *orelles*, 30,4. The characteristic Picard development is to *i*, (*orille*).
37. There is dissimilation of *i* to *e* in *edefiie*, 32,5 and *senefiie*, 1,2. Normal sound changes do not necessarily apply in learned words of this type.

Consonants

38. c+e/i, c+yod, t+yod after consonant give *ch*.
chele, 3,2; *ches*, 4,5; *chiaus*, 16,6;
commenchemens, 13,4; *ochist*, 22,12; *habundanche*, 8,7.

c occurs in one instance where *ch* would be expected: *cendre*, 34,11.

The place name which appears in Mir as *Licothea* and in Pit as *Liconthea* shows this same development: *lochee* v *iochee*, 13,2 (although this can be read as *lothee* v *iothee*).

40. t+s in final position gives -s. *nus*, 14,5; *serpens* (acc.pl.) 6,5. (-z as an inflected ending spread from the South after the middle of the thirteenth century.)

41. c+a gives k, c+au gives ko. *karkent*, 12,15;

candelles, 6,9; *kamel*, 22,8 (beside more frequent *camel*, 12,17); *coses*, 1,2.

c+a in free position gives ka (the development of a to e is not found): *kauiaus*, 22,4. *kien*, 10,4 shows the a to e to ie development of Francien without the palatalisation of the velar.

c+a in final position (after weakening of atonic final a) gives ke. *blankes*, 22,7; *boukes*, 18,3; *rike*, 10,6.

Palatalisation of the velar is found only in *chascun*, 29,8 and *char*, 23,4. (Gossen's analysis of the position in present-day Picard reveals that *char* is the only word to show a palatal consistently in both the regions he investigated.)

42. G (of Latin origin)+a gives g, for which the graphs g and gu are used. *gambes*, 16,2; *gelines*, 4,3; *guelines*, 4,5; *longues*, 16,2.

43. Intervocalic -cw- gives -u-. *iaue*, 13,8 (*ewo* is found in North and East Picard).

45. -ATICU gives -age. *sauuage*, 25,6; *visages*, 14,4; *langages*, 29,6; *lignage*, 29,9. (Picard frequently has -ache alongside -age.)

46. -ATU, -ITU, -UTU, -ATE, -UTE do not retain final -t. *apeles*, 4,1; *edefiie*, 32,5; *repus*, 8,2; *vaosu*, 34,9; *chite*, *chites*, 3,3; 3,4; *benigneta*, 23,13; *nus*, 14,5. (Retention in -ut of -t is common in charters from all centres except Compiègne; retention in -et and -it are restricted to the North and East. This feature is generally more common in charters than in Picard literary texts.)
47. Prosthetic *e* develops before initial *st-*, *sp-*. *estature*, 12,3; *espauls*, 14,6.
48. *s*+vowel is not palatalised in *poissons*, 11,7; *sieuent*, 15,7.
50. *s*+consonant is retained in medial position. *masles*, 12,17; *dasne*, 22,9. (A development of this *s*, by the thirteenth century purely orthographic and no longer representing the pronunciation, to *r* is occasionally found in Picard.)
51. Germanic *w* is retained in initial position. *wardent*, 8,8.
52. -ABILE gives -aule. *sanlaule*, 28,1.
(Literary texts often fail to show this Picard trait.)
54. *u* in hiatus fails to develop *w*. *souef*, 25,7; *iaue*, 13,8; *keues*, 22,5. (*w* develops in North-Eastern Picard and neighbouring dialects).

55. Assimilation of *-rl-* to *-ll-* is not present.
parle, 16,1 (assimilation appears sporadically
in Picard texts).
56. There is no dissimilation of *r* in *marbres*, 22,7;
arbre, 28,1.
57. Metathesis of *-er-* to *-re-* and vice-versa is
present only in one example of doubtful validity:
arderoit, 4,6 could be based on either *ardre* or
ardeir. Futures and conditionals of this type
are found widely outside Picard.
58. Loss of *l* in *a+l+cons* appears in *tes*, 4,3; *basmec*,
28,2; vocalisation of *l* is seen in *sauuage*,
25,6.
59. *l+yod* in final position is not modified to *-l*.
soleil, 27,4 (the characteristic Picard form is
solel).
61. There is no denasalisation in the group *m+l*.
rassanlent, 18,6; *sanlaule*, 28,1; *il sanle*,
12,22. The groups *l+r* and *n+r* are not
represented in the text.

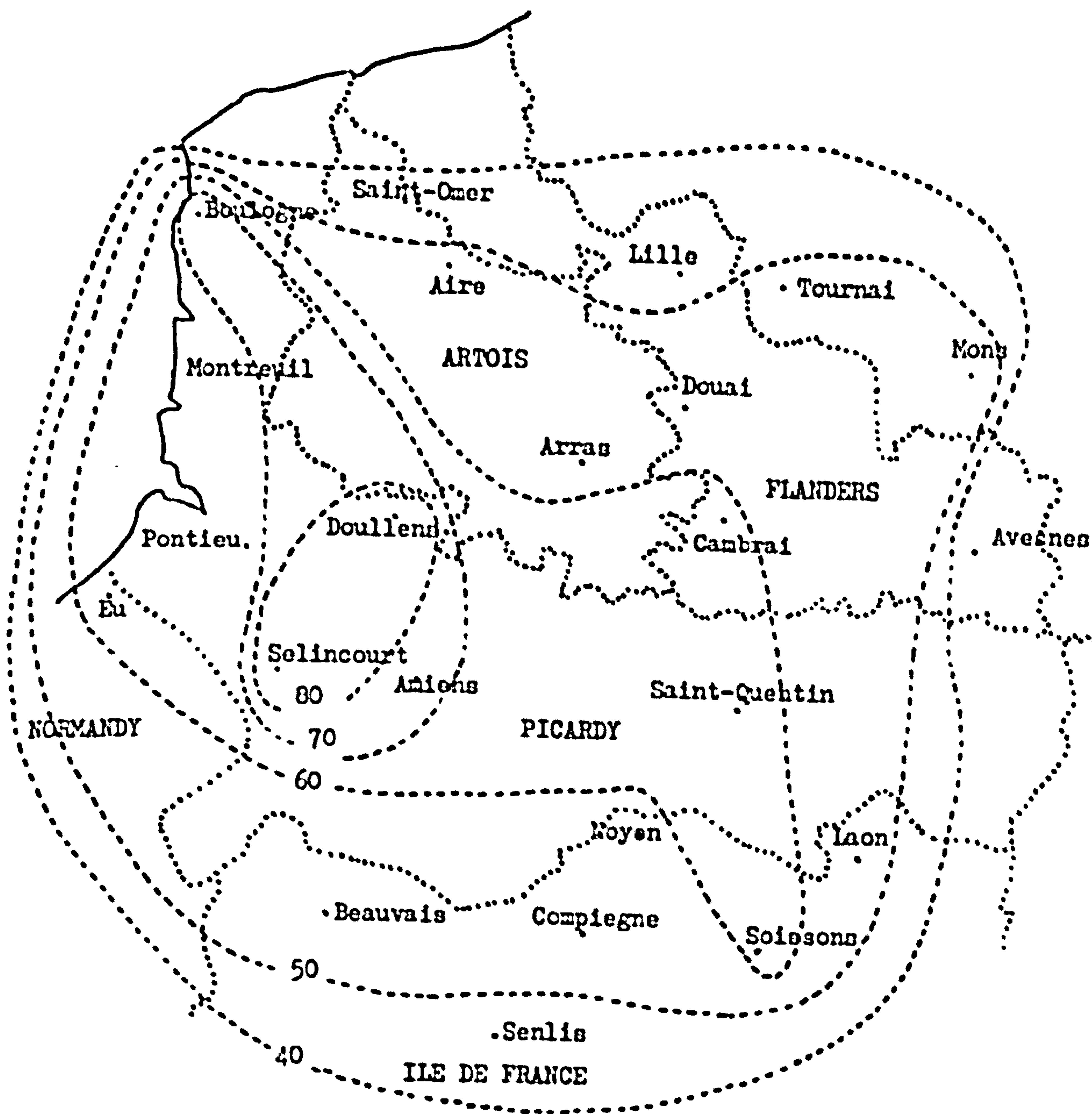
Morphology

63. The feminine definite article appears as *la*
in both the nominative and accusative, with two
instances of *la* in the accusative (3,11;
9,1) less than half the number of instances
of *le*. This is the normal situation in Picard

texts.) The analogical nominative *li* is not present.

66. Third person singular of the possessive adjective is *sen*, 29,8.

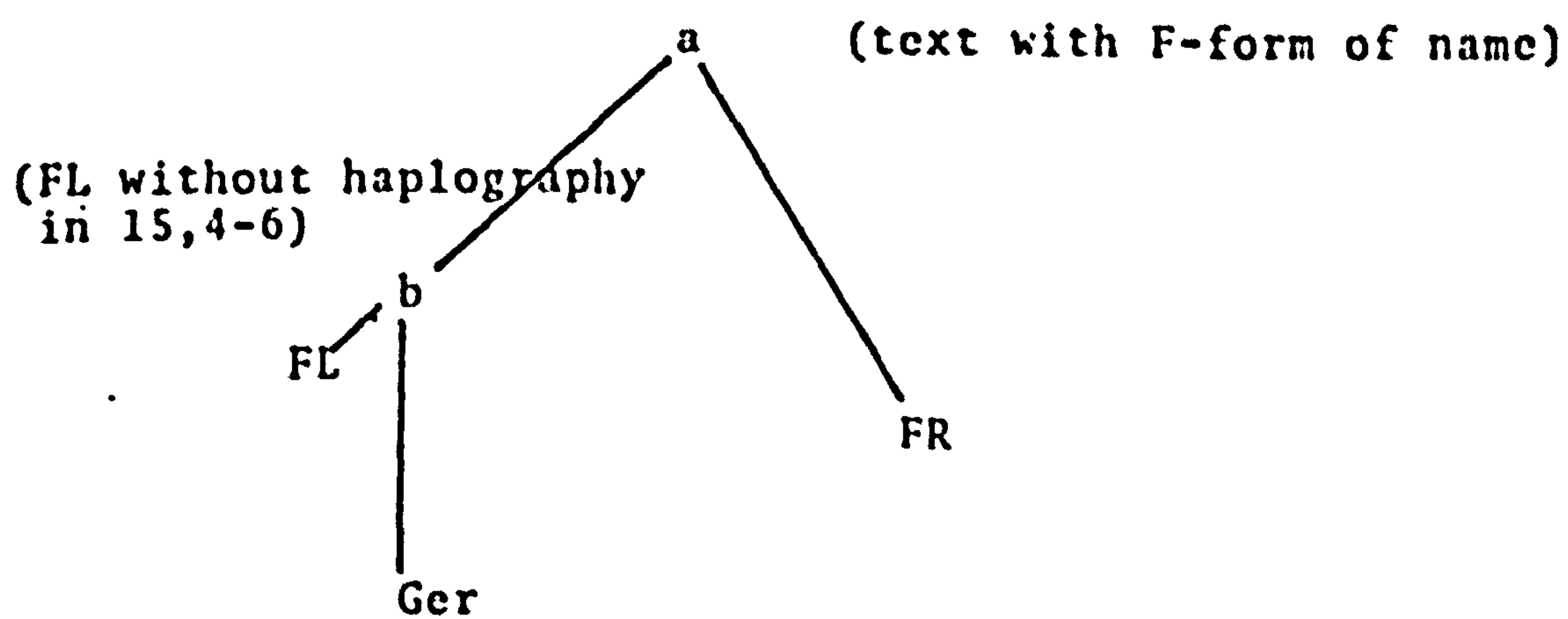
The dialect of OFr



The lines indicate the percentage agreement in dialect traits between OFr and localised charters cited by Gossen.

SECTION 4

F-GROUP TEXTS



FERMES LETTER

THE MANUSCRIPT

Paris MS Bibliothèque Nationale nouv. acq. lat. 1065¹ is a codex of 95 ff., measuring 9½" x 6½", in single column with 29 lines to the page. There is extensive staining by damp. (See plate 6.)

Contents: f.1 *Juliani Pomerii Libri tres de vita contemplativa*

89^v *Incipit dictus S. Hieronimi presbiteri*
(i.e. Theodosius Archidiaconus, *de Situ Terrae Sanctae*)

92^v *Fermes divo Adriano salutem*

Dating: The MS is in a minuscule hand of the ninth or tenth century. A corrector (FLCor) worked extensively on the Theodosius and the first 20 sections of FL in the twelfth or thirteenth century.

Provenance: The script has no strongly localising characteristics. The first recorded owner of the MS

1. Bibliothèque Nationale, *Nouvelles Acquisitions du Département des Manuscrits, 1913-1914*, ed. H. Omont, Paris, 1915, p.17.

The text of FL was first published by Omont, 'Lettre à l'Empereur Adrien sur les Merveilles de l'Asie', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 74, 1913, pp.507-515.

was Beauvais Cathedral Chapter Library, and it was while at Beauvais that the MS was damaged by damp and rebound. It later passed to the Château of Troussures and, early this century, to the Bibliothèque Nationale.

THE CORRECTOR OF *FERMES LETTER* (FLCor)

The twelfth or thirteenth century corrector who worked on the Theodosius text in this MS continued to add corrections up to section 20 of FL. In addition to alterations to the wording, he has improved the clarity of the MS in minor details, joining minims and occasionally turning α type *a*'s into a. He has marked the beginnings of sections 2, 6, 8 and 9 with a bold indicator, thus:



The corrector made 51 alterations to the text of FL, the majority of them dealing with minor grammatical points. Some, however, change a perfectly acceptable and comprehensible text, and it was in some of these changes that Faral saw work

*d'une ingéniosité et d'une élégance à faire
pâlir de dépit le plus sagace des philologues
modernes.¹*

1. E. Faral, 'Une Source Latine de l'Histoire d'Alexandre: La Lettre sur les Merveilles de l'Inde', *Romania*, 43, 1914, pp.199-215 and 353-370. (p.201)

This led him to suggest that the corrector had collated the MS against another copy of the same text. Our knowledge of other versions prompts us to ask further questions about the source of the corrections:

1. Could the corrector have been working from either Gervase or FR?
2. If not, do the corrections appear to represent an earlier version of FL, as attested by agreement with Gervase and/or FR?

The corrections are written in an extremely uniform hand, which seems to indicate that they were completed fairly close together in time. (A comparison of the corrections from this MS on plate 6 with the Gervase corrections on plate 8 which were quite obviously added over a long period of time illustrates this point.) The absence of corrections after section 20 also argues against the idea that the corrector worked on the text over a long period, emending items at random, for had he done so it is most unlikely that he would have left the last 16 sections untouched. Two possibilities present themselves: either his time or enthusiasm ran out, or the source of the corrections was defective. Whereas the latter possibility requires collation with another MS, the former by no means

precludes it.

There are corrections in sections 3, 9 and 20 where material is lacking in both FR and Gervase. A further 19 of the corrections appear in passages which have been rewritten by Gervase to such an extent that his text could not have suggested the emendations made by the corrector. 25 of the corrections could not have been made on the basis of comparison with FR; 19 of these are lacking in its text and the remaining 6 are in passages with a different construction or phrasing from FL. Thus it is clear that neither Gervase nor FR as they now stand could have provided the corrector with his material.

This leads us to consider whether the corrector could have been working from another copy of FL itself. An analysis of the corrections is necessary to reveal the types of correction made and whether the general tendency is towards readings supported by FR and/or Gervase (and thus possibly from a common source) or away from them.

Major Changes of Reading

A. Passages for which there is no support from either:

3,8 *Haec eadem arcymeda sunt ...* > *In haec ...*

3,10 *fluvius inmensus* > *Ibi est fluvius*

4,4 *abundant gallinnae* > *habundant ibi*

8,10 *homines propter industria sua sic colligunt* >
per industriam suam

(Here the sense and grammatical accuracy would have been satisfied by a simple change from ablative to accusative.)

9,1 *A Babilonia per Sidonia colonia stadia sunt ccc* >
per Sidoniam ad coloniam

B. Passages where the corrector moves away from the reading of other versions:

11,3 *nascuntur homines longi habentes barbas* (as FR) >
longas

('long', instead of qualifying 'men' as in the source - cf. P-Group, where their height is specified in feet - is applied to 'beards'.)

12,24 *quippe cum ad locum pervenerint* (as FR) >
qui

14,6 *nigre sure* (written *nigres aure*) (as FR and Ger)
> *nigre s(unt) aures*

C. Passages where the corrector moves towards the readings of FR:

12,13 *formice ... sunt enim velocissimi cursu* >
velocissime in cursu (as FR)

13,4 *Nilus enim Brisonem implet* > *Brisonem fluvium* (as FR)

and a less than perfect correction:

12,31 *et camelas feminas volanter transeunt* >
cum camelas feminis (FR *cum camelis feminis*)

D. Passages where the corrector moves towards the readings of Gervase:

3,3 *ac pree* > *ac capree* (Ger: *ac caprarum*)

3,4 *unice* > *tunice* (as Ger)

4,4 *gallinae quales et apud vos* > *nos* (as Ger)

4,5 *absque prendere voluerit* > *quas qui* (Ger: *qui eas*)

(All these passages are lacking in FR.)

E. Passage where both readings are supported by other texts:

5,4 *idemque et* (as FR) > *totidemque et* (as Ger)

Minor Changes (mainly grammatical)

A. Passages for which there is no support from Gervase or FR:

i. Corrector improving grammatical accuracy:

3,4 *unde et tunice ... vel ceteras res fiunt* >
cetere (*fio* 'to be made')

4,2 *hac regio* > *haec*

8,12 *incendunt ... fugient ... se mittunt* > *fugiunt*

8,14 *propter flamma* > *flamman*
(*propter* correctly takes the acc., but FR reads *qua propter* here)

11,1 *ducent ad aegyptum* > *ducens*

12,16 *fodiunt et proferent* > *proferunt*

12,29 *dum viderint formicae agminatim insequi* >
formicas

20,1 *Inter babylonia mons est* > *babyloniam*
(construction is faulty here, appearing to lack
the second place name. *Inter* can mean
'within', but here it is probably a corruption
of *in terra babiloniae*, as in Mir at this point.)

20,2 *natio si leonum* > *quasi*

ii. Corrector failing to improve ungrammatical readings:

12,15 *in ora* > *hora*
(*in* + abl. 'during'. The sense here requires
in + acc. 'up to' - FR *usque horam*)

12,17 *ab ipsis confitatis hominibus aufertur* >
ipsius confinitatis

14,7 *habentes ... nares longi* > *longe* (FR *nares*
longas)

B. Passages where the corrector moves away from the
readings of other versions:

6,8 *oculi lucent velut lucerna* (as FR, Ger) >
lucerne (cf. however P-Group where most
texts read *sicut lucerne*)

8,7 *hominem cum percusserint, occident* (as FR) >
occidunt

14,10 *fetum faciunt* (as Ger) > *fetus* (acc.pl.)

15,1 *Item que* (FR *Ibique*) > *item queque*

C. Passages where the corrector moves towards the
readings of both Gervase and FR:

3,12 *usque mesopotamia* > *mesopotamiam* (as FR, Ger)

8,5 *caraste* > *cacraste* (FR, Ger: *cerastes*)

10,6 *flamman inspirantibus* > *inspirantibus*
(FR, Ger: *spirantes*)

- 12,7 *colori* autem sunt nigrae > *colore* (as FR, Ger)
 12,10 aurumque custodiunt et *proferent* > *proferunt*
 (as FR, Ger)
 12,11 cum ... *animalem* viderint > *animalem* (as FR, Ger)
 12,17 *que* aurum > *quod* (as FR, Ger)

D. Passages where the corrector agrees with FR:

- 3,13 locus ... plus quam *locupletes* > *locuples* (as FR)
 12,11 formice ... *qui* > *que* (as FR)
 12,19 *auferetur* > *auferetur* (as FR)
 13,5 a quo effunditur *egypto* inrigata Nilo > *egyptus*
 (FR: *nilum quo eqyptum irrigatur*)
 15,2 bestiae *colores* similes equorum > *colores*
 (as FR; but cf. Ger *celeres ad instar equorum*)

E. Passages where the corrector agrees with Gervase:

- 3,5 Hinc euntibus ad *meridie* > *meridiem* (as Ger)
 4,1 Hic ad castellum ... est stadia ccc > Hinc
 (Ger: *Ex hinc*)
 4,5 *colores* similes > *colores* (as Ger)
 6,2 A seleucia autem *babylonia* pergentibus >
babyloniam (as Ger)
 10,4 *iube* equorum habentes > *iubas* (as Ger)

F. Passages where both readings are supported by the other F-Group texts:

- 5,2 sunt et humiles quasi *simii* (as in Ger) >
simie (as in FR)
 (Both readings are grammatically possible, the forms *simius* and *simia* are both found.)

10,1 *Seleucia* autem a parte dextra euntibus ad ...
(as in FR) > Seleucie (as in Ger)

Conclusions

It is clear that, although many of these emendations could have been made by a corrector simply seeking to improve the quality of the Latin, in some instances the corrector's agreement with another text is such as to be more than mere coincidence. This is particularly true of those instances where the original was either satisfactory (e.g. *apud vos*, 4,4; *Brisonem implet*, 13,3) or where it was obscure (e.g. *ac pree*, 3,3; *absque priedere*, 4,5). As has been mentioned, the corrector also worked on the Theodosius text which precedes this in the MS. It would, perhaps, be fanciful to imagine that the copy which provided Gervase with the text of *De Situ Terrae Sanctae* (*Otia Imperialia*, *Decisio* II, xxii) may have been connected with either the source of the corrections in FL or the source of the FL MS itself. It seems likely, however, that there was another copy of FL which supplemented the corrector's own emendations and provided many of his readings.

In the synoptic text in this edition I have selected the readings from FL which are best in the context. Where these are drawn from the

corrections they are italicised. Where both readings agree with other texts, both are shown. In the text given in Appendix 2A the original readings are used as the base, with the corrector's readings in footnotes.

THE TEXT OF *FERMES LETTER*

FL is the fullest surviving text of the *Letter of Pharasmanes*. It is also the text which most consistently maintains the epistolary format, both in the lengthy and detailed first and final paragraphs, in which the writer refers to previous correspondence and describes his method of collecting data, and by the use of first and second persons at strategic points in the body of the text¹.

FL includes five passages which are found neither in FR nor in Gervase's adaptation which was based on a different copy of FL. Three of these passages are part of the epistolary framework: §1 which forms the introduction and §35,14-16 and §36 which together make up the conclusion. This well-developed epistolary style, which in the other texts is greatly reduced or even lacking entirely, is almost certainly a feature retained from the original *Letter*

1. Second person: 4,4 *gallinae quales et apud vos*
26,3 *qui apud vos tritigides appellantur*

First person: 22,14 *cupivi ut aliquas caperem*
23,7 *nec numerum nec nomina scribere potuimus*

The use of the second person, implying direct communication with the audience, is more restricted in literature than the first person and is thus better evidence of the writer's sensitivity to his genre.

and not the work of a mediaeval editor who wished to improve the *Letter* as an example of the epistolographer's art. The messengers who delivered Hadrian's letter to Pharasmanes are given the Greek names *Asaorates* and *Monacrates* (1,3), an indication of the presence of this passage in the earliest (Greek or pseudo-Greek) stages of the text's development.

The other passages in FL which are present neither in FR nor in Gervase (§9 and §20,1-4) are both shown, by their presence in P-Group texts, to be inherited from the archetypal *Letter*. Both passages contain problematic readings which may have led to their omission in the other F-Group texts¹.

In addition to retaining the epistolary style, FL presents a more accurate geographical picture of the region described with a greater number of recognisable and geographically feasible place names than the other texts.

1. 9,1 *A babilonia per Sidonia colonia* (modified by FLCor to *per Sidoniam ad coloniam*) is best interpreted in conjunction with the P-Group reading *A babilonia usque Persidam* (Plt.)

20,1-4 The *natio si leonum* (changed to *natio quasi leonum* by FLCor) appears in Plt as *natio Tyrannorum* (20,4).

At the very beginning of the text proper, where Mir tells of a colony 500 stadia *ab Antimolima*¹ (a name unattested elsewhere) and Pit reads *ab Antepoli usque Serimium* (not a happy reading geographically, for *Antipolis* is modern Antibes), FL tells of the River *Dirus* which lies 190 stadia *a finibus Antiochiae*, well within the geographical area covered by the text.

In section 3 FL retains, albeit in garbled form, a list of place names for the information of travellers from Mesopotamia to Damascus. This is in keeping with the conception of this work as a compilation of data from travellers' accounts, intended for those who might visit or conquer the lands in question. The list is very corrupt and the names unrecognisable, but its presence seems quite appropriate to the *Letter* and it is therefore probably inherited from the earliest version².

Although FL is in many respects more faithful to the archetype than most other versions, the surviving copy shows a considerable degree of corruption, much of it in details of grammatical accuracy.

1. 2,1.

2. 3,14-17: *A sinistra vero euntibus civitates*^{sunt} *xii: klatho, Melenimo, Clcopatra, Termasia, Marmino, Maragdon, Fluvius, Casia, Possidonia, India, Anda, Eluchana.*

It is with these grammatical points that the corrector concerned himself, and the corrected version is usually better Latin, even though it at times moves away from the original meaning of the text as attested by other versions.

There are greater errors, some of which are unique to FL and some common to all texts of F-Group. In 13,7 the supposed Egyptian name for the Nile is omitted (P-Group texts give *Archoboleta*) and FL has the nonsensical reading:

*Hic Aegypti partem vicinam vocant, quod dicitur
Maram aquam.*

This corruption was probably present in the common ancestor of FL and FR, for FR has changed *Maram aquam* (unquestionably the ancestral reading, for it appears in almost identical form in five P-Group texts) into a more familiar name also connected with two rivers - *Mesopotamia*.

The hippopotami of S15 have been given the name *ypfogi*¹ in all F-Group texts, although some P-Group texts retain the correct name. In this same passage there is an error which is unique to FL, where instead of giving two dimensions for these animals (Ger: *longitudinem pedum tricenorum, vastitatem pedum duodena*) FL, by jumping from the first l. 15,10.

pedum to the second reduces the monsters to a mere 12 feet in length.

The description of the lakes of the Sun and Moon (thus EP and OE, FL has the unlikely reading *latera* 'sides, flanks') in 27,2-3 is similarly compressed and confused by haplography, but in this instance the error was already present in the copy of FL used by Gervase. The P-Group texts tell us of two lakes (*laci*) or places (*loci*), one of which belongs to the Sun, the other to the Moon. Each is hot at the time when its ruling heavenly body is visible and cold for the remaining 12 hours. In FL a section of this description has been omitted, leaving:

Ille Solis inter die calet, nocte fervercit.

'That of the Sun is hot by day and seethes at night.'

Unlike the P-Group texts, in which several layers of accretion and editorial modifications can be detected, FL gives us a text which appears to adhere closely to the content of the original *Letter* with no major deliberate modifications. The degree of error which we see in the uncorrected portions of this text may have been peculiar to this MS, for the text used by Gervase evidently did not share all the corruptions and the Corrector of FL appears to have been in possession of a better copy which provided the basis for most of his corrections.

costuac binae habentat. quas cu' alijs occideret uoluerat
 diligenter se munire debet. Est et alia regio que dicitur
 pelusia di stans ab abylonia stadia lxx. ubi seppenat
 nascuntur immensi atq; horridi et uenustissimi.
 habentat binae capiatae quatu' oculi lucet uia luceat;
 Nascuntur ibi et oia qd costuac habentat et forma ma
 xima. hae laxate et arbiae. Amant pulso pectus in cap
 tie est regio inculat ppa seppenat. Inq; locus nas
 cuntur seppenat cepelles costuac similiter habentat
 atq; homines cum pessus occidunt. Ibi nasci
 tur et uenustissimo pectus qd id seppenat custodiam
 quod sic ab hominibus colligitur et maceratur fuerit
 lucendum et de loco. et seppenat abigit fugam
 esse subacta maceratur. Quae ppter p pinguet
 erat nate maceratur albumet. Seleucia a pectus
 atq; eunq; ad mare pulchre sunt uenustes diuisiones.
 ibi nascuntur cuncta cepelles labat equat habentat.
 aclydissimi atq; immensi deinde flammis idiam
 atq; hinc non longe abest insula in qua nascuntur
 homines longi habentat bapbasusq; ad genua. qui
 appellatur indioptus pisces et ados nascuntur.
 Est et fluuius in eade insula nominat gartatus
 atq; hoc fluuium nascuntur formice myrmidones
 magnitudine cuculoru. habentat potestinos et cin
 atos quasi locuste moxq; denat habentat carui
 colos et uenustes. Amantq; fodiam et psetum
 de subactis adluat. Quae cu hominem et alqd
 animal conpescit atq; ados et ados.

de p
 a
 h
 g
 f
 g
 r
 u

FERAMEN REX (FR)

THE MANUSCRIPTS

Four MSS containing the previously unpublished¹ text *Feramen Rex ad Adrianum Imperatorum* have been discovered by the present editor:

- MC Monte Cassino, Codex Casinensis 391, ff.82^V-84^V.
C Cava, Codex Cavensis 3, ff.397-398.
M Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 19 (formerly A.16),
 ff.198^V-199.
P Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Anc. fonds lat.
 7418, ff.268-270^V.

Monte Cassino 391

Monte Cassino 391² is a MS of 88ff., all but the last four of which are in a Beneventan hand. It measures 6½" x 10½"; it is written in single column throughout (except 1^V) and has 28 lines to the page. The last 4 folios, which are in a slightly later, non-Beneventan hand, may be a later addition to the codex. The parchment binding is not original, because marginalia have been cut into on f.83.

1. A brief extract from C was published by J.B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, vol. 2, Paris 1884 (repr. Farnborough, 1967), p.647. I gave all these references to P. Gibb, who was able to use them in his doctoral thesis (Ph.D., Duke University, 1977).
2. M. Inguanez, *Codicum Casinensium Manuscriptorum Catalogus*, vol.2, Monte Cassino, 1928-33, p.257.

Pagination is marked in the MS instead of foliation, but I refer here to foliation, following normal practice.

Contents:	f.1 ^v	<i>Italia et in ea mira</i>
	2	<i>Solinus advento salutem ...</i> (<i>Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium</i> , Class I text ¹)
	82 ^v	<i>Feramen Rex ad Adrianum Imperatorem</i>
	84 ^v	<i>Explicit liber Solinus</i>
	85	Last folios of another copy of <i>Solinus, Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium</i> , Class II text ²)
	86	<i>Iulii solini collectio rerum</i> <i>memorabilium explicit</i> Verse <i>Tithia marmoreo</i> follows ³
	88 ^v	TO map

Dating: The main body of the MS is assigned by Lowe⁴ to the eleventh century on palaeographical grounds. The major criterion he uses in dating Beneventan hands is the short final *r* which was replaced by long final *r* during the first half of

1. C. Iulius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, ed. T. Mommsen, Berlin, 1895, pp.xl-xli; lx-lxi.

2. Solinus, ed. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p.xl.

3. Solinus, ed. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p.234.

4. E.A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*, Oxford, 1914, p.350.

the eleventh century in Monte Cassino and by the third quarter elsewhere. Short final *r* is used exclusively throughout this MS.

Provenance: The MS is likely always to have been at Monte Cassino.

Cava 3

Cava 3¹ contains 398ff. in a single Beneventan hand. It measures 6½" x 10½" and is written in single column with 29 lines to the page. Foliation is marked in a late hand at the top of the page and a different foliation is stamped at the foot of the page. Reference is made here to the handwritten foliation.

Contents: See comparative table².

The printed catalogue suggests that the MS, although the work of a single scribe, may have been written as two separate codices because some items in the early part of the MS, notably from the Bede texts,³ are repeated in the compilation (designated

1. D. Leo Mattei-Cerasoli, *Codices Cavenses descripti*, part I, Cava, 1935, pp.12-22.

2. See pp.235-239.

3. ff.1-96, Bede, *De Temporibus*; ff.137-150 and *passim*, excerpts from Bede's computistical writings.

Florilegium by the cataloguer) which occupies much of the latter portion of the MS.

Dating: The scribe uses long final *r*, not in use until the second half of the eleventh century outside Monte Cassino.

There is a marginal note on f.137 which reads:

Anni sunt in presenti DCCCCIIII

but as that date is patently too early it was probably copied from the source MS.

The so-called *Annales Cavenses* on ff.97-131^v consist of computistic tables of the years with marginal notes on historical events. Up to 1042 these notes are in the hand of the scribe, confirming the palaeographical evidence and pointing to a date for the MS of c.1050.

Provenance: The evidence for the provenance of this MS is found in these same *Annales Cavenses*¹, which are not present in the other two MSS which otherwise have largely identical contents (see comparative table). Although the name of these Annals has been supplied by modern editors, the marginal notes indicate strong links with Cava, a small Benedictine house near Salerno and Naples and some 150Km. south of Monte Cassino, the hub of the Beneventan world.

1. *Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*, ed. M. Morcaldi, vol. 5, Milan, 1878, Appendix, pp.21-91.

Up to 1038 no place names from this area appear in the notes, although local details are mentioned, such as the election of Radelchis *Princeps Beneventanus* in 882. From 1038 there is frequent mention of both Monte Cassino and Cava; during the eleventh century Monte Cassino is referred to 6 times, Cava 4, Naples and Salerno once each. From 1050 until 1364, when the marginal annotations cease, there are slightly more references to Cava than to other places. The large number of notes concerning Monte Cassino would be expected in any Beneventan MS of this nature, as events taking place there affected the whole area, but to the monks of Monte Cassino the Monastery of the Holy Trinity at Cava was just one among many daughter houses, and they would have had no reason to be especially interested in events there. The concentration of attention on Cava in these annals can thus be presumed to indicate that the MS was closely connected Cava at the period in question, that is the time during which it was written and the following century. The evidence for provenance from Cava is thus strong, if not overwhelming.

Madrid 19

Madrid 19 (formerly A16)¹ is a codex of 293ff., which all authorities agree in assigning to the twelfth century. The pages measure 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ " and are written in double column with 47 lines to the page. The binding is eighteenth century.

Contents: See comparative table². Millás Vallicrosa³ considers the codex to be the work of a single scribe, while Cordoliani⁴ claims to distinguish four different hands showing similarities of the type one would expect to find within a single scriptorium, and suggests that the MS was the product of four scribes working simultaneously.

Dating and provenance: There is no internal evidence on either dating or provenance. Two distinct theories have been put forward on the provenance of this MS. The first, suggesting localisation to Monte Cassino was first made by

1. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, *Inventario general de Manuscritos*, Vol. 1, 1953, pp.20-23.

2. See pp. 235-239.

3. J.M. Millás Vallicrosa, "Sobre el manuscrito 19 de la Biblioteca Nacional", *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y museos*, 67, 1959, pp.119-126.

4. A. Cordoliani, "Un manuscrit de comput ecclésiastique mal connu de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid", *Revista de Archivos, Bibliothecas y Museos*, 57, 1951, pp.7-35.

Winterfeld¹, because of the inclusion on f.48 of a

*martirlogium (sic) de presbiteri bede heroico
compositum metro. Et adverte prudens lector
quia hi versus quos obelo et chriono (i.e.
chrisimo) in capite pernotatos inveneris ab
erchenperto monacho monasterii sancti
benedicti de castro casino editi sunt.*²

This theory was accepted by Lowe³ and Jones⁴, neither of whom were able to consult the MS.

An alternative theory was first advanced by Burnam⁵ and later supported by Millás Vallicrosa⁶

1. P. von Winterfeld, "De Germanici Codici", *Festschrift Johannes Vahlen*, Berlin, 1900, pp.391-407.
2. Ulla Westerbergh, (*Beneventan Ninth Century Poetry*, Stockholm, 1957, *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia*, 4, pp.74-90) analyses the *Martyrologium Erchemperti* in Madrid 19. She concludes that it is an enlargement and adaptation of the metrical York Calendar (as in BL MS Cotton Vespasian Bv1) and that the additions reflect Southern Italian rite at the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century. The Calendar sometimes printed as Erchempert's from Monte Cassino MS 439, pp.278-82 is a later adaptation of that found in Madrid 19.
3. E.A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*, Oxford, 1914, p.71.
4. Bede, *Opera de Temporibus*, ed. C.W. Jones, Cambridge, Mass., 1943, p.160.
5. J.M. Burnam, "Recipes from Codex Matritiensis A16", *University of Cincinnati Studies*, Series 2, 8, 1912, part 1, pp.1-47. (Burnam would, however, see an Italian semi-uncial ancestor on palaeographical grounds.)
6. *loc. cit.*

and Cordoliani¹, favouring Catalonia as the area in which the MS was produced and Santa Maria de Ripoll as the most likely scriptorium.

The reasons leading to this conclusion are:

1. Hispanic symptoms in the vocabulary.
2. Contents include material drawn from Latin, Greek, Arabic and Syriac cultures, and Ripoll was one of the few places where such diversity could be found at the beginning of the twelfth century.
3. The recipes on ff.199ff. are from the same source as those in Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 490, for which a visigothic source has been postulated.
4. The Aratus illustrations are similar to those in Vatican MS Reg. Lat. 123, which Millás Vallicrosa² also assigns to Ripoll on grounds of content.

1. Hispanic symptoms in the vocabulary which are cited in the arguments for a Spanish source for both this MS and Lucca 490 are:

- a. prosthetic *h*, (often erased).
- b. confusion of *b* and *v*.
- c. dot to separate words or word combinations.

1. *loc.cit.*

2. J.M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Assaig d'història de les idees físiques, matemàtiques a la Catalunya medieval*, Barcelona, 1931, pp.233-237.

d. specific words: *coque* (*quoque*)
calentum (*caldum*)
helidium
heris
hiemps (*hiems*)
 use of *ipse* as an article
 wind names on f.87 of Madrid 19.

a. Prosthetic *h*, or its corollary, the removal of historical *h*, appears in MSS C, M and P of *Feramen*

Rex: orridi C, M, 6,6
orride M, 21,3
honagri (*onagri*) P, 7,1
ominibus (*hominibus*) C, 8,9
Harum (MC) *Arum* (C) *Arum* with *h* added (M)
Harum with *H* underdotted for deletion (P) 15,8.

b. Confusion of *b* and *v*, an early, rather than a dialect, characteristic, is found in all four MSS:

benatrices (*venatrices*) M, 21,6
bobis (MC, C) *bovis* (P)
bobis cor. to *bovis* (M) 22,5
bibit (all MSS) against *vivit* (FL) 33,8
bibat (MC) *vivat* (P) *vivat* (C, M, also FL)
 34,17.

This also appears in other texts in these MSS, e.g.:

iubante (C, f.2^v) *iuvante* (M, f.1^v; P, f.2).

c. In the text of FR there is no sign of the use of dots as anything but regular punctuation or components of abbreviations. The three most closely related MSS, C, M and P, have a high degree of agreement in both the placing of punctuation and the symbols employed.

d. Of the specific words cited, none is present in our text. However, the form *columpnarum* appears in P 19,4. *Hiemps* is found in C in other texts (91^V, 92 etc.). *Ipse* is found only in those contexts in which it appears in FL.

2. The comparative table of contents demonstrates the remarkable similarity between M and C, the latter a Beneventan MS, certainly written in Italy and probably at Cava in about 1050. Any arguments on the provenance of M which are based on the assumption that this collection of texts was first assembled in the early twelfth century are therefore founded on a false premise. As I shall demonstrate, M is neither a descendent of C nor an ancestor of P, but shares a common source with both. The *terminus ante quem* for this source MS and for the compilation of the main body of the literary content of these three codices cannot therefore be later than the middle of the eleventh century, the date assigned to C.

3. The recipes on ff.199ff. and in Lucca 490 have been studied in detail by Johnson¹, who examined Burnam's² claims for a Visigothic source for the Lucca MS. He concludes that as far as the alchemical material is concerned it is unwise to emphasize the influence of Spain. In his search for related MSS he discovered none of undisputed Spanish origin. The palaeographic evidence does, however, show some Spanish influence.

4. The Aratus is one of the few texts which does not appear in either C or P, thus indicating that it was introduced late into the collection of works preserved in these codices. If the Vatican copy is indeed connected with Ripoll (and certain of the scholars who have examined these questions seem concerned to demonstrate Spanish provenance for reasons not wholly connected with the pursuit of factual knowledge), then this could indicate some connection with Ripoll shortly before or at the time of transmission of M.

1. R.P. Johnson, *Compositiones variae from Codex 490, Biblioteca Capitolare, Lucca, Italy: an introductory study*, (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, vol. 23, no. 3), 1939.

2. J.M.Burnam, *A Classical Technology (Codex Luccensis 490)*, Boston, 1920.

In support of the already convincing evidence relating M to the Beneventan MS C, there is palaeographical evidence that M's copy of FR is descended from a Beneventan exemplar. In 15,10, where MC and P read *yppophagi* and C reads *ippophagi*, M gives the corrupt reading *rippo phagino*. This goes back to an exemplar which used Beneventan long *i* in medial positions (initial long *i* extends upwards, medial and final long *i* downwards). Beneventan *y* is quite distinct from the Beneventan ligature for *ri*, but looks very like the \mathcal{L}^1 *r*-form followed by long *i*, so the misreading must go back to a Beneventan MS with *y* at the beginning of the word. The *-no* attached to the end is reduplication of the initial syllable of the following word, *nominantur*.

M is seen, therefore, to go back to a Beneventan exemplar and not to represent the earliest collection of these texts. The evidence from the text of FR indicates that it has some of the symptoms listed as hispanic, but no more (and often fewer) than the Italian MSS of the text. The arguments put forward for Monte Cassino lend support to the theory of Italian provenance, but there is no evidence pointing to a particular centre, and it must be remembered that all arguments based on the contents of the MS apply rather to the source of M and tell us little about its own provenance. It could, in

1. As used in abbreviations.

fact, be argued that misreading of Beneventan script points to a scribe working away from the Beneventan area.

Paris 7418

Paris 7418¹ consists of 284ff. of double column with 43 lines to the page, measuring 9½" x 7". The binding is old but not original. Foliation is marked in a later hand in the top right-hand corner.

Contents: See comparative table².

Dating: Palaeographic evidence indicates that it was written towards the middle of the fourteenth century.

Provenance: Probably central Italy³. Notes on the verso of the first fly-leaf show that it was in the South of France by the early sixteenth

1. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae (pars tertia, tomus quartus)*, Paris, 1744, p.355.

2. See below, pp.235-239.

3. So ascribed on palaeographic and iconographic grounds by the team compiling the forthcoming catalogue of illustrated MSS of Italian origin in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

century¹, and during the seventeenth century it was acquired by Philibert de la Mare, Counsellor at the Burgundy Parliament, who died in 1687. His collection was acquired by the Royal Library in 1719.

Faulty readings throughout the MS point to a Beneventan exemplar. In the text of FR there are two misreadings of *a* as *t*:

trabiam (*arabiam*) 8,1

trula (*arula*) 32,26.

Beneventan is one of the scripts in which a *t*-form is liable to confusion with the *æ* *a*-form.

1. "1509 die Jovis XII decembris de mane inter dec. et XI horam fuit Aquis (Aix en Provence, Bouches du Rhone) magnus terrae motus."

"1526 et die Veneris qui erat secunda mensis novembris hora tertia post meridiem in civitate Cavaliensi (Cavallon, Vaucluse) ego Spiritus Alberti duxi in uxorem Catarinam de Guigonis dicti loci Cavilionis, filiam Floreti de Guigonis ..."

Comparative Table of the Contents of C, M and P

Note: Asterisked items are comprised of small excerpts from many authors. Where these compilations are shown as present in more than one MS, this indicates broad similarity of content. A minute examination of these texts is beyond the scope of the present study.

The texts appear in each MS in the order listed, except where the use of folio numbers indicates a change of order.

Work

	C	M	P
<i>Bede, De Temporibus</i>	✓	✓	✓
Illustration of men each pointing at a numeral (X, XX, XXX, XL etc.)	✓	✓	✓
<i>Martirologium de presbiteri Bede heroico compositum metro ... ab erchenperto monacho monasterii sancti benedicti de castro casino editi sunt.</i>		✓	✓
<i>Tabulae de cyclo solari</i>	✓		✓
<i>Kalendarium cum notis astronomicis</i>	✓		✓
(P lacks one or more gatherings after the end of this <i>Kalendarium</i> . 80 ^v has the catchword <i>Item versus</i> , 81 picks up in the middle of a computistic tract, beginning <i>quod decessa</i> .)			

Work	C	M	P
<i>Item versus de anno solari de regularibus mensium. Inc. Hec (C) Nec (M) rota per gyrum quam tradit machina lymphe ...</i>	✓	✓	
<i>De singulis mensibus</i>	✓	✓	
<i>Versus metricos de singulis diebus</i>	✓	✓	
<i>Versus de mensibus ... Dira patet Iani</i>	✓	✓	
<i>Versus de signis mensium</i>	✓	✓	
<i>Versus de quatuor temporibus</i>	✓	✓	
<i>De spera celi et de cursu planetarum</i>	✓	✓	
<i>De initio quadragesime</i>	✓	✓	
<i>De terminibus septuagesime</i>	✓	✓	
<i>Versus de mensibus XII</i>	✓	✓	
<i>Versus ad inveniendos annos Domini</i>	✓	✓	
<i>Versus de anno solari</i>	✓	✓	
<i>Versus de sex etates huius seculi</i>	✓	✓	
<i>Versus Pauli diaconi de annis a principio: A principio seculorum usque ad diluvium¹</i>	✓	✓	
<i>Versus de annis a principio Inc. Deus a quo facta fuit huius mundi machina ...</i>	✓	✓	

1. Cordoliani, *loc.cit.*, believes that this is known only from M and from Florence MS Laurentiana Strozzi 46, f.10^v, which he presumes to be a copy of M. C and the Florence MS share a reading of *ad diluvium* against M's *a diluvium*.

Work	C	H	P
<i>Versus cycli universalis. Ino. Linca, Christe, tuos prima est que continet annos</i>	✓	✓	
<i>Jerome, Tertullianus in eo libro quem contra Iudeos. (On the reckoning of the number of years since the Incarnation.)</i>	✓		
<i>Annales Cavenses</i>	✓		
<i>*Excerpts from Concilia and Decretals</i>	✓		
<i>Elenchus Regum et Pontificum Israel</i>	✓		
<i>Fragmentum homiliae super Lucam</i>	✓		
<i>Scarpsum ex omilia Gregorii Nazianz</i>	✓		
<i>Aratus, Liber de Astronomia (from Phaenomena)</i>		✓	
<i>Argumentum secundum Egyptios ad inveniendum pedes horarum anni circuli. Si vis scire quot pedes habet unaqueque hora ...</i>	✓	✓	
<i>*Ordo computi exposito a plurimis doctoribus</i>	✓	✓	
(C lacks one or more gatherings after 150 ^v , towards the middle of this compilation.)			
(P picks up in the middle of a computistic tract)			
<i>Expositio Galieni pro infirmis</i>		✓	✓
<i>Pythagoras, De divinendo exitu morborum e positionibus lune et de sphaera</i>		✓	✓
<i>Epistola Iudiciani ad Pentadium</i>		✓	✓
<i>Epistola Ypocratis de flebotomia</i>		✓	✓

Work	C	M	P
<i>De dieta Ypocratis per singulos menses anni observanda</i>		✓	✓
<i>Expositio membrorum</i>		✓	✓
(C picks up in the middle of a work on human physiology, ending <i>dum autem os dentibus impleverit, loquitur.</i>)	✓		
Solinus, <i>De monstruosa fecunditate</i>	✓	✓	✓
Solinus, <i>De menstruis mulierum</i>	✓	✓	✓
<i>De similitudinibus hominum etc.</i>	✓	✓	✓
<i>De filia, que patrem suum ablactavit</i>	✓	✓	✓
<i>De Italia et lupos que gignit</i>	✓		✓
Isidore, <i>De homine et partibus eius</i>	✓	✓	✓
Origen, <i>Scarpsum ex chronica</i>	✓	✓	✓
Isidore, <i>Epistola de gentibus et vocabulis eorum</i>	✓	✓	✓
Isidore, <i>De lapidibus insignioribus</i>	✓	✓	✓
<i>Libellus regis Egyptiorum ad Octaviano Augusto</i>	✓		
*Anonymous fragments <i>de lapidibus</i>	✓		✓
<i>Amigeronis liber de lapidibus et eorum virtutes</i>	✓	✓	✓
*Bede, <i>De Natura Rerum</i> (Excerpts, not in the usual order)	✓	✓	✓
<i>De canonibus conciliorum</i>	✓	✓	✓
* <i>Florilegium</i> . (Small excerpts from many sources)	✓	✓	✓
Augustine, <i>Tractatus contra quinque hereses</i>	367	✓	✓

Work	C	M	P
<i>De provinciis Italia</i>	398		✓
Constantine (Emperor), <i>Privilegium Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae</i>	385	✓	✓
Gregory, <i>Sereno episcopo maxiliensi</i>		✓	✓
Africanus, <i>De genealogia Christi</i>		✓	✓
<i>Nomina septuaginta discipulorum</i>	✓		
Augustine, <i>Epistola de monstrosis</i>			✓
<i>Liber Iunioris Philosophi in quo continetur totius mundi descriptio</i>	✓	✓	✓
<i>Heramen Rex ad Adrianum Imperatorem</i>	✓	✓	264 ^v
<i>De provinciis Italiae</i> (See above. Follows FR in C) (End of C mutilated.)	✓		✓ (256 ^v)
<i>Excerpta ex tractatibus alchimiae</i> <i>Item de chrisographia. Aurum obrigum</i> (End of M mutilated.)		✓	270 ^v
<i>De plasmatione protoplasti, sive Adami</i>			✓
<i>Scholium ad astrologiam judiciarum pertinens</i>			✓

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE MANUSCRIPTS OF FR

The table of contents demonstrates the remarkable uniformity which exists between C, M and P. MC, the earliest MS of FR, is outside this closely-linked group, and this less close relationship is also seen in the text of FR.

The three later MSS contain an accretion on the phoenix in section 34 which is drawn from Solinus. This interpolation has variant readings also found in the Solinus text which forms the main work in MC.

MC (34FR)

In eodem monte est avis fenix. ampla que habet in capite cristam similem pauonis. vivit annos innumerabiles.

C (34FR)

In eodem monte est avis fenix. ampla que habet in capite cristam similem pauonis. et fauces cristatas, circa collo fulgore aureo, postera parte purpureus. Extra caudam roseis pennis. In qua ceruleus scribitur nitor. vivit annos innumerabiles.

MC (Solinus)¹

Apud eodem nascitur phoenix avis, aquilae magnitudine, capite honorato in conum plumis extantibus, cristatis faucibus, circa colla fulgore aureo, postera parte purpureus extra² caudam, in qua roseis pennis caeruleus scribitur³ nitor.

1. Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, ed. T. Mommsen, Berlin, 1895, pp.149-150.

2. Majority of MSS read *absque cauda*.

3. Majority of MSS read *interscribitur*.

It is clear from this that the interpolator had access to a version of Solinus identical to that found in MC, possibly in the same codex as his copy of FR. However, MC did not provide his text of FR. In 32,22, where FL and Ger agree with C, M and P in reading *In eodem loco sunt edes due*, MC alone reads *In eodem sunt edes due*. Again, in 34,17, FL supports C and M in reading *vel quemadmodum vivet ignoramus* (FL)/*ignoratur* (FR). MC is alone in reading *bibat*, showing confusion of *v* and *b*, here evidently not a hispanic characteristic but possibly a symptom of early date.

In some of the instances where MC's reading differs from that shared by the other MSS it is likely that MC represents the reading found in the ultimate source. In 15,4-5, in the section on the hippopotamus (which has become a hippophagus, *ypphagi*, in the F-Group texts) the reading in FL has been distorted by haplography, but its original is preserved by Ger:

longitudinem pedum tricenorum. vastitatem pedum duodecim.

MC is broadly in agreement with this, especially as *vastitatem* may be Gervase's introduction to replace the Vulgar Latin *grossitudine*, with the description:

latitudinem habentes pedum tricem. grossitudine pedum xii.

Latitudinem is supported by the evidence of HP, where it appears as *latitudo*, but, interestingly, the variant *altitudo* is found in 10 of the MSS used by Hilka¹. This same change of *latitudinem* to *altitudinem* is found in C, M and P, together with the non-significant change of *tricenum* to *triginta*.

Here the sense of the passage, in which *longitudinem* or *latitudinem* presents a better contrast with *grossitudine* or *vastitatem* than does *altitudinem* and the support from HP and Ger all point to MC's reading as closer to the original.

Examples of less corrupt readings from MC are rare, and its affinity to the other three MSS is shown by the common corruption in 30,5, where FL's

auriculas vero quasi vanno similes

has become

auriculas vero quasi statura similes

echoing *statura* from 30,2.

C's close relationship to both M and P has already been demonstrated by the examination of their contents. However, in some small points its text

1. *Historia Alexandri Magni (Historia de Preliis), Rezension J2 (Orosius-Rezension)*, ed. A. Hilka, zum Druck besorgt durch H.J. Bergmeister, Meisenheim am Glan, 1977, part 2, p.168.

agrees with that of MC against M and P, indicating that it derived independently from the common ancestor of C, M and P (designated β in the diagrammatic stemma¹). The agreement between M and P against MC and C shows them to have shared an intermediate source.

26,2	MC, C	<i>orhaci</i>
	M, P	<i>orbaci</i>
	FL, Ger	<i>soraci</i>
11,4	MC, C, FL	<i>barbas</i>
	M, P, Ger	<i>barbam</i>
3,13	MC, C	<i>locuples</i> (also FLCor)
	M, P	<i>locuplex</i>
	FL	<i>locupletes</i>

(In this last instance M and P appear to have restored an early reading. If they have in fact preserved it and not restored it, the agreement between MC and C must be coincidental or due to influences outside the direct line of transmission, such as cross-collation.)

C was not the source of the two later MSS, as can be seen from the presence in it of corruptions from which they are free:

12,13	FL, MC, M, P
	<i>sunt enim velocissime in cursu, ut putes eas volare</i>
	'they are very quick in running, so that you would think they are flying'
	C reads <i>in occursu</i> ('meeting') in place of <i>in cursu</i> .

1. See p. 214.

11,5 The name *ichthiophagi*, which was probably received as *idiophagi* or *ithiophagi* appears as *ithiophalii* in C. The other MSS of FR have retained the *-phagi* ending intact.

M, while sharing a common ancestor with P, was not itself a source of that MS, as can be seen from the reading *rippo phagino*, 15,10, which has already been discussed as evidence of a source in a Beneventan hand for M.¹ P reads *ypophagi*. Among the other readings it gives which are not found in P are:

32,28 *lx* (MC *lxx*; C, P *septuaginta*)

32,2 *stadiis* (MC, C, P *stadus*; FL, Ger *stadia*)

18,5; 19,2; 22,6; 30,2; 30,3 *pedes* changed to *pedibus*.

P, which probably also derives from a Beneventan exemplar², has several independent readings:

5,4-6 haplography has reduced
pedes habentes octonos idemque et oculos, cornua bina habentes. Quas cum ..

to:

pedes habentes. Quas cum ...

32,2 *et latitudinem* is omitted.

34,12 after *vivit annos innumerabiles* the phrase *videlicet .c.* is added.

1. See p. 232.

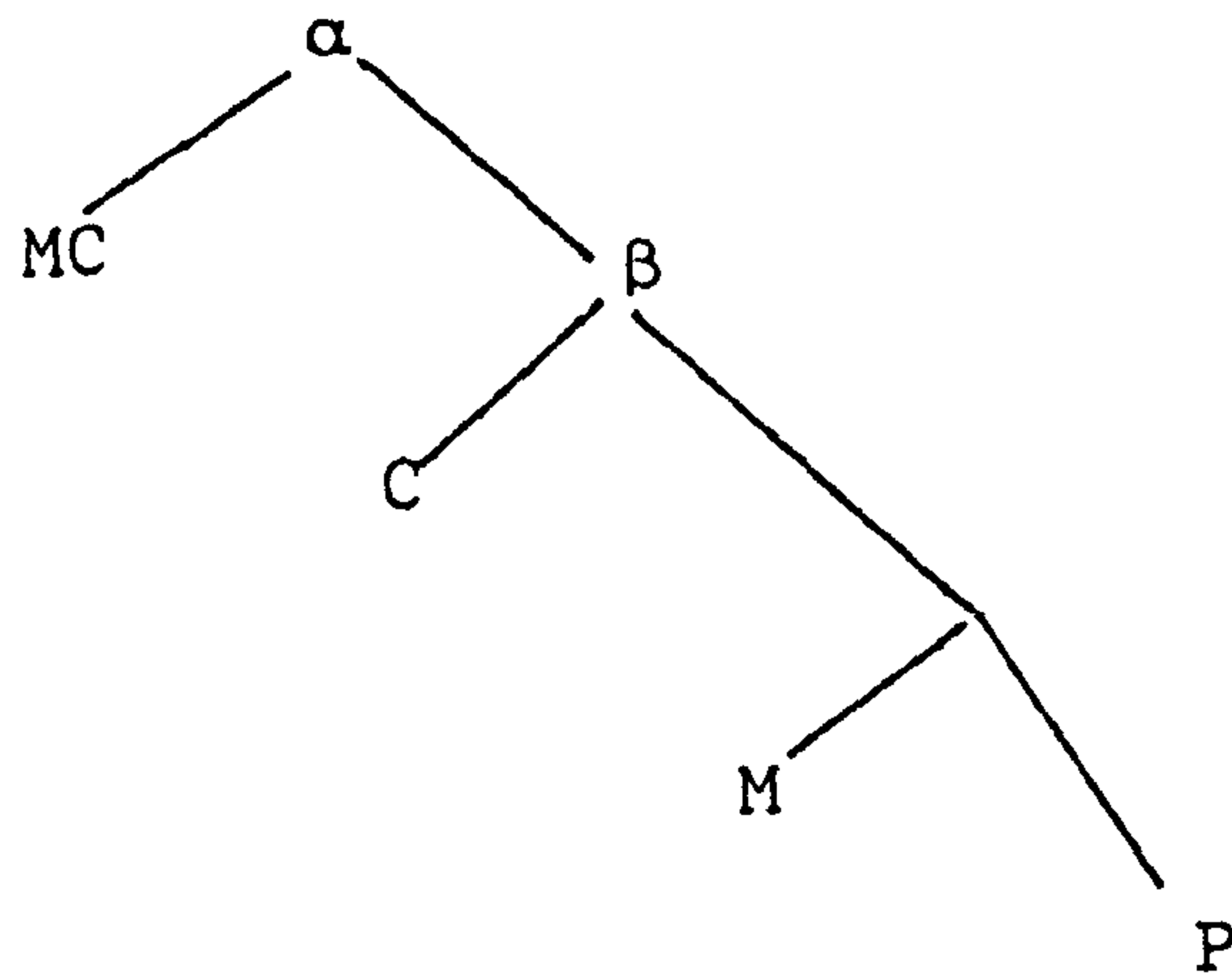
2. See p. 234.

Perhaps the clearest picture of the relationship between the four MSS of FR is shown by the treatment of the word *ichthiophagi* in 11,5. FL has the form *idtofagi*, which appears in Ger as *idrofagi* (an attempt by Gervase to bring meaning back to the name given for the fish-eaters by associating it with *hydro-*). By comparing these forms with MC's *indiophagi* we conclude that the original reading in FR may have been **idiophagi*; however the readings of C, M and P would indicate **ithiophagi* as the likely archetype, and this latter reading would be closer to the classical Latin form of the Greek *ἰχθυοφάγοι*, *ichthiophagi*. Whichever form was found in α, the ultimate source of FR, the form found in β, the source of the interpolated version, was probably **ithiophagi*. This was corrupted to *ithiophalii* in C, contracted to *ithiogi* in M. P reads *iethiophagi*, probably as a result of an attempt to restore the correct form. This could have been known to the scribe of P or of an intermediary MS from any one of several sources, of which the most readily available was probably Isidore, *Etymologiae*, IX, ii, 131, where the name is given as *Ichthyophagi*¹.

1. Isidore, *Etymologiae*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, Oxford, 1911.

It becomes clear from this analysis of the relationships that no one MS can be seen as wholly reliable. For the synoptic text, the version used is that of MC, and any readings taken from other MSS are given in italics. All variant readings are given in the text in Appendix 2B.

Postulated stemma



α - archetypal version

β - interpolated version in a codex containing a collection of texts largely similar to that in C, M and P.

THE TEXT OF *FERAMEX REX*: DELIBERATE EPITOME OR ACCIDENTAL SHORTENING?

The text of FR is obviously closely related to that of FL. In places, passages of considerable length are reproduced *verbatim*, and where the wording does differ it is often in the phrasing alone and not in the meaning. FR is, however, considerably shorter than FL. This brevity is due to the omission of 11 sections¹ in their entirety and of several other passages of more than one line². There has been little reduction in the remaining text.

It has already been argued³ that FL uniquely preserves several features of the original *Letter of Pharasmanes*, most notably in the epistolary format and the verisimilitude of some of the geographical data; that FL alone of all texts reads like a letter from a King to an Emperor recounting travellers' tales. (It would be foolish to see more in this than a good understanding by the anonymous compiler of his chosen pseudepigraphical epistolary genre.) If this argument for the closer adherence of FL to the archetype is accepted, it becomes clear that material which is present in FL and not present in FR is,

1. §§1; 2; 3; 4; . 9; 20; 23; 24; 27; 35; 36.

2. 10,7-8; 14,8-10; 22,14-17; 33,9-10; 34,7 & 13-14.

3. pp. 214-216.

for the most part if not wholly, an omission in FR and not an accretion in FL.

If we are to assess the degree of remoteness of FR from FL, in terms of the number of stages of transmission through which it may have passed in order to reach its existing state, and perhaps to hazard a guess at the date by which FR was available in its present form, we must first examine any evidence there may be for the nature of this reduction and the circumstances which brought it about. If the reduction were the result of deliberate editorial policy, with whatever motive, the text could have reached its present state after passing through very few stages of development from its full-length F-Group text source.

If, on the other hand, the reduction were due to accidental loss in the course of transmission, this would probably have happened over a period of time, during the course of copying and recopying. In cases where accidental loss or distortion happens at several points in the text as a result of a single catastrophe, as in the case of the Vitellius copy of the *OE Wonders*¹, it frequently leads to a greater degree of confusion than is found in FR and it is sometimes possible to analyse the nature of the damage which caused the loss or rewriting.

1. See pp. 106-112.

Loss caused by accidental damage is unselective, whereas a comparison of the subject content of the material retained in FR with that of the omitted passages reveals that the accounts of monsters are almost all preserved in their entirety. Of the truly fabulous creatures, only the venomous hens in #4 are lacking. On the other hand, most of the less marvellous races of men, such as the kings who give lavish presents to travellers (§23), the Ethiopians, who in FL live near rivers which produce black gems (§24) and the various races said to live beyond the boiling sea surrounding Heliopolis and on the far side of the fiery mountains of the rising sun, are omitted in FR.

This deliberate selection of the fabulous elements of the *Letter* is further demonstrated by the omission of nearly all the passages whose content is purely geographical, passages giving details of place names, relative distances and the nature of the terrain and the trading activities of its inhabitants. The bulk of the omissions are made up of material of this type. FR does not attempt to suppress all distances regardless, as do EP and Ger, nor does it attempt to remove all localising information, but a great deal of the material in FL which provides the

support for any claims the longer text may make to be considered a serious factual document has been removed. The result is to give FR a rather different emphasis, transforming it from a pseudo-factual geographical tract into a purely teratological work.

Geographical material comprises the bulk of the omitted sections, but not the total. The editor, for the consistency of omission which is revealed by close analysis must point to deliberate editorial policy, has also removed passages which in FL seem designed to encourage the suspension of disbelief and incline the reader to accept the information given as factually correct. This includes most passages in which the monsters are linked, even in the most tenuous way, with the author, the reader or with known historical personages. In addition to these the editor has removed most references to travellers, details of the accessibility of places and localisations which might be considered clear enough to encourage exploration. It is presumably also in this attempt to discourage credulity that the epistolary framework has been jettisoned, leaving only the title: *Feramen Rex ad Adrianum imperatorem*.

References connecting the monsters with the author or reader, however remotely, have been suppressed so consistently that we must see this as deliberate. The section on the gold-digging ants (812), which is otherwise preserved with a very high degree of accuracy compared with the P-Group versions, lacks the final detail linking this otherwise incredible account with the gold which finds its way onto the market:

12,36-37FL: *Sic fit ut aurum illius provinciae auferatur.*

'Thus it comes about that the gold of that province is brought away.'

(It is interesting to note that Gervase at this point chose to emphasize this link, rewriting the text as:

Sic fit ut aurum illud orbis ad nos usque perveniat.
'Thus it comes about that that very pure gold reaches us.')

The physical description of the stork-men (§14) reads almost exactly as the text of FL. The last four lines, however, which deal with the storks' migration to Europe, are omitted completely:

14,8-10FL: *Hii homines in avibus caeli certo tempore transfigurantur, et apud vos (Ger: nos) fetum faciunt, quos ciconias appellatis.*

'At a certain time they transform themselves into birds of the air, which you call storks, and produce their young among you.'

FL's description of the Lamiae (§22) ends with an account of an attempt by the putative author to capture some of these grotesque women, (omitted in FR):

22,14-17FL: *Propter vero desiderium cupivi ut aliquas caperem, atque vivas Romanniae adducerem. Tres autem comiti armati ut unam occiderent .quippe. ut evadere potuissent diu multoque pugnaverunt.*

'In accordance with that request I wished to seize some to bring them to Rome alive. To be sure, three armed comrades (were needed) to kill one, however, as they could escape capture for a long time and they fought a great deal.'

Of the first and second person references in FL, only three are retained in FR. These three are instances where there is no real link made between the reader or author and the monsters - two represent the use of *you* in the function of *one*:

12,12 and 30,9: *ut putes eas (eos) volare*
'so that you (or one) would think they are flying.'

and the third is simply to supply a better-known (or supposedly better-known) name for the oracle or *orhaci*:

26,13: *qui apud nos tritognides appellantur.*

The reference to the historical King Darius (whose name appears in FL first in the genitive form

Dii (23,1FL) and then as *Darius* (23,2FL), confirming his identity) has been omitted, together with the remainder of 523. Whether the reason for this omission was Darius' unquestionable historical existence, or the mainly geographical nature of the information in this section or even the reference to travellers who returned with gifts after visiting the land of many kings it is impossible to guess. All three aspects appear to have been subject to editorial censorship and any one of them, or the combination of the three, may have led to the exclusion.

In connection with this passage it is again interesting to note the different approach adopted by Gervase. Whereas FR seems anxious not to refer to the possibility of exploring these far lands, Gervase seems almost to wish to inspire his readers to venture forth. Where FL tells simply of travellers who are sent away rewarded (*remunerati dimittuntur*), Gervase claims himself to have met them:

23,8-10Ger: *Verumtamen hoc testamur quia abinde
redemptos conspeximus plurimis ac pretiosis
denariis remuneratos.*

'Nevertheless, we can bear witness to this
because we have seen men coming back from
that place rewarded with many precious gifts.

Other references to travellers and exploration have certainly been omitted. In some of these instances it is the inaccessibility of a place which is emphasized in FL. The vine and courtyard of the priest at Heliopolis is described in detail in FR, exactly as in FL, but the reference to its inaccessibility is left out:

33,9-10FL: *extraneum unquam non licet hunc videre, nisi qui Eliopolis commoratur.*

'No foreigner is ever permitted to see this, except one who intends to remain in Heliopolis.'

At the end of the work, where the wonders beyond Heliopolis are described, the writer again refers to inaccessibility:

35,4-7FL: *Circa eosdem montes mare fervens a colonia Eliopoli exoriuntur, quoniam mare non dicam transire, sed nec respicere quispiam potest.*

'Around the same mountains a boiling sea proceeds from the colony of Heliopolis, therefore I shall not tell of crossing the sea, nor can anyone look beyond it.'

This passage is again omitted in FR, not however on its own but as part of the whole section. It is, of course, arguable that these two passages were omitted because the information in them is negative - they describe places which *cannot* be reached or visited, therefore, logically, which cannot be described.

There are, however, positive references to travellers which have also been omitted, and besides this there has been modification of passages giving reasonably explicit localisations into generalised, often unidentifiable references to whole countries. The reference to visitors returning from the land of many kings (§23) has already been discussed. In §20, among the geographical material which has not been retained in FR are the fairly explicit details of trade routes:

20,5-8FL: *A parte dextra euntibus ad Mare rubrum civitates sunt duae, nomine phenix et Ioraba ubi valde homines locupletes sunt, ex quibus ad India et Arabia collationes sunt.*

'Then on the right, for those going towards the Red Sea, there are two states named Phoenix and Ioraba, where men are exceedingly wealthy. There are links (i.e. trade routes) from them to India and Arabia.

FL continues with a description of the immense pearls which are to be found in those parts, and the overall picture of easy wealth and trade routes might have been considered too tempting for a certain type of readership.

In places where the geographical information has been simplified rather than omitted entirely we see this same tendency to obscure any details which

might help a traveller to locate the places mentioned.

In 6,1-2, FL's

A seleucia autem Babyloniam pergentibus stadia sunt lx.

'From Seleucia, then, for those proceeding to Babylon
It is a distance of 60 *stadia*.'

The view from the ground, typical of FL, has been lost
in FR which also shows in this instance an unusually
high degree of corruption in the place-name Seleucia:

*Est et alia regio que dicitur pelusia. distans a babylonia
stadia lx.*

'And there is another kingdom which is called Pelusia.
It is 60 *stadia* distant from Babylon.

FL in fact tells us not that the distance between
Seleucia and Babylon is 60 *stadia* but that the next
marvel is to be found 60 *stadia* along the road from
Seleucia to Babylon.

Another fairly precise direction in §11 has
similarly been made obscure. FL locates the home
of the ichthiophagi:

11,1-2FL: *A dextra parte ducent ad aegyptum; hinc
ad insulam in qua nascuntur ...*

'From the right-hand side they lead to
Egypt; from here to the island in which are
born ...'

This has been reduced in FR to:

hinc non longe abest insula in qua nascuntur ...

'The island is not far from here in which are
born ...'

Yet another example is to be found in §26,

where FL locates the oracle which will answer any question in a place:

26,1FL: *Juxta quod Oceani fines stadia sunt cclxxx.*

This is not an easy line to interpret and may be corrupt. It appears to mean that there is, close by the last place mentioned (the land of the Ethiopians and gem-producing rivers of §24) a point which is 280 stadia from the edge of the Ocean. This difficulty may, in this instance, excuse the rewriting in FR, which reads:

26,2FR: *In persarum vero partibus ...*

'In the districts of the Persians ...'

Should any doubt remain that the omissions in FR are the work of an editor and not the result of casual omission or accidental damage, this doubt is finally dispelled when we consider several passages in which one or two words, usually place names, have been drawn from the omitted section to act as a link. Indeed, we see this method at work at the very beginning of the text, for it is not until §5 that FR gives a passage of any length which adheres to the text as in FL. §5 begins *Sunt et illic* in FL, so it obviously needed some introductory words if it was to be used as the starting point. FR draws these from 3,11-13 and 4,1:

3,11-13FL: *A Babilonia usque Mesopotamiam stadia sunt lx;
locus honestus et plus quam locuples ...*

FR: *Inter babyloniam et Mesopotamiam est regio
locuples.*

4,1FL: *Hinc ad castellum Philoniae qui locus dictus est stadia ccc.*

FR: *in qua est oppidum quod dicitur castellum filonis ...*

Thus FR draws two widely separated phrases from FL, runs them together and uses them as a lead-in to the description of the eight-eyed beasts in §5.

Further examples of this method of covering the omissions are not far to seek. The omitted §20 contributed *Circa Indiam et arabiam* (taken from FL's reference to the trade routes with the countries named - *ex quibus ad India et Arabia collationes sunt*, 20,8) to the beginning of §21 on the savage huntresses. 23,1 in FL tells of *Diī, regis Persarum*, and FR, picking up the text again after an omission extending from 22,14 to 26,1, harks back to this line with *In persarum vero partibus* (26,2).

It is evident that the text of FR was given close attention by an editor. This editor appears to have wished to remodel it, perhaps in order to make it more suitable for a particular type of audience. We are given one other clue about the status and beliefs of this editor. In the passage on the phoenix, FL retains a clear expression of a pagan belief in the phoenix as a divine being, sacred to the Sun. In FR all such references have been suppressed (although the details of the priest of the Sun at Heliopolis caused no

embarrassment). The dedication to the Sun, expressed in FL as:

34,7FL: *quae avis est in deliciarium Solis*

and the bird's unique and divine nature:

34,13-14: *qui ex divinitate sola nata est et sola erit*

presented an obstacle to the later Christian writer, Gervase, as well as to the editor of FR. Gervase dealt with the problem by introducing expressions of doubt, *esse referuntur* 'they are reported to be' (34,7-8Ger) and *ut tradunt* 'as they relate' (34,13Ger). The omission of both these phrases expressing pagan beliefs in the edited text of FR would seem to indicate that the editor was a Christian. It would be possible to go further, and to suggest that his conscientious suppression of all suggestions that the reader might himself visit those places where such marvels are found, a suggestion implicit in the very form of FL, with all its pseudo-geographical data, might point to an editor working within an enclosed monastic order, for a readership whose travel was restricted to excursions within the library, and that his careful editing was intended to supply entertainment without temptation.

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GERVASE OF TILBURY

BIOGRAPHICAL

Gervase's *Otia Imperialia*¹ is the major source of information on his earlier life, for he frequently recounts anecdotes drawn from personal experience. Of English stock, his early education was in Rome, after which he studied and taught law in Bologna. After working as clerk for William, archbishop of Rheims (consecrated 1176, died 1202), he was in Sicily in the service of William II at the time of the siege of Acre (1190-91). He was appointed Marshal of the Kingdom of Arles by Emperor Otto IV (Holy Roman Emperor 1209-1214); to whom his major and sole surviving work, the *Otia Imperialia*, written around 1211, was dedicated.

OTIA IMPERIALIA

Otia Imperialia (Imperial Diversions) is a lengthy compilation of world history, geography and marvels drawn from a large number of literary sources as well as from personal experience and the anecdotes of his contemporaries. The declared intention is to furnish the knowledge an emperor should have of the

1. *Otia Imperialia*, ed. G.W. Leibnitz, *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium*, Hannover, 1707-1711, Vol. I, pp. 811-1004, Vol. II, pp. 751-784.

world and its marvels. The work is divided into three sections, designated *decisiones*. The first deals with the early history of the world, mainly from biblical sources; the second with geography, politics and recent history, and the third is devoted to the marvels for which Gervase felt such enthusiasm that they intrude into the earlier parts of the work.

We have ample evidence of the way in which the work was composed, for in MS Vat.Lat.933 we have a MS which, although not the author's earliest draft, was certainly used by Gervase as a working copy¹. The position of Vat. Lat. 933 in relation to the manuscript tradition of the *Otia Imperialia* is a complicated matter which will be considered in the context of the whole tradition, but the hand which added more than 300 marginal supplements, numerous interlinear glosses and corrections and even several extra folios and sheets certainly presumes the authority of authorship² and may

1. J.R. Caldwell, 'The Autograph Manuscript of Gervase of Tilbury (Vatican, Vat. Lat. 933)', *Scriptorium*, 11, 1957, pp.87-98. See also plate 8.

2. The marginal notes by the corrector include directions to the rubricator on 17^r and 33^r. The strongest evidence that this is the work of the author are the notes on 18^r: *Hanc Lectoribus meis prestans cautelam* ... ('Presenting this reservation to my readers ...') and 23^r: *ut ab ipsis indigenis accepi*. ('as I learnt from those who live there.')

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ORIGINAL**

reasonably be supposed to be that of Gervase. The corrector has a hand which is clearly distinguishable from the other five hands which have been identified in the MS, and his additions are all marked with indicators to show the point at which they are to be inserted into the text. Sources are liberally cited in the margins, and the corrector pays attention to the accuracy of these. One folio (f.35) appears to have been taken from an earlier copy of the work. The evidence of the stemma will indicate, as Caldwell demonstrated¹, that this MS was only one of two or possibly more which Gervase used as working tools in this way, updating them as he came across more information and adding a paragraph here, a few words of explanation there; sometimes adding to one MS first, sometimes to another.

THE PHARASMANES MATERIAL IN GERVASE

The whole text of the *Letter of Pharasmanes* is found in Decisio III of *Otia Imperialia*. MS Vat. Lat. 933 is one of two MSS² which acknowledge the source of the material in marginal notes, the second MS to do so

1. J.R. Caldwell, 'The Interrelationship of the Manuscripts of Gervase of Tilbury's *Otia Imperialia*', *Scriptorium*, 16, 1962, pp.246-274.

2. I have examined 22 MSS out of a total of 28 which are known to exist.

being Wolfenbüttel Helmstedt 481. The marginal notes in Vat. Lat. 933 (which are reproduced almost verbatim in the Wolfenbüttel MS) read:

72^V col. 1 fermes / ad adria / num

col. 2 Fer / mes

73^R col. 1 ad / adria / num / imperatorem /
episto / la / eius / dem

col. 2 eadem

73^V col. 1 episto / la / Fermes

Upon examination, the text proves to be close to the text of FL, although the order is disturbed, with §§6 - 35 followed by a rewritten preface and then §§2 - 5.

In addition to the text of FL, reproduced by Gervase in its entirety, lacking only the epistolary incipit and explicit, there are the paragraphs taken from a P-Group version of the *Letter of Pharasmanes*, the text of which is examined in Section 5. This unwitting double use of the material provides a vivid demonstration of the appeal this material had to Gervase, as to so many learned men of his time.

THE STATE OF FERVES LETTER WHEN USED BY GERVASE

Two questions to be discussed later, the status of the corrections in Vat. Lat. 933 and the weight to be given to alternative readings from other MSS, must play a role in the establishment of a text, but the number of readings affected is small and has little influence on our assessment of the state of the text as received by Gervase, or on our analysis of his handling of it. This examination is crucial in determining the value of his version as a witness to the text of FL and for the possible elucidation of cruces, for we must consider whether readings in which Gervase diverges from FL are due to editorial changes or represent a text of FL which may be less corrupt than the single extant copy.

The list of corrections in FL in the Paris MS¹ reveals that Gervase tends to agree with the readings of the FL Corrector. *Otia Imperialia* can not have been the source of the corrections, for there are a considerable number of instances where the words corrected are lacking or have been modified in Gervase. However, the agreement of his readings with those of the Corrector lends weight to the hypothesis that the Corrector drew on an alternative version of FL as well

1. See above, p²⁰⁸⁻²¹³.

as his own general knowledge.

There are a limited number of instances where Gervase has a reading which agrees with FR or even with the P-Group texts against FL. In 15,4-5F, the agreement between Gervase and FR demonstrates that Gervase had access to a less corrupt copy of FL than that which survives, at least in this one respect. The *yppofogi* (a name here wrongly attached to the hippopotamus) are thirty feet long, twelve feet in girth and of great bulk:

Ger: *longitudinem pedum tricenorum. vastitatem
pedum duodecim. edificio amplo.*

FR reads *latitudinem* in place of *longitudinem* and *grossitudine* in place of *vastitatem*, but significantly the numerals, frequently the most unstable part of a description because of the high risk of miscopying Roman numerals, are in complete agreement:

FR: *latitudinem habentes pedum tricenum. grossitudine
pedum xii.*

FL's reading is shown, by this agreement between FR and Gervase to have been produced by haplography, with a jump from the first to the second *pedum*:

FL: *longitudinem pedum duodena. edificio amplo.*

12,15F is typical of the minor instances where Gervase agrees with other texts against FL. There is a specific period each day when the gold-digging ants:

FR/HP: *sub terra sunt et aurum fodiunt.*

Gervase, typically, has edited out the superfluous verb *sunt*, producing:

Ger: *sub terra aurum fodiunt.*

FL employs a construction which appears to be using a locative of the adjective *subterraneus*:

FL: *subterraneo sunt et aurum fodiunt*

but this may well be a late change influenced by the presence (unique to this version) of *de subterraneo* four words later.

In 5,3, Gervase, FR and P-Group read *fugiunt* (pres. ind.) against *fugient* (fut. ind.) in FL. This appears in a construction following *audierint* (perf. subj.) in all texts except FR, which has *audiunt* (pres. ind.). The sequence of tenses demands a present tense:

Ger: *quando sonum audierint, fugiunt*

'when they may have heard a sound they flee'

showing that it is FL which has the corrupt reading here.

Gervase also agrees with FR in a few other readings:

10,6 Ger: *flammam spirantes*

FR: *flamas spirantes*

FL: *flammam inspirantibus* (Cor: *spirantibus*)

18,2 Ger; FR: *fluvio*

FL: *flumine*

21,6-7 Ger: *venatrices sunt. pro canibus*
 FR; HP: *venatrices. pro canibus*
 FL: *venariaces pro canes*

This last example shows an error in FL of a type which could easily have been corrected by Gervase if it was present in his copy of the text.

In other instances Gervase can be seen to derive from a version which contained corruptions identical to those in the extant text of FL. In 5,1-2, simian beasts (Pit: *bestiae quasi simiae*) are described by FR and HP as *humiles bestiole quasi simie* ('abject little animals like monkeys'). FL has an unclear reading omitting the noun *bestiole*; it is this which must underlie Gervase's rewriting: *sunt et illic homines quasi simii*.

In 27,1-3, a passage lacking in FR, two places (Mir: *loci*; EP: *laci*; FL: *latera*; Ger: *palatia*¹) are described which are said to belong to the sun and the moon. According to the undistorted texts of Mir and EP, that belonging to the sun grows hot by day and that belonging to the moon grows hot by night, and both are cold at the time when the heavenly body to which they belong is not to be seen. In FL this appears in a ludicrously compressed form:

FL: *Ille Solis inter die calet, nocte fervercit.*

'That of the sun is hot by day and becomes hot by night.'

1. See commentary for a full discussion of these variants.

Gervase evidently received this in a similar form,
for he edited it to reduce the incongruity, producing:

Ger: *illud Solis die mediocriter calet et nocte fervet.*

'that of the sun is moderately hot by day and seethes
by night.'

In 33,7-8, the priest of the sun at Heliopolis is
described in FR as eating incense and drinking liquid
balsam:

FR: *thus vescitur et opobalsamum bibit.*

Substitution of *v* for *b*, a feature of early MSS, has
produced in FL a reading which appears to give *vivit*
a direct object:

FL: *thus vestitur et apobalsamum vivit.*

In Gervase's text we see the result of an attempt to
clarify this difficulty:

Ger: *thure vestitur et ex opobalsamo vivit.*

There are few examples in Gervase's text of the type
of miscopying which provides clues as to the
palaeographic nature of an antecedent MS. There is
one undoubted miscopying of an unusual noun in 3,4,
where the inhabitants of a country which has immense
sheep are described in FL as using their fleeces to
make tunics and cloaks (*tunice et birri*). In
Gervase's text the uncommon word *birri* has been
replaced by the nonsensical *bissi* (*bissa* 'red deer
hind'; *bisse* 'two thirds'). Confusion of *r* and *s*

is often considered a distinguishing feature of insular hands, but is in fact a possibility in many Carolingian hands as well.

A less conclusive case, because there is a possibility of editorial interference, is found in 11,5, where FL's *idtofagi* (ultimately from ἰδτοφάγοι) becomes *idrofagi* in Gervase, possibly through an attempt to link the word with the concept *pisces crudos comedunt* in the following line by referring to *hydr-* 'water'. An alternative explanation would be confusion of *t* and *r*, which is a possibility in Carolingian hands.

GERVASE'S EDITORIAL METHOD

The analysis just made of the relationship between FL and Gervase's text demonstrates that Gervase was in possession of a text of FL which was very close to that which we have. In some details it was more correct, but elsewhere it shared corruptions with FL. It now becomes possible to examine the changes which have been made to the text, most of which are probably editorial alterations and modifications by Gervase.

1. Structural Alterations

a) Revised Preface

The epistolary incipit and explicit of FL have been replaced by a single paragraph in which Gervase reaffirms his faith in the veracity of his sources while admitting that he has not witnessed everything that he describes:

§1 *Si quis dimensionem terrarum perscrutari
paraverit, attendat non omnia nos corporali
visione probasse quae scripsimus, quinimo
quaedam ex alienis libris transumpta,
quaedam ex virorum proborum relatione conguessimus.
nihil mendacium linguis aut mimorum fallaciis
contribuentes.*

If anyone were preparing to explore the extent of the lands, let him note that we have not seen with our own eyes everything which we have described. On the contrary, after drawing some items from other books we collected some from the accounts of honourable men, incorporating no lying speech or fraudulent imaginings.

b) Changed Order

There is no apparent reason for the reversal of order which puts §§2-5 after §§6-35, and Gervase may well have found the text like this in his exemplar.

It does not make the text blend any better with the surrounding material, and the presence of the apologia or rewritten preface between §35 and §2 indicates that Gervase saw no reason to disturb the order and structure of his exemplar.

c) The Rubrics

Gervase modified the text of FL to conform to the rest of his work by the simple expedient of breaking it down into twelve sections, each headed with a rubric, for example *de fenice; de hominibus qui pedes habent octenos et totidem oculos*. Most of the sections coincide with the section division of FL, such as it is¹. In most instances minor adaptations have been made to the text immediately after the rubric, usually aimed at making the section independent of the preceding one:

S34 FL: *Circa ea vero mons est ...*

Ger: *Ad confinium eliopolis mons est ...*

S24 FL: *Sunt namque ...*

Ger: *Iuxta terminos memoratos sunt ...*

2. Major Modifications to the Text

a) Additions

In three sections Gervase has added to the subject content of the text, drawing on knowledge from other sources. In 13,5-6, where FL refers to the flooding of the Nile, Gervase comments that Egypt owes its fertility to this². The longest interpolation by far is 32,9-21, where Gervase

1. See comparative table of section division, pp. 386-387.

2. *cuius beneficio terra inundata ad fertilitatem revocatur*.

'by the kindness of which the land, having been flooded, is brought back to fertility.'

describes at length the balsam tree and its products. In §34 on the phoenix Gervase has incorporated a quotation from Ovid¹ (which, incidentally, he has already used in Decisio II²) and found himself obliged to rewrite the surrounding text to avoid contradiction, for Ovid describes the diet of the bird, whose manner of life is said in FL to be unknown. Gervase's attempt to improve on the text of FL has led him into a strange reading in the description of the bird's appearance. FL describes it as having a crest like the peacock's coronet (*orbi*)³; Gervase replaces this with the most striking characteristic of the peacock, giving the phoenix a crest like the eyes (*orbiculari*)⁴ on the peacock's tail.

1. 34,21-24 Ger: *illud ovidii:*

*una est quae reparat seseque reseminat ales
asserii fenica vocant non fruge, nec herbis
sed thuris lacrymis et succo vivit amomi.*

Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XV,392-394

*una est, quae reparet seque ipsa reseminet
ales:
Assyrii phoenica vocant; non fruge neque
herbis,
Sed turis lacrimis et suco vivit amomi.*

2. ed. Leibnitz, Vol. II, p.757.

3. 34,5-7 FL: *amplam habet in caput cristam similem orbi paonis.*

4. 34,5-7Ger: *amplam habens vittam, in capite cristam similem
orbiculari caudae paonis.*

b) Polishing and Educated Guesses

Gervase is concerned throughout the text with improving the subject content, and this has led him to emend many of the more corrupt passages as well as to insert words or small phrases of clarification. Many of his guesses at the correct version are, inevitably, wrong. *Quasi structio et camelus* (i.e. *struthiocamelus* 'ostrich') in 22,8 he has reduced to *ut camelus*. He changed the emphasis of a phrase in the phoenix passage, 34,13-14, probably because he parsed it wrongly:

FL: *ex divinitate sola nata est et sola erit.*

'It is born alone, being of divine nature, and will always be alone.'

Ger: *ex sola ut tradunt divinitate processit.*

it emerged, so they relate, from the single/unique divinity.'

Some of his attempts to polish are as worthy of consideration as the 'restorations' made by more recent editors. Among these may be counted the change of *Damnas castrorum* (3,13-14) to *Damascus* and the emendation of the obscure *aerea et ferrea altercatos* (32,5) to *aerea ac ferrea opere alternato* ('built alternately with copper and iron'). Others are based on personal experience or knowledge from other sources, as in the passage on the storks:

14,8-10 FL: *Hii homines in avibus caeli certo tempore transfigurantur, et apud vos fetum faciunt, quos ciconias appellatis.*

('At a certain time these men transform themselves into birds and produce their young in your country; you call them storks.')

Gervase indicates acquaintance with these birds, writing:

14,8-10 *Hii homines certis temporibus in ciconias transformantur, et apud nos quotannis fetum faciunt.*

('At certain times these men turn into storks and produce their young in our country every year.')

Quotannis and *nos* indicate Gervase's personal knowledge of the habits of storks.

His qualification of gold wherever it is mentioned with the adjective *obryzum*¹, like his modification of *Eliopolis commoratur* (33,10) to the grammatically more correct *apud Eliopolim commorabitur* (showing the classical Latin version of a Greek accusative) together with other minor grammatical alterations throughout the text indicate that he attempted to bring a scholarly approach to his editing.

1. 12,37F; 32,29F. cf. Isidore, *Etymologiae*, XVI,xviii,2. *Obryzum aurum dictum quod obradiat splendore; est enim coloris optimi ...*

('Gold which radiates with lustre is called *obryzum*, for it is of the best colour ...')

c) Suppressions and Distortions

There are, however, areas which he treated in a rather cavalier manner, suppressing and replacing facts regardless of justification. The largest body of material handled in this way are the distances in *stadia*, of which there are twelve in FL. Only two of these, 3,12 and 32,2, are retained by Gervase. Unlike the P-Group texts, he has made no attempt to convert them to a more meaningful unit of measurement.

Two of the distances, 3,1 and 32,6, have become disconnected from their context in FL, and their removal by Gervase is in keeping with his policy of removing or rewriting incoherent phrases. The remaining eight distances have also been removed, presumably because Gervase felt that they were out of place in his work. It is not the removal itself which is of major interest, but the manner in which it is done. Although in four cases (3,7; 3,10; 6,3; 26,1-2) the distance has simply been dropped with the surrounding passage remodelled slightly where necessary, in the other four instances Gervase has felt it necessary to replace the distance with another phrase. In two cases (2,5 and 3,14) the distance has been replaced by *mansiones pleraeque*

sunt, a phrase frequently found in itineraries¹.

In 4,2, FL's *Hinc ad castellum Philoniae* qui locus dictus est stadia ccc has been modified to *Hinc ad castellum filonie transitus est*. The most extensive rewriting to replace a distance is found in 2,2, where FL reads:

dirus flumen stadia cxc^{tis}; hic locus sanctus est.

('the river Dirus 190 stadia; this place is holy.')

Gervase has elaborated on the idea of sanctity, producing:

*dirus fluvius subjacet desertam sanctis hominibus
copiosa repleta spatiosa patent.*

('The river Dirus adjoins the desert; abundant open spaces spread out, full of holy men.')

Other details which have been suppressed, some of them admittedly presenting difficult readings in FL, include the size of the giant sheep in 3,3 (as big as oxen in P-Group, but linked only with goats in FL); the reference to the source of the rivers Nile and Briso in 13,7-8. He has omitted four of the many names which cannot be corroborated from other sources: *A Nicerorum* (2,4); *Egmonas* (3,1); *mons Horis* (4,2-3) and *quod dicitur Maram Aquam* (where the

1. cf. *Itineraria et alia geographica*, ed. P. Geyer, Turnhout, 1965. (Corpus Christianorum Lat., 175-176)

'Egyptian' name has been lost in FL) (13,7).

Locus honestus et plus quam locupletes (3,12) has become *lacus piscosus*¹; *ubi valde homines locupletes sunt* (20,7) has been replaced by one of his favourite formulae: *ubi mansio est hominum plurimum locupletum*. *Cinctam* ('walled', 23,2) is changed to *optime fertilis est*; *pedes xvi* (32,31-32, the distance that light radiates from the jewelled bed at Heliopolis) is modified to *ad palatii interioris consistentiam*.

Gervase seems unhappy about distances in feet and will not allow *pedes* to stand alone as a unit of measurement, particularly in a physical description where it could be misunderstood as a part of the body. In 14,2 *longi pedes xii* is replaced by *ad mensuram xii pedum*, and in the following line *pedes xii* is rewritten *itidem xii pedum longitudine terminatur*. *Longi* is frequently rewritten as *longitudo eorum*², *statura* as in *longitudine*³.

1. In the French translation of *Otia Imperialia* in MS Paris, B.N. fr. 9113 this has become still further corrupted:

De babilone jusques a mesopolitaine il y a soixante lacs qui habundent de poysson.

2. e.g. 18,5; 19,2.

3. e.g. 30,2.

In 15,2-3 Gervase appears to offer two possible interpretations of FL's *colore similes equorum*, which is unsatisfactory in terms of content, although similar readings are found in FR, liP and Pit, for what is the reader to understand by 'horse colour'?¹ Gervase offers us both *celeres ad instar equorum* ('swift as horses') and *colla (habentes) equina* ('having equine necks').

3. Minor Modifications to the Text

Gervase interested himself in the style of FR and attempted to improve it stylistically, grammatically and in its vocabulary. He frequently takes action to eliminate tautology, not an uncommon fault in FL, modifying *sub terra ... sunt et aurum fodiunt* to *sub terra aurum fodiunt* (12,15-16); *ingentes et maxime forme* to *maxima et optime forme* (20,11) and *multitudinem ... innumerabilium* to *multitudinem* (2,6-7).

He favours an ablative absolute construction, which he introduces in several instances: *Maxima negotiatorum* (3,2) is changed to *magna et negociatoribus exposita*; the change of colour in the pepper which is attributed to the flames in FL (*propter flamma*, 8,14)

1. See Commentary on §15 for a full discussion of this point.

appears in the Gervase MSS variously as *mutato calore* ('having been changed by the heat') and *mutato colore* ('the colour having been changed')¹. In four instances he changes a present participle to a present indicative², and in two he changes a present tense verb to a participle³.

He makes several modifications to prepositions, frequently replacing *ibi* and *ubi*. *Illic* replaces *ibi* on three occasions⁴, and it replaces *in quo loco* once⁵. *Ibi* is replaced by *in illa quoque vicinitate* (23,5) and *in eo loco* is replaced by *in hiis terminis* (32,1).

Grammatical improvements include the introduction of the Classical Latin form for a Greek accusative, *Eliopolim* (Ἠλιόπολιν) (33,10) and the restoration of an ablative with *vescor*, thus *vestitur* (33,7) becoming *thure vestitur*.

Gervase shows distinct preferences for certain words and constructions. He uses an adjective to attribute animal characteristics in preference to a phrase with a noun: *similia arietum* becomes *arietina*

1. The *calore* reading probably represents Gervase's earliest version, see commentary §8.

2. 2,6; 12,6; 22,3; 35,5. 3. 34,5; 35,13.

4. 8,8; 20,10; 30,1. 5. 32,6.

(8,6); *quasi bos* is changed to *bovinas* (22,4) and *aprorum* to *aprilos* (22,3).

Several other words and constructions are changed repeatedly:

<i>civitas est</i>	to <i>occurrit civitas</i>	3,5; 3,15.
<i>occidere</i>	to <i>perimere</i>	5,6; 8,7.
<i>appellantur</i>	to <i>nuncupantur</i>	11,5.
	to <i>nomine censetur</i>	24,4.
	to <i>nominant</i>	35,4; 35,14.
<i>transeunt</i>	to <i>transvadant</i>	12,27.
	to <i>transitu peragrant</i>	12,32.
<i>similes</i>	to <i>consimiles</i>	32,6-7; 32,22.

4. Conclusions

Gervase is seen to be an editor who imposes his personality on his material and who has fairly rigid ideas of style. This is fully consistent with the picture of continuous revision which emerges from an examination of the MS tradition. His main interest appears to be in the literary aspect of his work and not in its factual accuracy.

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION : ESTABLISHMENT OF A TEXT

1. Characteristics of MS Vat. Lat. 933 (N)¹

Caldwell², in his thorough analysis of the composition of N, argued that it was a working copy used by Gervase during the composition of *Otia Imperialia*. His argument may be summarised as follows:

1. The MS has more than 300 marginal notes and supplements written in a single hand, although 5 different scribes can be identified in the main body of the work. Some of these supplements are in the first person and worded in a way which presumes the authority of authorship³.
2. The MS is cluttered and composed of skins of various sizes, many of them defective. f.35 appears to have been taken from an earlier copy of the work. Extra folios and sheets were inserted after the text had been written, with indicators to show the point at which they are to be inserted into the text. In all, the codex has the look

1. The symbols used for the MSS of *Otia Imperialia* are those given by Caldwell. For key, see below, p.287.

2. J.R. Caldwell, 'Autograph ...' *loc.cit.*

3. See above, p.262 ft.2.

of a work in progress, which received considerable editorial attention but to the appearance and presentability of which little heed was paid.

3. 'In effect', all of the corrections, additions and suppressions in the MS have found their way into the subsequent MS tradition.

Caldwell's conclusion, therefore, is that a MS copied by several hands was used by the author as a basis for editing and improving his work, and it is in the work of the corrector that he would see the hand of Gervase himself.

2. Evidence of the Stemma

a) Caldwell's Theory of Composition

Although this argument for corrections by the author himself in N is persuasive, it does not mean that N is the sole ancestor of the 27 other MSS. Caldwell¹ isolated a number of accretions which appear in various stages of development in the MSS, and from an analysis of their treatment and of the overall contents of each MS he established MS groupings. The tradition is a complicated one, and the frequent evidence of collation between MSS made him reluctant

1. J.R. Caldwell, 'Interrelationship ...' *loc.cit.*

to offer more than a tentative stemma.

According to this, H reflects the earliest stage of N, either being copied from a source of N or from N itself while in the process of composition. β , the source of Group II, was copied at two different stages, of which IIa (β^1) is the less complete. β was usually less full than N, but occasionally presented additional material. The relative stages at which certain marginalia appear in the MSS deriving from N^1 (the source of N) and in those deriving from β indicate that N^1 and β are not the same MS copied at different states of completeness, but two MSS to which the marginalia were added in a different order.

The base MS of Group III (λ) reflects a late stage of N, and the base MS of Group IV (δ) similarly derives in the main from N. MSS D, K and L incorporate readings from another group.

Caldwell based these assertions on an analysis of major points of the text. With the text of FL we have an opportunity to test these conclusions against the evidence of the minutiae of the text, the more valuable because we know with a fair degree of accuracy the readings which were in Gervase's source.

Key to the Symbols used for the MSS.

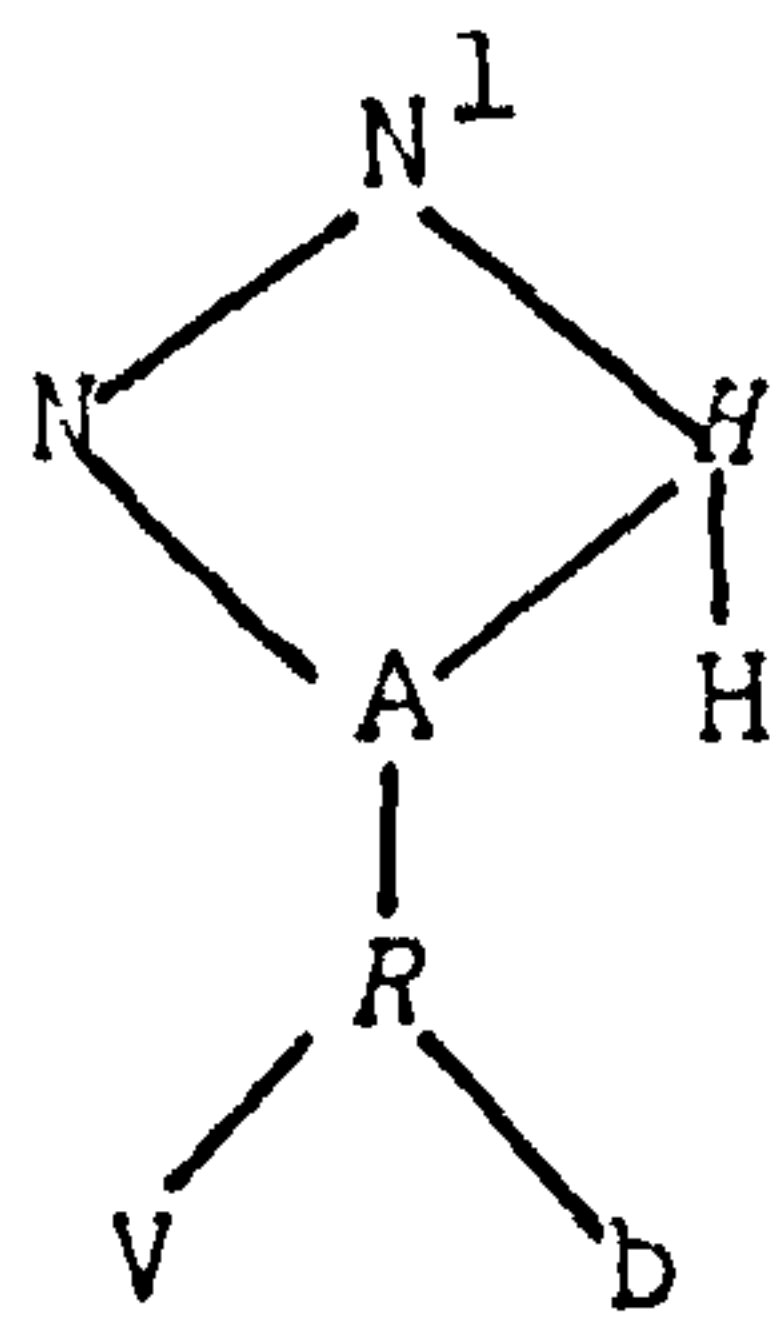
- N: Vatican, Vat. Lat. 933
- A: BL Cotton Vespasian Eiv
- B: Paris, BN Lat. 6488
- C: Paris, BN Lat 6703
- D: Cornell Univ. Lib.
- E: Wolfenbüttel Helmstedt 481
- F: Toulouse 448 (II,77)
- G: Paris, BN Lat. 6491
- H: Paris, BN Lat. 6490
- I: Paris, BN Lat. 6492
- K: Paris, BN Lat. 6781
- L: Paris, BN Lat 6704
- M: Madrid, BN 6213
- O: Vatican Reg. Lat. 707
- P: Vatican Barb. Lat. 2611
- Q: Oxford, Canon Misc. 53
- R: Cambridge, St. John's College 219
- S: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 414
- T: Cambridge, Addit. 3446
- U: Paris, BN Lat. 6489
- V: Cambridge, Magdalene College F.4.23
- W: Paris, BN Lat. 6492A
- X: Vatican, Vat. Lat. 993
- Y: Leyden, Voss. Lat. folio 15
- Z: Aberystwyth, Nat. Lib. Wales 5009C
- a: Paris, BN Lat. 13959
- b: BL Royal 13 E IX
- c: Brussels BR 4562 (1136)

These MSS are all described in:

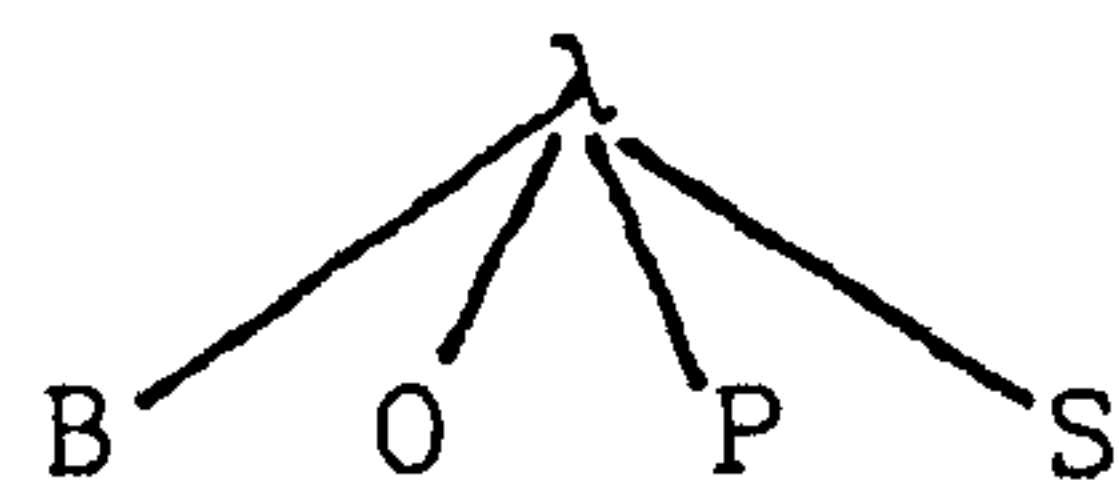
J.R. Caldwell, 'The Manuscripts of Gervase
of Tilbury's *Otia Imperialia*', *Scriptorium*,
16, 1962, pp.28-45.

Caldwell's Suggested Stemmae

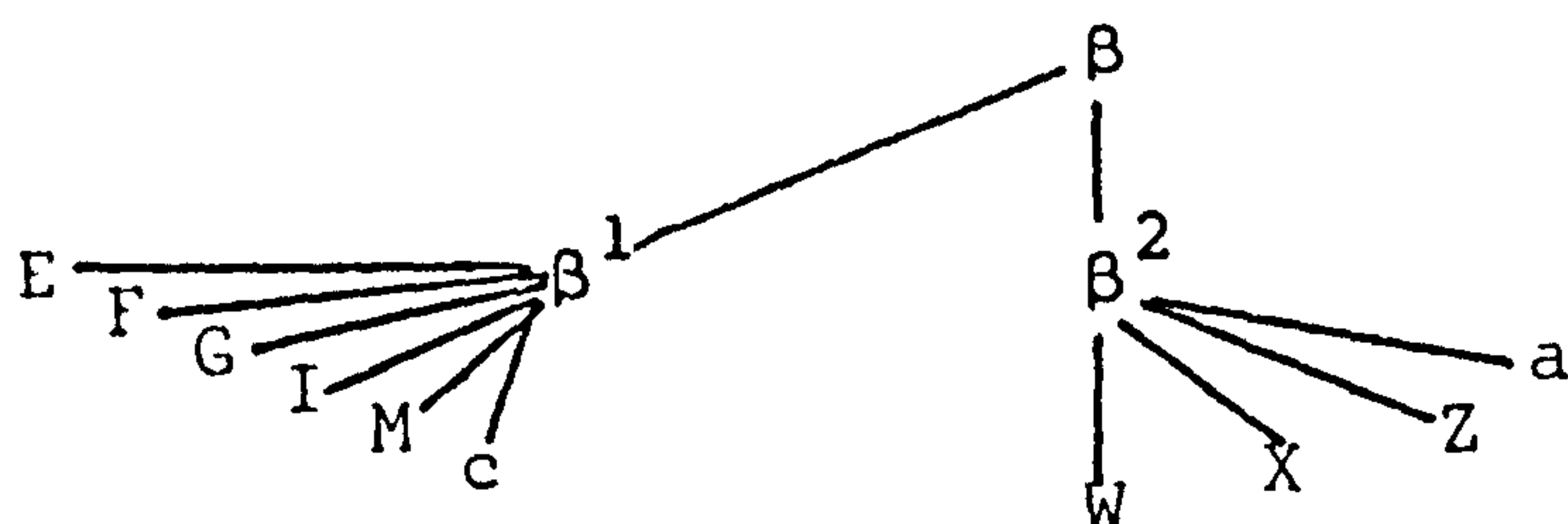
Group I



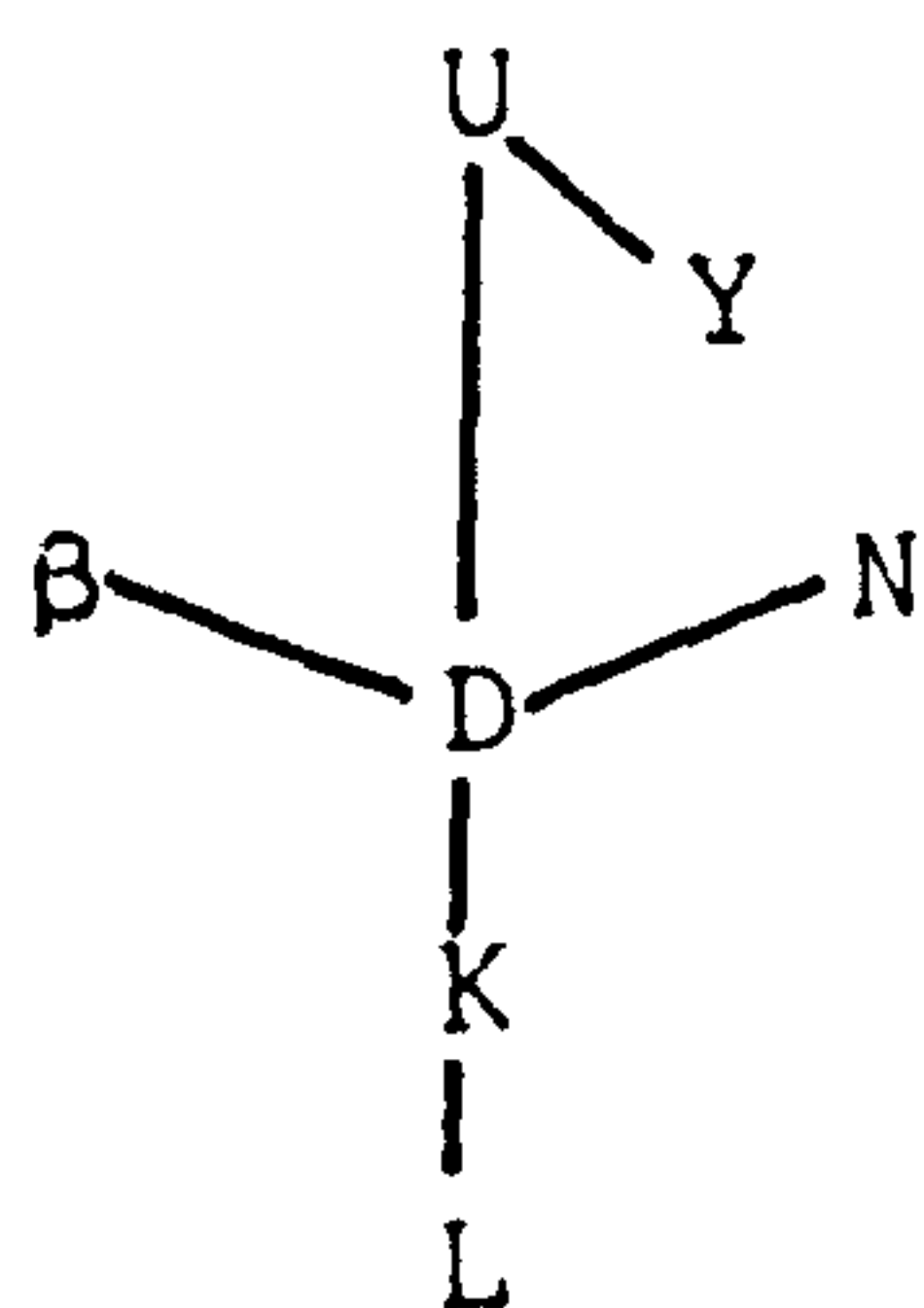
Group III



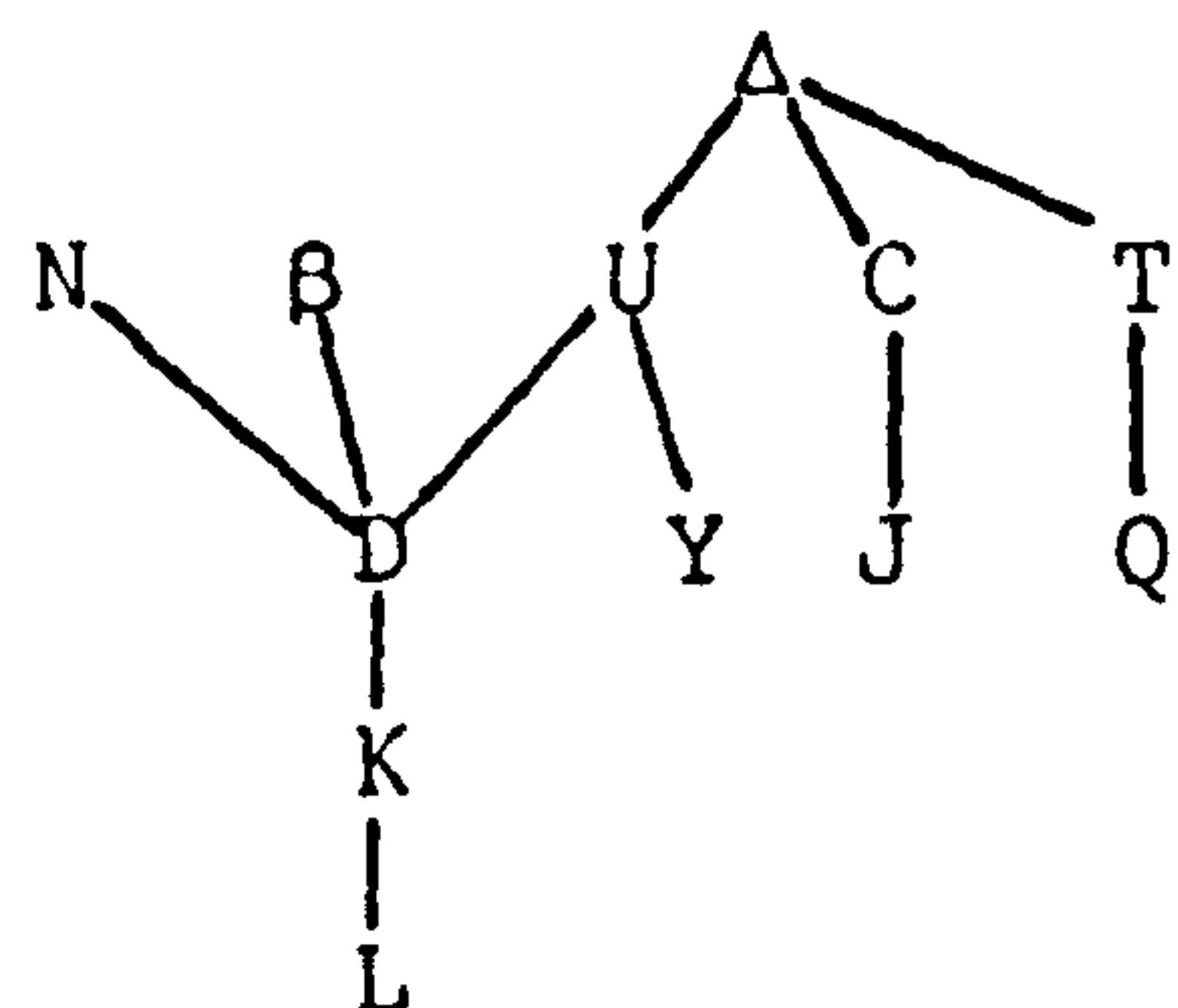
Group II



Group IVa



Group IVb



N^1 : primitive stage of N

R : radical revision of text

H : copy with II,26 mislocated

b) Evidence from the *Formes* text

The MSS fall into two groups, which can frequently be distinguished by the wording of their rubrics:

Rubric between §35 and §1:

N: *de hominibus qui pedes habent octenos et totidem oculos.*

(Found in Group I, IIa, III and as an additional reading in D, K and L.)

IIb and IV: *de hominibus simiis et gallinis qui comedentes urunt.*

(Group IVa has *usum* or *versum* in place of *urunt*.)

Rubric before §6 (beginning of the text)

N: *de serpentibus.*

(Found in Group I (R: *de serpentibus orrendis*);

IIa (c: *De serpentibus et pipere*); III)

IIb and IV: *De onagris cornutis.*

(X wrongly gives the rubric for the preceding passage: *De silva fatata per horas.*)

Rubric §24

N: *de ethiopia et palaciis duobus.*

(Found in Group I, IIa (c: *de ethiopia et palaciis duobus solis et lune*; I: *De ethiopia et palaciis Indii*);

III, and as an additional reading in D, K and L.)

IIb and IV: *de palatio solis et lune.*

Rubric §35:

N: *de flammis Solis orientis*.

(Found in Group I (R: *De monte olimpi et smaragdus*);

IIa (c: *De flammis montium in solis ortu et mare fervido*); III.)

IIb; IV: *De montibus flammantibus in ortu solis*.

This same pattern of agreement, with Groups I, IIa and III against IIb and IV appears in the body of the text in a few readings which were not liable to scribal correction, mostly proper names:

2,2FL: *dirus*

N, Groups I, IIa, III: *dirus*

(B: *duris*; S: *darius*)

IIb, IV: *farfar* (K: *tibi farfar* for *cui dirus*;

L: *tibi midiens alias farfar*.)

One would not presume to suggest a stemma on the basis of so short a section of a long work, but it seems clear that there is a greater connection between Groups IIb and IV than between Groups IIa and IIb. D, K and L, as Caldwell recognised, have been collated against a copy from another group (Caldwell suggests that K and L are directly descended from D). We see from the rubrics that c often diverges from the characteristic readings

of IIa and in some cases (e.g. rubrics §§24 and 35) includes elements of the IIb/IV readings.

In 23,5 two levels of corruption can be seen in the MSS. The wording of FL has been changed, but the agreement of N, H, c, IIb and IV demonstrates that Gervase's text originally read *in illa quoque vicinitate*. The first stage of corruption, to *in illa quoque in civitate* (misinterpretation of minims) is found in A and R (Group I), I (IIa) S and P (III). This is corrected to *in illa quoque civitate* in E and G (IIa) and B and O (III). In this instance the agreement of IIb and IV preserves a correct reading.

In 3,17, where FL reads *India*, N shows the easy miscopying *Nidia*. The correct reading appears in H (Group I); G and c (IIa); X (IIb) and Group IVb. L has reintroduced it in place of IVa's *Scidia*, which appears in K as *Scidia alias nydia*.

In 23,7, FL describes a place where there are too many kings for the author to name or number; *nec numerum nec nomina scribere potuimus*. The scribe of N had some difficulty with this, writing:

nomina vel *ignoramus*

and the corrector inserted *numerum* into the gap.

retain a correct reading. I Ib is separated from the others by its handling of *numerus*, which indicates a connection with a particular stage in the composition of the work, for *numerus* is a restoration in N, not an addition, and early copies of N¹ (i.e. deriving from the MS tradition prior to N) are just as likely to give the correct reading as those made after the corrections were made in N.

Group I is often closest to FL in readings, and either N or H usually show the closest reading. Several MSS of Group IIa show close similarities with MSS of other groups, I with H (shared loss of 7 words in 12,4-5 and of 5 words in 3,4-5)¹ and E with the MSS of Group III, sharing loss of 9 words with P², the reading *occinti* for *occurrit* (3,5) with S and the reading *adlans* (34,1) with B (the remainder of III reading *adlaus*).

Group III is characterized by the presence of N's gloss on *centrios* (12,5: *id est medias partes*) which is found only in these four MSS, and of the gloss on *sure* (14,6: *.i. crura*) which appears exclusively in three of them (lacking in P).

1. 12,4-5 (bracketed words missing) *mirmidiones (magnitudine catulorum habentes pedes senos et centrios) quasi ...*

2,4-5 *usque ad (Oliviam insulam et usque ad) fines ...*

2. 30,4-8 *auriculas (quasi alas, corpus candidum, et cum homines viderint, auriculas) protendunt.*

IVa is distinguished by the reading *Scidia* for *India* in 3,17 and *aliquibus annis* for *quotannis* in 14,9 (D, K and L give both variants). IVb shares some of the readings of IVa, such as *tibie* for *sure* in 14,6, but is free of many of its corruptions.

In the section based on FL we are fortunate in knowing with reasonable accuracy what Gervase found in his source. If we are correct in taking N as generally closest to the author's intention, we would expect it to have, either in its original wording or in its corrections, a larger number of readings closer to those of FL than the other MSS.

There is one error in N which may indeed point to a close relationship between it and FL. In 33,6, where FL reads *facta* and all Gervase MSS have *strata* (except H, which reads *structa*), N has *stracta*, with the *c* underdotted by the scribe (not the corrector) for deletion. Whether his error had anything to do with confusion between *facta* and *strata* or between *structa* and *strata* is a matter for conjecture. Probably, in view of the number of silly mistakes this scribe made which he did not correct himself, we would be unwise to place too much weight on this point.

The *numerus* passage (23,7) shows that N was an ancestor of some of the other MSS, as does the presence in U and L of *honerate* (12,26) reflecting N's *on(er)te*. The majority of MSS read *onuste*.

There are a few instances, in addition to those already discussed, where other MSS show readings closer to FL than those of N as corrected:

- 3,3 FL: *ac capree* N: *caprari*
most other MSS: *ac caprarum*
- 3,15 FL: *valatho* N: *vallata*
A, G, c E, a, B, O, S, K: *valatha*
- 3,17 FL: *Possidonia* N: *Possironia*
all other MSS: *Possidonia*
- 4,1 FL: *Philoniae* N: *filone*
E, L, K: *philonie*
H, I, c, a, X, B, P, O, S: *filonie*
- 15,9 FL: *sugit* N: *fugit*
H, R, I, G, a, B, S, C, Q: *sugit*
- 24,3 FL: *unde gemme naturales sunt nigre*
N: *ubi gemme fiunt naturales*
L: *ubi gemme sunt naturales*

Most of these examples show, as we would expect, one group or several groups (often including H) giving a reading which is likely to be the original one.

In this edition I have followed N, except in those instances where another MS is closer to FL or obviously more accurate. The readings of N are given in footnotes to the text in Appendix 2C where

they are not used in the text.

In view of the likely importance of the corrections, as the work of the author, a full list of the corrections made in this part of the text follows.

Author's Corrections in the *Fermes* Section of the Text

Four glosses have been inserted by the corrector:

f.72^v col.1 (10,4) *iubas* .i. *comas*
f.72^v col.1 (12,5) *centrios* *id est medias partes*
f.72^v col.2 (14,6) *sure* .i. *crura*
f.73^r col.2 (34,5) *vittam* .i. *pepulam*

The first and fourth are interlinear glosses, the second and third marginal.

Minor Corrections

	Original reading	Corrector's reading	FL
2,2	<i>darus</i>	<i>dirus</i>	<i>dirus</i>
2,5	<i>fores</i>	<i>fines</i>	<i>finibus</i>
3,3	<i>ac a caprari</i>	<i>caprari</i>	<i>ac capree</i>
	(other MSS all <i>ac caprarum</i>)		
3,4	<i>bis sic que</i>	<i>bissi que</i>	<i>et birri</i>
7,1	<i>ouagri</i>	<i>onagri</i>	<i>onagri</i>
11,4	<i>nutrient</i>	<i>nutrientes</i>	<i>habentes</i>
11,6	<i>pices</i>	<i>pisces</i>	<i>pisces</i>
11,6	<i>crodos</i>	<i>crudos</i>	<i>crudos</i>
11,6	<i>coinedunt</i>	<i>comedunt</i>	<i>vescuntur</i>

	Original reading	Corrector's reading	FL
12,10	<i>subterrane--</i>	<i>subterraneis</i>	<i>subterraneo</i>
12,12	<i>attingerint</i>	<i>attigerint</i>	<i>viderint</i>
12,12	<i>velocissim-</i>	<i>velocissime</i>	<i>velociosini</i>
12,14	<i>censecantur</i>	<i>censcantur</i>	---
12,19	<i>trahitur</i>	<i>extrahitur</i>	<i>auferetur</i>
12,20	<i>camelis</i>	<i>camelas</i>	<i>camelas</i>
12,26	<i>onertet</i>	<i>onerte et</i>	---
12,26	<i>amore</i>	<i>et amore</i>	---
13,2	<i>nil-</i>	<i>nili</i>	---
14,4	<i>longitudinem</i>	<i>longitudine</i>	---
14,6	<i>sive nigre</i>	<i>sure nigre</i>	<i>nigre sure</i> (see notes)
14,9	<i>quotanis</i>	<i>quotannis</i>	---
15,7	<i>hasce</i>	<i>hascemodi</i>	---
15,9	<i>omnino nocetur</i>	<i>omnino non nocetur</i>	<i>omnino ... non nocetur</i>
20 rub	<i>m<u>l</u>ieribus</i>	<i>mulieribus</i>	---
20 rub	<i>lirbatis</i>	<i>barbatis</i>	---
20,8	<i>i iud^gam</i>	<i>indiam</i>	<i>India</i>
20,8	<i>finnt</i>	<i>fiunt</i>	<i>sunt</i>
22,2	<i>in quibus nascuntur que</i>	<i>in quibus nascuntur mulieres que</i>	<i>in quibus nascuntur et alio mulieres</i>
23,7		<i>nomina inserted in gap</i>	
24 rub	<i>palagiis</i>	<i>palaciis</i>	---
30,1	<i>nascuntunt</i>	<i>nascuntur</i>	---

	Original reading	Corrector's reading	FL
30,8	<i>procendunt</i>	<i>protendunt</i>	<i>ostendunt</i>
32,14	<i>sunt</i>	<i>fiunt</i>	---
32,19	<i>ramiaus</i>	<i>rami eius</i>	---
32,20	<i>sicquo</i>	<i>sicque</i>	---
32,20	<i>exit . in</i>	<i>& inserted</i>	---
32,23	<i>cumamomo</i>	<i>cinamomo</i>	<i>cinnamorio</i>
32,31	<i>palatum</i>	<i>palatii</i>	---
33,3	<i>pavmentum</i>	<i>pavimentum</i>	<i>pavimentum</i>
33,6	<i>tracta</i>	<i>strata</i>	<i>facta</i>
33,10	<i>u (vero)</i>	<i>n (nisi)</i>	<i>nisi</i>
34,7	<i>est</i>	<i>esse</i>	<i>est</i> (different construction)
34,18	<i>nido nidoque</i>	<i>nidoque</i>	---
35 rub	<i>de flantis</i> <i>solis</i>	<i>de flammis</i> <i>solis orientis</i>	---

The corrector has also inked over a large number of letters, in particular joining minims, and has added punctuation marks.

SECTION 5

MINOR WITNESSES
AND DERIVATIVES

**PAGE
MISSING
IN
ORIGINAL**

GERVASE'S P-GROUP MATERIAL

Gervase based his description of the world in the second Decisio of *Otia Imperialia* on the *Imago Mundi* ascribed to the twelfth century writer, Honorius Augustodunensis¹.

Honorius Augustodunensis or Inclusus is one of the most mysterious figures of his period. Despite the immense popularity of his works, some 500 MSS of which survive, there are no references to him in contemporary sources. Such details of his life as can be gleaned from his writings present a riddle to scholars. He may indeed have made a deliberate attempt to conceal his true identity and to deflect attention away from himself, for as an anchorite (*inclusus* or *solitarius*) he had chosen a life of seclusion and anonymity. Many attempts have been made to establish links between Honorius and specific places, monastic houses and contemporaries². There remains, however, no agreement, even on the significance of the term *Augustodunensis*.

1. Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago Mundi*, PL 172, coll.115-188.

2. This is particularly true of studies by scholars who are themselves attached to a monastic order. Many of the articles listed in the Bibliography are attempts to place Honorius in a geographical or monastic context.

Of the several works attributed to Honorius, *Imago Mundi* was the most widely circulated. Many vernacular translations are extant. It provided the framework for large sections of *Otia Imperialia*; it was a major source of Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Orientalis*¹ and through this provided a rich mine for Thomas of Cantimpré².

The rubrics in MS Vat. Lat. 933 of *Otia Imperialia* show us that Gervase knew *Imago Mundi* by the alternative title current in the Middle Ages, *Mappa Mundi*. (This is the title given by the Italian translator³, and the Spanish translator knew it as an alternative⁴.)

Gervase took *Imago Mundi* as the basis for his world geography, and added to it items of interest from many sources. This process of addition and correction extending over a period of years characterised his editorial method in compiling *Otia Imperialia* and involved the use of several working drafts. Vat. Lat. 933, the only working copy known

1. Jacques de Vitry, *Libri duo quorum prior orientalis, sive Hierosolymitanae* ... Douai, Balthazar Belleri, 1597.

2. See pp. 333-336.

3. *L'Ymagine del Mondo*, ed. F. Chiovaro, Naples, 1977.

4. *Semeiança del Mundo; a Medieval Description of the World*, ed. W.E. Bull and H.F. Williams, Berkeley, Calif., 1959.

to have survived¹, shows extensive interpolation in the folios which include material from a P-Group version of the *Letter* (GerII)². Three separate paragraphs derive from the *Letter*; one on f.19^r is taken from §22, the next, on f.19^v is from §§6-7 and the last, on f.20^v from §§20 and 21. They are included in the body of the text, except for 21,5-7 which were evidently omitted when the MS was written, for they are in the margin with a marker to show the point at which they are to be inserted into the text. There is no indication of the source from which these passages were drawn. Neither Vat. Lat. 933 nor Wolfenbüttel Helms. 481, both of which frequently note sources elsewhere in the work, list many of the sources for this section of the text. This may be due to the frequency of interpolation, which in Vat. Lat. 933 has crowded the margins almost to the point of illegibility. Only one source is named in this area in this MS, Orosius, who is named on ff.18^r and 19^r. Close to the second of the three passages is a rubric *Mappa Mundi* (a reference to Honorius), while the third is marked

1. See pp. 284-285.

2. Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ed. G.W. Leibnitz, *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium*, Hannover, 1707-1711, Vol. 2, pp.755, 757, 760. See also Plate 8.

Mirum, a note used so frequently in this MS that it constitutes little more than a paragraph marker.

The direct source of these passages remains a mystery, but Gervase's reasons for selecting them and for adding them at these specific points are evident. He made a considerable effort to organise his material, although the literary conventions he followed and his adherence to the format of Honorius prevented him from using an alphabetical arrangement such as Thomas of Cantimpré was to use for half of his twenty books just two decades later. Gervase inserts passages on the basis of linked words or concepts. The context into which these three paragraphs are set is itself mostly an interpolation into the basic text of Honorius. (This same process is seen at work in the F-Group version of the *Letter* in Gervase, where interpolations from several sources have been inserted into §32 on the balsam trees.) Each of the three passages in GerII are linked not by a concept contained within the passages interpolated but by a similarity between their context in the *Letter* and the context into which they have been introduced. This seems to indicate that these passages were drawn, possibly by Gervase, possibly by the compiler of an earlier work from which Gervase drew them complete with their new contexts, from a source in which a larger part, if not

all, of the *Letter* was present.

The first interpolation is E22 on the monstrous women with boar-like teeth. It follows a reference from Honorius¹ to the woods of Hircania, in which tigers, panthers and pards abound. This is similar to the context of the passage in the *Letter*, where it follows the description of the huntresses who employ savage beasts as hounds (a passage used by Gervase a little further on). The wording of the interpolation agrees with that of Pit in several details. It reads *dentes aprinos* (22,9) against *dentes aprorum* in Mir (EP and LM omit the detail). In 22,6 the specific height is given in all texts except GerII and Pit. The reading *pedes camelinos* (22,8) agrees with Pit against *camelorum* in EP and LM and *cameli* in Mir. In both GerII and Pit the description ends at 22,9, omitting the confusing and corrupt reference to asses' teeth (which are also omitted in LM but are present in the other texts).

1. The preceding lines in Gervase read:

*dicta a sylva Hircania, quae Scythiae subjacet,
in qua nascuntur bestiae, tigrides pantherae ac
pardi.*

This is from *Imago Mundi* XIX. In MS Vat. Lat. 933 *tigres* has been changed to *tigrides* by the Corrector.

The second passage contains details from §§6-7 on the horned asses and the amphisbaena. The items are reversed; the insertion was probably made at this point because of a reference to the Red Sea¹ immediately preceding it in Gervase. Although in the *Letter* these creatures are associated with Seleucia and the kingdom of the Medes, a section a little earlier (§4 on the venomous hens) is located in a place *eunti bus ad mare rubrum*². The wording of all texts is very close in §§6-7, but GerII again shows agreement with Pit in two points: *habentes* is placed before its object in 6,7, instead of after it, and *lucerna* in 6,9 is singular, against plural *lucernae* in all other texts. GerII omits the reference to the size of the asses, which is found in all other P-Group texts, including Pit.

The third passage, §§20-21, is again linked with the Red Sea and inserted at this specific point because of the similarity of its context in the *Letter*. In the *Letter*, the *honesti homines*³

1. Vat. Lat. 933, f.19^v, col.2, ll.1-2 refer to the River Tigris, which *in rubrum mare porrigitur*.

2. 4,1.

3. 20,7.

who rule the Red Sea come immediately after a reference to a *mons maximus et altissimus*¹ in all P-Group texts. Gervase has inserted the description of these men directly after the words:

*in eodem vero medio mons est olimax maximus
et altissimus et in longum ad rubri maris faciem
pretens.*

The wording of GerII again agrees most closely with that of Pit in several phrases:

- a) *honesti homines* (20,7) - reversed in EP; Mir.
- b) reference to pearls omitted in 20,9.
- c) possession of horses retained in 21,5 - severely corrupted in Mir and lacking in EP.
- d) both read *tigrides* (21,6) against *tigres* in Mir and LM.
- e) both read *interficiunt* (21,9).

GerII does not contain Pit's inaccurate gloss *in forma canibus* (21,6) but agrees with Mir and F-Group in reading *pro canibus* in this description of the tigers used in place of hounds. The change of Pit and Mir's *in eodem monte nascuntur* to *illic nascentium* (21,8-9) is an editorial modification by Gervase, closely paralleled by several made to the F-Group text².

1. 20,6.

2. See p. 281-282.

These brief interpolations are valuable for the external support they provide for the readings of Pit. They also supply further evidence for the wide distribution of the P-Group text of the *Letter*. Regrettably, we shall now never know whether these passages are the same as the excerpts which were in the MS destroyed at Tournai¹. We cannot tell whether Gervase drew them directly from a complete text of the *Letter* or whether he found them incorporated into another work. He does not appear to have connected them with FL, but this could be due to any of several factors. Possibly there was a long gap in time between his handling of the two texts, or perhaps the P-Group text was truncated or mutilated in such a way that their relationship would not have been evident.

1. See pp. 311-312.

P-GROUP : GHOST MSS

FULDA ORDO XV 175

After Fulda Monastery was sacked during the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) its large collection of manuscripts was dispersed and only a small proportion have since come to light. The full extent of the loss is known from a sixteenth century catalogue, now in the Vatican¹. MS 175 (Ordo XV)² contained two works, the longer of which was:

Liber astrologiae et computus Bede presbiteri .

The catalogue gives a full incipit for each work, surprisingly full for a catalogue of such early date, and we know from this that this particular work was *De Tempore Ratione*, probably beginning at chapter 43. It was preceded in the MS by another text, whose incipit is given as:

*Epistola sermonis regis ad Traianum imperatorem
demonstrans loca, insulas, montes, homines, monstra
moresque.*

This was clearly a copy of the *Letter of Pharasmanes*. The P-Group form of the name (Pit's *Parmoenis* and EP's *premonis* are both close to the form *permonis* which underlies *sermonis*) is disguised only by

1. Vat. MS Pal. Lat. 1928. See K. Christ, *Die Bibliothek des Klosters Fulda im 16. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1933.

2. Christ, p.102.

misreading of a *p* as if it were an insular *s*. Whether this misreading was present in the actual MS or was introduced when the transcript was made in the sixteenth century we shall never know. The presence of insular script was a frequent occurrence in an Anglo-Saxon foundation, such as Fulda Monastery, and does not in itself indicate Anglo-Saxon or Irish provenance for either the missing MS or its ancestors.

After the name, the remainder of the incipit agrees in part with those of both the other P-Group texts. The only subject listed which appears in neither EP nor Pit is *mores*.

This text would have been an interesting one to compare with Pit and EP, on the evidence of the incipit, for it appears to bridge the gap between them in its readings and was clearly directly descended from neither of them. It is, however, most unlikely that it will be rediscovered at this late date. The majority of the surviving Fulda MSS found their way to Kassel, and I have checked all the Bede MSS at Kassel which are believed to have originated in Fulda, but without success.

TOURNAI MS 135

A detailed catalogue of the collection of MSS in the Bibliothèque de Ville at Tournai was in preparation immediately before the last war. The destruction in 1940 of all but a few of the MSS prevented the completion of this catalogue, but after the war the record was published as it stood, as a memorial to the lost library¹.

MS 135 was a compilation in a thirteenth-century hand containing a large number of excerpts and epitomes, some three dozen items in all, on a wide range of topics. Geographical, mythological and historical material predominates. The cataloguer believed that the MS was a collection assembled by a single man, probably an Englishman, working in a library in or near Metz. Unfortunately he gives us no indication of the evidence on which he based this conclusion, and no other studies of the MS, transcripts or microfilms are known to exist².

Two folios, 49^r-50^v were devoted to a compilation of teratological material, drawn from a wide range of

1. P. Falder, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Conservés à Tournai*, Gembloux, 1950.

2. I am indebted to M. Depolire of the Bibliothèque de Tournai for his attempt to locate material of this type.

sources¹:

*In dei nomine incipiunt pauca de mirabilibus orbis
terrarum, sicut optimi atque periti magistri
scriptis litteris nobis demonstraverunt, quorum
nomina sunt hec; Ieronimus presbyter, horosius
presbyter, ysidorus episcopus, postumianus,
permonis rex persarum atque alexander magnus et
ceteri philosophi. Mundus dictus est a motu
siderum ...*

In the name of God, here begin a few items on
the wonders of this world, as the best and most
experienced teachers have demonstrated them to
us in their writings. Their names are these:
Father Jerome, Father Orosius, Bishop Isidore,
Postumianus, Permonis king of the Persians and
Alexander the Great and other philosophers.
The world (*mundus*) is named after the movement
(*motu*) of the stars ...

There is clearly very little which can be deduced
from so brief a reference. The form of the name is
exactly the same as that in the lost Fulda MS after
p has been restored. The genitive form, as found in
all the extant headings, is retained, although the
compiler evidently believed it to be a nominative.
In so short a space, a mere four sides, each divided
into two columns, not very much material could have
been included from each of these sources. It
would be interesting to know whether the sections
selected from the *Letter* bore any resemblance to those
in the other P-Group text which borrows selectively, GerII.

1. Falder, p.159.

LIBER MONSTROFUM (LM)¹

LM is an anonymous compilation of material from various sources treating of monsters, wild animals and reptiles. It is divided into three books, *De Monstris*, *De Beluis* and *De Serpentibus*, each containing a large number of sections in random order.

The work is known from five MSS², only one of which contains the complete text. The earliest MS, which is dated to about 830 A.D., is among the most corrupt, suggesting that the work had passed through several stages of transmission by this date. Of these MSS, two contain only the first book³, the other two the first and second books. There is no doubt that the work was written by a single man and that the process has been one of loss rather than accretion, for the rather unusual approach to the material is consistent throughout.

1. Reference is made to the most recent edition, that of C. Bologna, *Liber Monstrorum de diversis generibus; Libro della mirabili difformita*, Milan, 1977. For a listing of earlier editions see the Bibliography to this thesis.
2. See Bibliography. The provenance and relationships of the MSS are investigated in my 'The *Liber Monstrorum*: an Unpublished Manuscript and some Reconsiderations', *Scriptorium*, 32, 1978, pp.19-28 (copy appended).
3. Works on humanoid monsters were popular. Book III of Thomas of Cantimpré's *De Natura Rerum* circulated more widely than the remainder.

Sources

A version of the *Letter of Pharasmanes* provided the Compiler of IM with much of his material. Faral, who investigated the sources of the first book¹, demonstrated that the bulk of that book was derived from four sources, Augustine², Jerome³, Virgil⁴ and the *Letter*.⁵ None of these sources are named in the text⁶, despite the fact that Augustine and Jerome were considered reliable authorities and authors were usually happy to cite them.

The Compiler's attitude to his sources is a strange one. Although he never acknowledges his debt to his major sources, he does occasionally name authors. Curiously, however, these few citations have been among the most difficult to trace and the most puzzling, almost as if he were consciously laying a false trail.

1. E. Faral, 'La Queue de Poisson des Sirènes', *Romania*, 74, 1953, pp.448-452.
2. *De Civitate Dei*, XVI,8. (11 references)
3. *Vita Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae*, PL 23. (3 references)
4. *passim*. (probably taken from a Commentary). (10 references)
5. 11 sections are certainly derived from the *Letter*.
6. The line *ut dictum est in Virgilio* in I,12b is part of a passage which appears only in the Pierpont Morgan Library MS and is almost certainly an interpolation.

In the 123 sections which make up the three books, authors are cited by name on five occasions. One is a reference to Virgil, but by a less easily recognised name:

Maro praecipuus poeta cecinit. (III,10)

Plautus is cited in II,8, but in strange circumstances. The passage deals with leopards and records an anecdote about a gift of leopard cubs sent to the Byzantine emperor Anastasius (491-518 A.D.) borne by a camel and an elephant (*in camelo et elefanto*). To this LM has added:

quem Plautus poeta 'Lucam bovem' nominavit.

The name *Luca bos* is indeed found in Plautus¹, but it seems out of place here since it refers not to the subject of the passage, the leopard, but to the elephant². Again the reference seems intended to confuse, which would not be the case if it had been added to the passage on the elephant (II,3).

The other three references cannot be verified, an unusually high proportion for a work of this nature. Two are to Lucan's lost poem on Orpheus³ (I,5 and II,8)

1. Plautus, *Casina*, ed. W.T. MacCary and M.M. Willcock, Cambridge, 1976, l.846.

2. So called because the Romans first encountered war elephants in Lucania.

3. See pp.340-42 where these references are considered in detail in connection with Aldhelm's putative authorship of LM.

but do not necessarily prove first-hand knowledge of the text; the other is to a grammarian called Octavianus (III,17):

(*Coluber*) *Quem Octavianus grammaticus feminini generis 'colubram' nominavit.*

This reference has not been traced, and has been explained¹ by commentators as a reference to the grammarian Priscian².

The overall impression given by the way in which the Compiler suppressed his true sources and cited a few obscure ones is that, while writing within the tradition followed by those who took such material seriously, he himself did not consider that the teratological material he was handling was worthy of the names which should have accompanied it.

Compilation

The use of the sources in Book I gives us a glimpse of the Compiler at work. In the middle of the book (which contains 57 sections) there is a run of 15 sections which have been drawn alternately from the *Letter* and from St. Augustine (I,16-30). He has not attempted to classify, to arrange similar items together. This is a practice which encourages belief, just as someone who has seen an ostrich has no difficulty in believing in the emu. The Compiler, on the other

1. L.G. Whitbread, 'The *Liber Monstrorum* and *Beowulf*', *Mediaeval Studies*, 36, 1974, pp.434-471.

2. ed. Koll, *Grammatici Latini*, 2, Leipzig, 1855, p.233.

hand, appears to separate similar material. The two types of monstrous women (huntresses and *lamiae*) which appear consecutively in the *Letter* (§§21 and 22) are found in LM in I,22 and I,28. Similarly, he does not take the opportunity to place together the descriptions of various peculiarities of the feet, all drawn from Augustine, but scatters them in I,17 (*De Sciapodas*), I,25 (*De his qui habent Plantas Lunatas*) and I,29 (*De Plantis Retrocurvatis*).

The Compiler does not invariably separate the similar. There are several instances where he has linked descriptions drawn from several sources within a single section. Augustine's account of the headless *blemmiae*, for instance, differs only in detail from that found in the *Letter*. §18 of the *Letter* forms the basis of LM's description, but to this he has added Augustine's alternative location for the eyes:

qui in pectore habent oculos et os, nisi quod oculos in humeris habere videntur. (I,24)

In Book II, which includes descriptions of many animals which are well-known and frequently described as well as more esoteric material, the Compiler frequently adds additional details or further locations, including some taken from the *Letter*, to descriptions from other sources. For instance, he supplies extra information in his account of the elephant:

et inter Nilum fluvium et Brizontem nasci perhibentur¹.

1. II,3 from *Letter* 13,9-10.

The Compiler appears to have taken the *Letter* to form the basis of Book I, drawing sections from it in an apparently random order and interweaving it with material from Augustine at the beginning and from a Vergilian commentary at the end. The passages from Jerome, few in number, are interwoven with Augustine, and at both ends of the book there is additional material drawn from a variety of sources, some untraced.

In Book II the problems facing the Compiler were rather different. Whereas Book I deals with a large number of creatures which can only be described as *quoddam hominum genus*¹, nearly all the creatures in Book II are named and the compilation is more systematic. The Compiler begins with the more familiar and credible - the lion (II,2); the elephant (II,3); the ass (II,4). Then, with a few exceptions, he progresses through the realm of mythical creatures known from literature - the chimaera (II,12); Cerberus (II,15); the dentetyrannus (II,17) to the unnamed and unnameable - *De Belua quae habent bina capita* (II,23); *De Bestiis cum Binis Pedibus* (II,33).

1. *quoddam hominum genus*: 1,11; 1,23;
quoddam genus hominum: 1,15; *quoddam genus*: 1,19;
genus hominum: 1,17; 1,26; *hominum quoque genus*: 1,33;
hominum genus: 1,5; *aliud hominum genus*: 1,27;
gens aliqua: 1,40.

Book III, *De Serpentibus*, contains fewer sections than the other two and deals with a more restricted field. Although most of the creatures are named, nearly all the accounts, even those dealing with non-mythical creatures such as the salamander (III,14), are of a fabulous nature. There is no attempt to progress from the known to the unknown, as in Book II, and the order of the sections appears to be random.

The Compiler's Attitude to his Material

The teratological material in LM is handled with a scepticism unparalleled among the texts and derivatives of the *Letter*. Only in a very limited number of the sections does the Compiler declare the details to be true¹. These few sections have been taken from patristic writers who themselves vouch for the veracity of their accounts. Augustine, in his discussion of monsters² recognises two distinct categories, the monstrous races of classical literature³, about whose existence he is non-committal, and the reports of monstrous births or freaks, which he accepts. It is this second category which the Compiler of LM, following his source, presents as verifiable fact. Even among

1. by the use of such terms as *fideli historia* (I,25); *testor* (I,1); *didicimus* (I,8).

2. *De Civitate Dei*, XVI, viii-ix.

3. *quae gentium narrat historia*. (D.C.D. ed. E. Sanford and W. Green, London, 1965, 5, p.42.

these he refuses to accept full responsibility for the statement that hermaphrodites appear repeatedly.

Augustine tells us:

*quamvis admodum rari sint, difficile est tamen ut temporibus desint*¹.

although they are very rare yet it is difficult to find periods when they do not occur².

LM I,1 at the same time exaggerates the frequency attributed to them by Augustine, and reports the statement as one in which he does not fully believe:

frequenter apud humanum genus contigisse fertur.

it is said to be encountered frequently among the human race.

Apart from these few passages which have the personal approval of an authority such as Augustine, the Compiler is reluctant to accept any responsibility for the factual content of the text. In 43 cases he demonstrates this reluctance by the use of words indicating that he is merely a transmitter of received material, words such as *dicunt* (they say)³; *legitur* (it is read)⁴; *describitur* (it is described)⁵ and

1. *op.cit.* p.46.

2. Translated by E. Sanford and W. Green, *op.cit.*, p.47.

3. *dicunt* etc. I,27; I,29; I,34; I,42; I,46; I,52; I,57; II,10; II,12; II,21; III,4; III,11; III,15; III,24.

4. *legitur* etc. I,4; I,11; I,26; I,30; I,41; I,44; I,51; II,27.

5. *describitur* etc. I,19; I,20; I,50; I,52; II,4; II,8; II,15; II,16; II,20; II,30; III,3; III,7; III,9; III,14; III,15; III,21.

*scribunt*¹, words which contain no overt scepticism. A slightly larger number of sections include a verb which contains an intimation of disbelief as well as acknowledging dependence on an account given by another authority, *ferunt* (they report)²; *perhibent* (they claim)³; and *fingunt* (they imagine)⁴.

In the remaining passages his incredulity is openly expressed. Words such as *incredibilis*⁵ and *fabula*⁶ are frequently employed. In a few instances he is even more outspoken, referring to lies:

huic mendacium (III,23)

qui nemo nisi veritatem spernens credit (I,37)

omni veritate carentia reperiuntur (III,25)

1. *scribunt* etc. I,47; I,55; II,12; II,25; II,29; II,34; III,18.

2. *ferunt* etc. I,1; I,3; I,17; I,22; I,28; I,32; I,33; I,38; I,43; I,53; I,56; II,2; II,13; II,17; II,18; II,19; II,21; II,23; II,24; II,26; II,35.

3. *perhibent* etc. I,14; I,16; I,18; I,21; I,23; I,35; I,54; II,3; II,10; II,31; II,32; II,33ter; III,2; III,4; III,6; III,7; III,9.

4. *fingunt* etc. I,37; I,39; II,2; II,9; II,11; II,14; II,20; II,33ter; III,13; III,24.

5. *incredibilis* etc. I,19; I,45; I,48; II,4; II,9; II,16; II,18; II,28; II,29.

6. *fabula*; *fabulositas* etc. I,43; I,45; I,49; I,50; II,9; II,11; II,29; II,33; III,1; III,23.

or profane beliefs:

quod dici nefandum est (1,42)

quod credere profanum est (1,34)

Editing of Material from the *Letter*

In very few instances has the Compiler copied verbatim from the *Letter*; as a rule he exercised a considerable degree of editorial control over his material. His emendations and modifications range from the addition of extra material from the same source to polishing the style of the original.

There are three instances where LM borrows descriptions from the *Letter* which are there introduced with the phrase *ibi nascuntur*¹, harking back to an earlier location. In each case LM includes this earlier location with the description in order to define more precisely the whereabouts of these creatures. Where the *Letter* does not provide this more precise information, he is ready to invent it, as in I,36/31,1-2 where *insula* in the *Letter* appears as *quaedam insula in orientalibus orbis terrarum partibus esse dicitur*.

Some of the modifications made to the material from the *Letter* are based on other writings. An example of this is the addition to the description of the *blemmyae* which has already been discussed. The

1. II,11/5,1 *prope ad Mare Rubrum* (4,1); II,14/10,1 *in Perside* (9,1-2); I,20/14,1 *Brizonti Niloque fluminibus vicini* (13,3)

rolling movement he attributes to the *amphiobaena*¹ is a common characteristic of descriptions of these creatures although not found in the version given in the *Letter*. Other additions are from his own imagination. The cynocephali which exhale fire (Mir 10,6: *ignem et flammam flantes*) do so in LM II,14 in the best tradition of legendary creatures, by both mouth and nose (*ore naribusque*). The Compiler was evidently somewhat worried by the absence of corroborative reports on the *celestices* (Mir *lertices*) of II,32/17,1-3, for he has added:

sed prope omnibus nationibus ignotae

but unknown to almost all nations.

The *Letter* in §23 describes a race of exceedingly beautiful men. Their diet is a hermit's diet of honey and raw meat, and LM inserts a note attributing their pleasantness to this diet; a concept not found in his source:

et hanc causam amoenitatis eorum adserunt: quod crudam carnem et mel purum manducant. (I,26)

The Compiler exhibits a concern with propriety, both in the detail of the accounts and in the verbal expression of them. There are two descriptions of man-eating monsters taken from the *Letter* (I,33/16,6 and I,40/29,12). In both cases the word used in the source to express 'eat' is *comedunt*. The Compiler has replaced this by verbs meaning 'devour' (*manducant* I,33;

1. See Commentary to n6.

devorent I,40) and has added, in both cases, the adjective *crudos*. This may have been simply to enhance the monstrosity of these creatures, but it almost suggests that the Compiler found cannibalism less abhorrent than the manner in which the meat was devoured.

In 22,6 in the *Letter* are described a breed of horrible women whose strange characteristics include a tail *in lumbis*. Such a phrase was too indelicate for the Compiler of LM, who replaced it in I,28 by the euphemism *in lateribus*.

Like Gervase of Tilbury¹, the Compiler of LM was concerned with improving the style and literary qualities of the material he refashioned. This concern is one of the characteristics often adduced in support of the theory that the Compiler was in fact St. Aldhelm², for the celebrated Anglo-Saxon divine shared this concern with elaborate forms of expression. In places the Compiler has rearranged the component parts of a description in order to create a logical progression. In I,28/822, the *Letter* provided him with a baffling description of women who were described as hideous and yet said to be beautiful. The Compiler evidently felt himself obliged to weight his description towards one side, and did this by grouping the more attractive traits at the beginning

1. See pp. 274-282.

2. See pp. 337-350.

of the sequence where their impact on the reader is greater:

Letter (boars' tusks)¹; ankle-length hair; tail; great height; beautiful body; like white marble; camels' feet; (asses' teeth)¹

LM beautiful; bodies like white marble; great height; long hair; tail; camels' feet.

By this device the reader's objections to the word *speciosae*², which in the *Letter* strikes one as utterly contradictory, are much reduced.

In I,33/16,3 the *Letter* supplies two dimensions for the *Hostes*. The first purports to be the measurement of their legs and thighs (*femora et suras xii pedum*) and the second of their body and chest (*latera cum pectore pedum sex*). It is not clear whether both of these are to be taken as vertical measurements or whether, as the OFr translator decided, the second is a horizontal dimension. The Compiler of LM has opted for the first solution, removing all ambiguity from his version by adding the two figures together and describing the creatures as *inmensis corporibus* (a phrase not found in the *Letter*) ... *xviii. pedes altitudinis accipiunt*.

1. These details, which are not found in LM, have been the subject of editing in several versions of the *Letter* and one or both of them may have been missing in the version of the *Letter* used by the Compiler.

2. On the history of this word in the *Letter* see pp. 751-759.

Many of the modifications deal with individual words or phrases. Like Gervase, LM shows a preference for adjectives, recasting *cornua similia arietibus* (III,6/8,5) as *cornua arietina* and *aures tamquam vannum* (I,43/30,4-5) as *vannosas aures*. He does not seek to avoid clichéd forms of expression, and sometimes is seen to prefer the hackneyed comparison. In I,43/30,8 he changes the simile *candido quasi lacteo* 'white as milk' to *marmorei candoris* 'white as marble', an image earlier employed by both the *Letter* and LM in I,28/22,7.

Version of the *Letter* used by the Compiler

The Compiler had before him a copy of the *Letter* which clearly belonged to P-Group. It contained two sections found only in that group¹ as well as some minor details symptomatic of P-Group.

It is more difficult to identify a specific text within P-Group which most closely approaches the version used in the compilation of LM. The Compiler's selective use of material from his sources and his extensive editorial modification tend to obscure the evidence. No weight at all can be laid upon the omission of certain details from LM's accounts, even when these omissions are directly paralleled in other texts, as the possibility of deliberate omission by the Compiler of LM is always present.

1. §16 on the *Hostes* and §17 on the *lertices/celestices*.

In any study of textual relationships the best and most conclusive evidence is that gained from shared corruptions. Indications of this type are rare in LM and occur only in words or phrases where there is a possibility of independent development in the texts concerned. There is a slight suggestion that the source of LM contained some mildly distorted readings which are otherwise found only in EP:

II,4/7,2 The horned asses are described as *forma maxima* in all texts of the *Letter* except EP which, possibly following misreading of the three minims in *forma*, calls them *maxima atque fortia*. LM has added the horned asses to his description of wild asses, drawn from another source, but he is careful to specify both their strength and their size:

cum incredibilibus quibusdam prodigiis ... et magnis describuntur corporibus.

EP is the only version of the *Letter* to express both aspects.

I,28/22,2 EP is alone among the texts of the *Letter* in locating the monstrous women *Rubro mari proximae* 'next to the Red Sea'. The most recent reference to the Red Sea in the other P-Group texts was in 20,8. LM follows EP in describing the women as *Rubro mari cohaerentes*.

However, EP contains a number of distinctive readings which differ more radically from those of the other P-Group texts than do the above examples.

None of these more striking instances is to be found in LM. They include such readings as *quaternos* against *gorgoneos* (5,5) and *Oriens ardet* against *mons ardet* (35,3). In these and similar cases LM agrees with the other P-Group texts against EP.

None of the many peculiarities exclusive to the text of Mir is found in LM, nor are any of the distinctive readings characterising other versions. The presence in LM of lines and whole sections which are lacking in the extant texts of EP or Pit demonstrates that neither of these as it now stands could have been the source used by the Compiler.

Another source of information on relationships is the existence in a minority of texts of readings which are accurately preserved ancestral forms. On this question the evidence in LM is more abundant, but the readings present a complex picture. There is, indeed, one instance in which LM appears to have preserved an ancestral reading found nowhere else. In the account of the stork-men (I,20/§14) the P-Group texts refer to their *scapulas nigras*¹ 'black shoulders', a concept clearly descended from the jet-black flight feathers of the stork. In place of this, LM reads *macilenti corpore describuntur* 'they are described as having a slender body', which also echoes the physical reality of the bird. LM contains

1. Corrupted to *capillis nigris* 'with black hair' in Mir.

no indications of the true nature of these creatures and we must presume that the source, like the majority of P-Group texts, retained nothing to link these men with the birds. There would have been, therefore, no grounds for an intelligent emendation based on a comparison with a stork. It is indeed possible that LM's reading derived from a highly corrupted version of *scapulas nigras*. However, in view of the appropriateness of the description, it is tempting to suggest that the ancestral P-Group text contained both details and that the slender body was retained only in the source of LM.

There are many cases in which LM shares readings which are, or which appear to be, correctly preserved with one or two of the P-Group texts. There are many instances, particularly where the readings of the two groups have diverged to such an extent that direct comparison is not possible, in which no one reading can be unequivocally stated to be more corrupt than any other. The range of the agreements between LM and other texts is wide, suggesting that the version of the *Letter* on which LM is based should occupy a fairly central position in the stemma.

Each of the four P-Group texts (Pit; EP; Mir and OFr) contains at least one reading which is found

only in that text and in LM. The instances of agreement between LM and EP are perhaps marginally more significant, or less likely to have occurred independently, than those in other texts, with the striking exception of the name found only in LM and OFr¹

LM and EP I,22/21,1 *montem* (Mir *locum*; OFr *region*; Pit *ibi*; F-Group *mons.*)

I,22/21,8 *pro canibus nutriunt*. (Phrase divided in Mir, GerII, Pit, but intact in F-Group. EP and LM lack following reference to prey.)

LM and Pit III,6/8,4 Name of serpents given as *corsia*. (Mir *corsias*; EP *corsica*; OFr *confia*.)

LM and Mir II,32/13,7 Name of river given as *Archoboleta*. (Pit *Arcubelita*; OFr *Aruibolet*; lacking in EP and F-Group.)

I,22/21,6 *tigres* (Pit, GerII *tigrides*.)

LM and OFr I,20/14,2 *xii* (FL, Ger *xii*; Mir, EP *xv*; Pit *x*; FR, HP *vi*.)

II,32/17,3 *celestices* (Mir *lertices*; Pit *lerueis*; lacking in EP and F-Group.)

No one text emerges as most closely related to LM. An examination of readings in LM which agree with those of two other P-Group texts gives the same picture:

LM and Pit/OFr II,16/12,1 *insula* (Mir *loco*; F-Group *insula*; lacking in EP.)

II,32/13,4 All three tell us that both the Brixi and the Nile have no known

1. See also pp. 182-183.

source. (Detail not found elsewhere.)

LM and EP/OFr I,24/18,7 The headless men are named *epifugos* (LM); *epifagos* (EP) and *epiphongos* (OFr). No name is given in other versions.

LM and Mir/OFr II,32/17,1 *bestiole* (glossed in LM as *bestiae quaedam non magnae*) in *Brizonte*. (Pit *alii juxta Brizontem*; lacking in other versions.)

The Compiler excluded much of the information which provides our most reliable evidence on the inter-relationships of the P-Group texts, the distances and the accretions referring to Alexander the Great. We have no way of knowing whether these were present in his source. There is a single instance of the presence of material which may have been drawn from the Alexander canon in the first stage of accretion. In the commentary to §15 I have suggested that the peculiar tripartite colouring attributed to the hippopotamus (II,18/15,2), which in the *Letter* is coupled with a leonine head not included in LM, is borrowed from an Alexander legend account of a two-headed monster. Pit, which contains none of the Alexander accretions, gives a rather different description. If this hypothesis is correct, the inclusion of the phrase *triplicem habere colorem* in LM would indicate borrowing from a text of the *Letter* in which this, and presumably also the other

first-stage accretions were found.

THOMAS OF CANTIMPRE AND HIS *DE NATURA RERUM*¹.

Thomas of Cantimpré, otherwise known as Thomas of Brabant, was born at Leeuw St. Pierre in 1201. He studied at Liège, entering the Augustinian Abbey at Cantimpré at the age of 16. In 1232 he joined the Dominicans at Louvain. The date of his death is recorded as May 15th, the year being between 1270 and 1272. In his youth he heard Jacques of Vitry preach, and Jacques (who died in 1240) was still living when Thomas wrote the prologue to *De Natura Rerum*².

This work was Thomas' major literary endeavour and already at the time when the earliest manuscripts were circulated he was able to claim to have devoted 15 years to its composition³. The process of addition and improvement was continuous and two distinct later layers of composition can be identified. The first of these, consisting of editorial changes made up to

1. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de Natura Rerum; Editio princeps secundum codices manuscriptos*, Tell 1: Text, ed. H. Boese, Berlin, 1973. (No more published.)

2. ed. Boese, p.3: *Iacobum de Vitriaco quondam Aconensem episcopum, nunc vero Tuscularum presulem et Romane curie cardinalem ...*

Jacques of Vitry, sometime bishop of St. Jean d'Acre and now patron of Tuscany and cardinal at the Roman Curia ...

3. p.414 (original ending to the work) *Anni iam quatuordecim aut quindecim elapsi sunt, ex quo libro De naturis rerum diligenter intendimus ...*

Already 14 or 15 years have elapsed during which I have applied my mind diligently to the book *De Natura Rerum* ...

the completion of BL MS Harley 3717 (in whose preparation Thomas was personally involved¹) includes an additional final chapter. Later MSS contain further additions and modifications. He saw his task as editorial and not simply as question of piling on more data. He makes this clear in a statement added to the prologue at the second stage of composition and repeated almost verbatim at the end of the additional final chapter, to the effect that since originally completing the work he has added, subtracted and corrected:

*Vicesimum autem post finem laboris nostri, non tanquam ex nostra compilatione, sed tanquam necessarium ipsi operi precedenti addidimus, qui utique de ornatu celi et motu syderum atque planetarum ad intelligendam speram et eclipsim solis et lune evidentissime tractare videtur. Addidimus tamen aliqua et quedam subtraximus atque nonnulla in eodem libro correximus.*²

I added the twentieth after finishing the work, not as if it stood outside my compilation but as necessary to the preceding work, which certainly seems to deal with the embellishment of the sky and the movement of the stars and the planets in order to understand most clearly the orbit of the spheres and the eclipse of the sun and moon. I also added some things and removed others and corrected a few things in this same book of mine.

1. ed. Boese, p.viii.

2. ed. Boese, p.5.

His search for material extended beyond his immediate area¹ and the list of sources given in the preface is impressive, even given that many are not used direct but cited as sources by AlexanderMagnus or Pliny. There are others not listed in the preface; from some he drew only a small amount of material and others, such as the *Cyranides*, were used at a comparatively late stage in the composition, after the Harley MS had been copied.

The material is arranged in a way which represents a stage of development beyond the roughly classified order of early encyclopaedists such as Isidore. Ten of the twenty books are arranged in a rudimentary alphabetical order. Where he has chosen

1. ed. Boese, p.414: *Congregavi ergo, nec michi suffecit Gallia atque Germania, quae tamen in libris copiosiores sunt regionibus universis, immo in partibus transmarinis et in Anglia libros de naturis editos aggregavi et ex omnibus meliora et commodiora decerpsi.*

So I collected it, and Gaul and Germany were not enough for me although they are better endowed with books than all other regions, but rather I added books on natural subjects produced in countries beyond the sea and in England and extracted the better and more appropriate things from them all.

not to introduce alphabetical arrangement, it is usually because there is an inherent logic in the traditional order, as in *De Anathomia Humani Corporis*, which begins with the head and works down, or as in *De Septem Planetis*. In the book which draws most heavily on LM, book III, *De Monstruosis Hominibus Orientis*, not all of the breeds of monsters are given names in his sources, so an alphabetical arrangement was impractical. The bulk of the first half of the book is drawn from Jacques de Vitry, the latter half (§§19 and 32-39) derives from LM and is attributed to Adelinus. The material from LM appears in a random order, although we cannot tell whether the arrangement was by Thomas or was found in this sequence in an intermediary text¹.

1. The sequence of the LM material is as follows (section numbers refer to Bologna's ed. of LM, Milan, 1977):

- 1,22 (*De Barbosis Mulieribus*)
- 1,11 (*De Cyclopihus*)
- 1,13 (*De Ingenti Puella*)
- 1,12 (*De Hercule*)
- 1,36 (*De His Quorum Oculi velut Lucerna Lucent*)
- 1,26 (*De His qui Crudam Carnem Manducant*)
- 1,24 (*De Epistigos*)
- 1,20 (*De Magnis Hominibus Brixontis*)

ST. ALDHELM AND THE AUTHORSHIP OF LM

The question of the authorship and provenance of LM is of considerable interest to students of the *Letter*. LM, with three MSS dated to the ninth century, is among the earliest witnesses to the text of the *Letter*. If it could be proved conclusively that LM was compiled in England, this would demonstrate that the *Letter* was known to the Anglo-Saxons in more forms than the surviving MSS reveal, for the text of LM is, as has been demonstrated, closer to that of the continental versions of P-Group than to Mir.

The first recorded attribution of the material contained in LM (under a different title from that provided by modern editors) to the seventh century Anglo-Saxon divine and writer Aldhelm of Malmesbury was made by Thomas of Cantimpré in his *Liber de Natura Rerum*, compiled towards the middle of the thirteenth century. In his list of sources he refers to the 'small but good' (*et si pauca, tamen bona valde*¹) work of 'Adelinus Philosophus'. Among the passages attributed to this source are nine in his *Liber III de Abstruosis Hominibus Orientis*, all of which derive from LM. This particular section of Thomas' work

1. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de Natura Rerum*, ed. H. Boese, Teil I: Text. Berlin, 1973, p.4. The full quotation is given in Appendix 3.

frequently occurs independently, often with illustrations and has aroused more interest among scholars than the rest of the work¹. These nine sections were early identified as deriving from LM. Pfister² linked the name Adelinus with Aldhelm, and Faral³ reinforced the connection by demonstrating that of the 15 references to Adelinus he was able to trace in the absence of a printed text (there are in fact 34 such references, distributed throughout *De Natura Rerum*⁴) over two-thirds derived from LM and one dealt with a subject on which Aldhelm had written in the *Enigmata*. Proof

1. It has twice been separately published:

A. Hilka, 'Liber de monstruosis hominibus orientis aus Thomas von Cantimpré, *De Natura Rerum*', *Festschrift zur Jahrhundertfeier der Universität Breslau*, 1911, pp.152-165 and J.B. Friedman, 'Thomas of Cantimpré *De Naturis Rerum*: Prologue, Book III and Book XIX', *La Science de la Nature: Théories et pratiques*, Montreal, 1974, pp.107-154. (*Cahiers d'Etudes Médiévales*, 2)

2. F. Pfister, reviewing Hilka's partial edition in *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1912, 32, no.36, coll.1129-1134.

3. E. Faral, 'La Queue de Poisson des Sirènes', *Romania*, 1953, 74, pp.433-506.

4. Prologue; III,1; v,19; v,32; v,33; v,34; v,35; v,36; v,37; v,38; v,39; IV,20; 54; 70; 81; 82; V,2; 4; 28; 66; 92; VI,32; 40; 46; 47; VII,19; VIII,16; 17; 30; IX,13; 22; 23; 25; 43. All these passages, with their sources, are given and translated in Appendix 3.

was eventually discovered that Thomas himself identified this Adelinus with the composer of Aldhelm's *Enigmata*¹. In the section on the salamander² the text of Aldhelm's poem on the same subject is quoted verbatim and introduced:

*Adelinus in enigmatum libro versificans dixit in
persona salamandra*

Adelinus, versifying in his book of riddles says,
In the person of the salamander

Of these 33 passages ascribed to Adelinus (one reference occurs in the list of sources in the Prologue) 17 show a marked verbal similarity to the text of LM. The remaining 15 all deal with topics treated by Aldhelm in the *Enigmata*³. Each of these shows some similarity, either in content or verbally, with the verse treatment of the subjects. In certain instances (e.g. *De Mbloso*, IV,70 or *De Luligine*, IV,32) the entire content of Aldhelm's verse is present, much of it quoted verbatim. Occasionally, on the other hand, Aldhelm is introduced simply to be disagreed with on a single point, as in *De Cancris*, VII,19, where the point at issue is the crab's 'backward gait'.

1. This was first cited by Friedman, *loc.cit.* p.115.

2. VIII,30. Aldhelm's text and Thomas' version of it are compared in Appendix 3.

3. The reference to the origin of the onocentaur (III,3) does not derive directly from either source.

There are several curious coincidences which, taken with Thomas' attribution, have convinced some scholars¹ that Aldhelm's claim to the authorship of LM should be taken seriously. At the most general level, a similarity of style is frequently claimed for Aldhelm's prose and LM, although a scientific analysis of the language of LM has yet to be made². Aldhelm is known to have been interested in the type of subject matter dealt with in LM; this is proven by the frequency of natural themes among the *Enigmata*. Such similarities of style and interest could probably be found in the work of many other authors, if we had similar reason to search for them. There are, however, other similarities which demand closer examination.

Lucan is known from classical sources to have written a poem on the theme of Orpheus, *De Orfeo*, which appears to have been lost entirely with the exception of one quotation, unnamed, in Servius,

1. Faral, *loc.cit.*; C. Bologna in his edition of *Liber Monstrorum*, Milan, 1977. L.G. Whitbread, 'The *Liber Monstrorum* and *Beowulf*', *Mediaeval Studies*, 1974, 36, pp.434-471 accepts the theory with some reservations.
2. The language and style of Aldhelm has recently been the subject of close analysis by M. Winterbottom, 'Aldhelm's Prose Style and Its Origins', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 1977, 6, pp.39-76. He concludes that it derives in the main from his continental teachers, thus providing a set-back for the supporters of the view that Aldhelm and LM are similar in style, for this view is based on the belief that both are 'hispanic'.

three passages in LM and a specific quotation by Aldhelm in his *Epistola ad Aciroium de Metris*¹. The presence of quotations, or apparent quotations, from this lost work almost exclusively in LM and the works of Aldhelm has been held to indicate common authorship. However, although the passages from LM have been accepted by certain authorities² as genuine, they do not stand up well to examination. One of them does not even claim Lucan as its source:

*Hydra anguis armatus fuisse describitur, quae Euridicen coniugem Orphei in ripa fluminis capite truncavit et demersit in gurgitem, et sicut Scylla monstris ita et haec serpentibus praecincta fuisse fingitur*³.

The hydra is described as having been an armoured snake which decapitated Euridice, wife of Orpheus, on the bank of the river and plunged her into the waves, and it is said to have been surrounded by serpents as Scylla is by monsters.

1. Lucan's poem on the Orpheus theme is referred to in the earliest biographical treatment of him, Statius' *Genethliacon Lucani*. It is cited by Servius in his notes on *Georgics* IV, 492. Hosius, in his edition of Lucan, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 328-329, accepts this quotation as genuine, together with the three passages in LM (I, 5; II, 8 and III, 3) and the citation by Aldhelm (*De Metris*, ed. Ehwald, Berlin, 1919, p. 159):

unde Lucanus de Orfeo

*Nunc, inquit, plenas posuere colos et stamina Parcae
multaque delatis haesuerunt saecula filis.*

2. Notably Hosius, *op.cit.* and W. Morel, *Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum Epicorum et Lyricorum*, Leipzig, 1927,
3. III, 3.

The two passages which do refer to Lucan by name are so alike and handle such a widely-known aspect of the Orpheus legend¹ that they are unlikely to represent fragments of Lucan's text - they have too many other potential sources. Both deal with the ability of Orpheus to charm wild animals:

*Quos (faunos) poeta lucanus secundum opinionem
grecorum ad Orphei liram cum innumerosis ferarum
generibus cantu deductos cecinit*².

The poet Lucan, following the opinion of the Greeks, sang about them (fauns) drawn to the lyre of Orpheus by a song, together with innumerable kinds of wild animals.

*quas (pantheras) poeta Lucanus ad lyram Orphei cum
ceteris animantibus bestiis a deserto Thraciae per
carmen miserabile provocatas cecinit, dum ipse
tristis esset et moerens ad undam Strymonis raptam
Euridicem lacrymabili deflevit carmine*³.

about whom (panthers) the poet Lucan sang, plaintively summoned to the lyre of Orpheus with a song, together with the rest of the living creatures from the desert of Thrace, while he, sad and sorrowing, tearfully lamented in song his Euridice, carried off to the waves of the river Styron.

1. The celebrated tessellated pavements on the Orpheus theme, dating from the early Christian era, depict Orpheus charming the animals. The different aspects of the legend which are given emphasis at different periods are considered in J.B. Friedman, *Orpheus in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Mass., 1970.

2. 1,5.

3. 11,8.

The other coincidence which has inclined scholars to consider that there is a case for common authorship is the fact that both LM and Aldhelm in describing the Colossus assign to it a height of 107 feet. In LM it is clear that this is not the celebrated Colossus of Rhodes but another:

... *Romani (pene per totum orbem terrarum auditum est hoc opus) erexerunt statuem procerissimae magnitudinis, quae .C. et .VII.¹ pedes altitudinis habet ...*²

... The Romans (for this deed was heard of almost everywhere in the world) erected an exceedingly tall statue, which was 107 feet high ...

The monstrous creature, in whose memory this statue was erected, is a figment of the popular imagination and does not appear in other accounts of a Roman colossus. There was, however, a colossal statue at Rome, erected by Zenodorus in honour of Nero at about the time of the Emperor's death³. It was later remodelled and dedicated to the sun⁴. Its erection is recorded by Eusebius for the year AD 77 (Nero died

1. Two of the five MSS of LM read .c. et .vii., the remaining three read .c. et .viii.

2. 1,3.

3. Eusebius Pamphilius, *Chronici canones, latine vertit, adauxit, ad sua tempora produxit S. Eusebius Hieronymus*, ed. J.K. Fotheringham, London, 1923, p.270.

4. Eusebius, *op.cit.* p.291.

in 68 AD) with the following words:

Colossus erectus habens altitudinis pedes cvii.

No place is referred to, but it is normal in this Chronicle for the location to be specified only for events which occurred outside Rome. There is no question that this referred to the Rhodian Colossus, for that was destroyed by an earthquake in 224 BC, some 55 years after its erection, and its destruction is recorded by Eusebius¹. In view of the folktale element of the description in LM, it seems likely that LM and Eusebius are both describing the same statue in Rome, one from the popular viewpoint and the other from that of the official historian.

Aldhelm wrote one of the *Enigmata* on the theme of the Colossus², but it is a minor reference in *De Virginitate*³ which gives the height:

*Quamobrem inorme Chaldaici regnatoris simulacrum
quod colosi sublimitatem centenis ac septenis
pedibus in alto porrectam bis tricena cubitorum
proceritate vincebat,*

1. *op.cit.* p.229.

2. *Enigmata* LXXII (Aldhelm, *Opera*, ed. R. Ehwald, Berlin, 1919 (repr. 1961), p.130.

3. ed. Ehwald, p.252.

As¹ a result of this, they refused to behold on bended knees the enormous statue of the Chaldean tyrant - which exceeded the height of the Colossus², lifted 107³ feet high with its (immense) stature of 60 cubits -

Aldhelm is not describing the Colossus in this passage, but an enormous graven image which he compares with a Colossus. The figure 107, which has led to so much theorising, was almost certainly drawn from the work of Eusebius, a source he cites twice in *De Metris* under the headings *Chronica Eusebii Vergilium*⁴ and *Eusebius in Chronicis*⁵. The passage has attracted marginal annotations in certain MSS of the ninth and tenth centuries⁶ which, curiously, associate this Colossus not with Rhodes but with Rome:

*quando cadit colosus cadit roma quando cadit roma
totus mundus cadit.*

when the Colossus falls, Rome falls; when Rome
falls the whole world falls.

1. Aldhelm, *The Prose Works*, translated by M. Lapidge and M. Herren, Cambridge, 1979, p.78.
2. The translator has inserted 'of Rhodes', for which there is no support in the Latin.
3. The translation reads 170 in place of 107. Dr. Lapidge informs me that this is not based on a re-reading of the Latin but is a typographical error which appeared after proof stage.
4. ed. Ehwald, p.88.
5. ed. Ehwald, p.192.
6. ed. Ehwald, p.252, footnotes.

Ehwald, in his notes on the passage, explains this as a result of the misreading of *colosi* as *colosei* 'Colosseum'. Whether this is so, or whether it is a detail which has been added based on a legend of a Roman Colossus, it is not part of Aldhelm's text but a later addition.

In the one instance where Thomas of Cantimpré made direct use of the text of Aldhelm's *Enigmata* he specified it as *Enigmata Versificata*¹. In the light of this, it appears improbable that he was drawing directly from Aldhelm's verse in the other instances in which he uses material from the *Engimata*. There is another possibility; in all instances except the verse quotation he may have been drawing from a prose work which consisted of some or all of the *Enigmata* (most probably those sections dealing with natural history) reduced to prose and combined with some or all of LM. To this work, if we accept the evidence of Thomas' prologue, the name of Aldhelm, in the form *Adelinus*, remained attached.

1. VIII, 30 (*De Salamandra*).

A single piece of evidence is known which supports this theory. Raoul de Presles, working between 1371 and 1375, translated St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* into French¹. He chose to augment certain passages, and in the preface² in extolling the king, his patron and in likening him to the eagle, king of the birds, justifies this by referring to sources he also draws on in the body of the work:

*Montres redoubte seigneur les naturiens comme
plaine, adelin, aristote, bede et autres qui firent
les livres des proprietes des choses, mettent
l'aigle roy souverain de tous les oyseaulx.*

Adelin and his *livre de proprietatibus rerum* are cited once in the text, as a source of information on giants:

*de telle maniere de gyans raconte adelinus en son
livre de proprietatibus rerum.*³

Aldhelm's verse on the eagle⁴ does not refer to kingship, which implies that this *livre de proprietatibus rerum* was not simply the *Enigmata* by another name. If such a work did exist, we must next consider whether it could have been compiled by Aldhelm himself. There are some indications that this was not the case.

1. Augustine, *La cite de Dieu*, translated by Raoul de Presles, Abbeville, Jehan du pre, 1486. 2 vols.

2. sig. a III.

3. Ch.IV, Bk.XV. sig. I Iv. The giant is from LM I,13.

4. *Enigmata* LVII, ed. Ehwald p.123. See Appendix 3.

The question of the origin of the *onocentaur*, which vexed Thomas¹ and evidently also vexed Adelinus is referred to neither by Aldhelm in his *Enigma* on the Minotaur² or the references to the centaur in his other writings³ nor in the two passages in LM which deal with this topic⁴.

More striking evidence than this absence of concern with a theological problem is to be found in Thomas' description of the purple mussel, *De Perna*⁵. Aldhelm, changing his source⁶, made the basis of his riddle the dual usefulness of the mussel, which can both be eaten and employed in the colouring of exquisite fabrics, for purple is a regal (and hence, exclusive and expensive) colour. Thomas has quite misunderstood this, and reports that the mussel is a sea-creature with a fleece which is large enough to be employed in the making of clothes. The *Enigma De Perna*⁷ is not confused, but contains the

1. III, Prologue and IV, 82. See Appendix 3.

2. *Enigmata* XXVIII, ed. Ehwald, p. 109.

3. *De Metris* CXIII (p. 152) and *Carmen de Virginitate*, 1343.

4. I, 7 *De Hippocentauris* and I, 10 *De Onocentauris*.

5. VI, 40. See Appendix 3.

6. Symphosius, Riddle 86 is entitled *De Perna*, but a ham is described.

7. *Enigmata* XVII, ed. Ehwald, p. 105.

germ of the misapprehension in the description of the flesh of the mussel as *setigero* 'bristly, hairy'. Aldhelm clearly understood what was meant in the riddle, and is hardly likely to have written another version with such a gross misunderstanding.

However, this misunderstanding is quite definitely derived from the *Enigmata*, for in some MSS from as early as the eighth century a gloss has been added to the title of this *Enigma* incorporating the concept of a monstrous and hairy sea-creature. The form of the gloss which most closely approaches the version given by Thomas (and, presumably, by Adelinus) is first found in tenth century MSS¹:

*Perna quae multo maior est ostreis ex cuius
velleribus vestis conficitur.*

An extensive body of vernacular literature contains descriptions of these creatures, ultimately from the misunderstanding of Aldhelm's riddle².

1. ed. Ehwald, p. 244. (See Appendix 3)

2. Exemplified by *L'Ymagine del Mondo*, ed. F. Chiovaro, Naple, 1977, XIV, p.97:

*Ancora ae nel mare d'India generationi di pesci che
sono velluti & pilosi & si lunghi che le genti ne
fanno drappi & se ne vestono de la lana di quelli
cotali pesci, quando presi li anno.*

The same details are found in the thirteenth century French *Image du Monde de Maître Cosseuin*, ed. O.H. Prior, Lausanno, 1913, II II G, p.126.

Further investigation into the relationship between Aldhelm's *Enigmata*, LM and the text used by Thomas (the work of 'Adelinus') is still needed. With more and better catalogues of manuscript collections available each year, it is possible that a copy of this *Liber de Proprietatibus Rerum* may yet come to light. In its absence, we can only conjecture on the basis of such evidence as is available. This evidence seems to incline towards the view that there was indeed such a work, written in prose and based on the *Enigmata* and LM but not, as far as one can tell, including material from other sources. It was attributed to (but not written by) Aldhelm. The attribution presumably goes back to the verse *Enigmata* from which this prose text derived. Aldhelm was considered a worthy authority, and LM, being anonymous, offered no competition on the question of authorship. Unless this hypothesis could be proven totally invalid, the arguments put forward for Aldhelm's authorship of LM are void, because each of them is answered by this hypothesis.

HISTORIA DE PRELIIS

The *Historia de Preliis* of Archpriest Leo enjoyed a very wide circulation in the Middle Ages and appeared in three distinct interpolated versions¹. Of these, the Second Interpolated Recension (usually denoted J²)² occupies a significant position in literary history, for it provided the source of the Old French *Prose Alexander* and was drawn on by many later writers, notably Rudolf von Ems, Ulrich von Eschenbach, Seifried and Babiloth's *Alexander Chronik*.

Historia de Preliis J² is the fullest of the interpolated versions. It was compiled during the twelfth century, drawing for its additional material on Orosius, Valerius Maximus, Pseudo-Methodius, Josephus, Pseudo-Epiphanius and a number of smaller texts. Among these smaller texts must be counted the *Letter*, in a version belonging to F-Group, which supplied ten paragraphs. Five of these appear in Chapter 119, two in Chapter 95, one in Chapter 118 and the remaining two in Chapter 123.

1. *Historia de Preliis Alexandri Magni (Der lateinische Alexanderroman des Mittelalters)*, synoptische Ed. der Rezensionen des Leo Archipresbyter und der interpolierten Fassungen J¹, J², J³, ed. H.J. Bergmeister, Melsenheim am Glan, 1975, vol. 1. (Covers chapters 1-75 only.)
2. *Historia Alexandri Magni (Historia de Preliis)*, Rez. J², ed. A. Hilka, Melsenheim am Glan, 1976-77, parts 1-2.

For ease of reference, the paragraphs are designated A-K, in order of their appearance in HP. A and B, which are found in Chapter 95, are from §22; C, in Chapter 118, is from §8. D, E, F, G and H all appear in Chapter 119 and are taken from §§10, 12, 18, 15 and 14 respectively (the last three being consecutive passages, as interpolations in P-Group have affected the numbering.) J and K, the two items in Chapter 123, are treated as a single paragraph and are taken, again in reverse order, from two consecutive passages, §§6 and 5.

Passages A, D, E, G, H, J bear such a marked resemblance to the text of FR (and in particular of the Monte Cassino MS) that there can be little doubt of their source. A few readings will suffice to demonstrate this:

A: *caudam bovis* (22,5) FR: *caudam bobis*; FL: *caudam quasi bos*; Ger: *caudas bovinas*.

duodecim (22,6) FR: *xii*; FL, Ger: *vii*.

E: *cintras* (12,5) FR: *cintras*; FL, Ger: *centrios*.

G: *latitudo* (15,4) FR-MC: *latitudinem*; FR-C,M,P: *altitudinem*; FL, Ger: *longitudinem*.

grossitudo (15,5) FR: *grossitudine*; Ger: *vastitatem*; omitted in FL.

H: *reliquum vero corpus pedum sex* (14,3) FR: *reliquum vero corpus senum pedum*; FL: *corpus relioum pedes xii*.

J: *nimis sevissimos* (6,6-7) FR: *nimis sevissimi*;
FL: *plus quam sevissimi*.

Passages Γ and K, although bearing a strong resemblance to the text of FR, share certain readings with other F-Group texts; C agrees with all versions.

F: The use of the nouns *longitudo*, *latitudo* and *vastitas* (18,5-6) is paralleled in Ger. FR and FL both use the adjectives, *longi*, *lati* and *vasti*.

K: Although *humiles bestiote* (5,1) agrees with FR against *humiles* in FL and *homines* in Ger, *totidem* (5,4) agrees with the corrected version of FL and with Ger, against *idemque et* which appears in FR and is the earlier reading in FL.

B is remarkable in that it is lacking in all extant MSS of F-Group. In the P-Group texts it appears to have been assimilated into the description found here in A¹, producing some strange contradictions. It seems probable that HP here uniquely preserves the ancestral text of the *Letter*, and that the description was suppressed or omitted in F-Group because of its similarity to the preceding one (which appears in HP as A) and conflated with the earlier one in P-Group for similar reasons. If this hypothesis could be proven, it would demonstrate that HP drew its interpolations from a very early version of the F-Group text.

1. See the commentary to §22.

This passage in HP certainly helps to untangle some of the P-Group readings in §22. The significant features of the women described in A are:

- boar's teeth (22,3)
- ankle length hair (22,4)
- bull's tail (22,5)
- 12 feet tall (22,6)
- hairy body like a 'sparrow and camel' (corruption of *struthiocamelus* 'ostrich' (22,7-8)

while the women called *lamie* described in B have:

- great beauty (22,11)
- ankle length hair (22,11-12)
- horse's feet (22,12)
- 7 feet tall (22,12-13).

The P-Group texts appear to be describing a single group of women who have:

- boar's teeth (22,3)
- ankle length hair (22,4)
- bull's tail (22,5)
- 12, 13 or 14 feet tall (22,6)
- a beautiful body like marble (22,7)
- camel's feet (22,8)
- asses' or boars' teeth (22,9).

The beauty and the cloven hoofs in P-Group are directly paralleled in passage B in HP, although the reference to marble and the animal teeth are not. In the absence of any other explanation, it seems likeliest that HP here preserves a passage lost in all other F-Group texts.

The frequent similarities to FR indicate that HP drew its interpolations from a text which was close to that of FR but lacked some of the modifications which are found in extant texts of FR. The evidence of passage B suggests that the interpolations were drawn from a copy of the *Letter* which represented an earlier stage in the transmission of F-Group than any text known to us.

Assimilation of Material

The interpolations have been absorbed into the narrative framework of HP, albeit in the most cursory manner, by repetitious use of a limited range of formulaic introductions:

A: *Deinde ambulantes invenerunt ...*

B: *Deinde amoto exercitu venerunt ad alia silvas Indie et deambulantes per eas invenerunt ibi ...*

C: *Et exinde amoto exercitu venit in loca deserta ...*

D: *Deinde amoto exercitu castra metatus est in loco ...*

E: *Et exinde amoto exercitu venit ad quendam fluvium et transmeans illum castra metatus est ibi. Subito ...*

F: *Deinde amoto exercitu venit ad quendam fluvium in quo erat ...*

G: *Deinde ambulantes per ipsam silvam invenerunt ...*

H: *Et exinde ambulantes invenerunt ...*

J: *Et inde amoto exercitu venit in terram Babilonio in qua invenerunt ...*

K: *Et erant ibi ...*

None of these shows any great concern either with originality of expression or with making the most striking use of the material incorporated.

The text has been modified in several instances and some difficult words have been replaced by glosses:

F: FL reads *colore et corpus auro simile* (18,7). *et corpus*, which appears in FR as *et pectore* is omitted in HP.

G: *bestie colore similes equorum* (15,2) which appears in both FR and FL has been reduced to *bestias similes equorum*.

In the same section the confusing final sentence about blood-letting or blood-sucking (15,8-10) has been omitted, together with the name of the animal.

H: *humeros* (14,5) has been replaced by *femora*, probably because *femora* appeared a little earlier in 14,2.

sure (14,6), which proved problematic in all texts, has been replaced by a gloss, *coxe et crura*.

J: *immensi* (6,6) has been exaggerated to *mire magnitudinis*. There is a general tendency to magnify the size of the creatures encountered, presumably because this reflected to the greater glory of Alexander.

bina capita (6,7) has been changed to *duo capita*.

K: *cornua bina* (5,5) has been changed to *cornua in capite duo*.

The problematic final sentence in this section in FR and FL, *Quas cum aliquis occidere voluerit, diligenter se munire debet*, has been replaced by a simpler one emphasising the ferocity of the horns:

cum quibus feriebant sive hominem sive aliud animal. Interficiebant eos.

In addition to these changes, other minor modifications have been made to fit the material into the narrative, such as the replacing of present tense verbs by past tense ones in many instances. However, Alexander's encounters with these creatures are never elaborate, nor are they given any structural function in the narrative - he sees, and usually kills. This is unlike the Old French *Prose Alexander*¹, which, although based on HP, embroiders the accounts of the fights with these creatures and in some cases the descriptions of the creatures themselves. In the case of passage G, which in HP merely reports the discovery of the *ypophagi*, the vernacular version adds²:

*Ces bestes firent mout grant damage a Alizandre,
car elles estoient plus fortes d'oliffant. Mais
nequedent par l'effort d'Alizandre et de ses barons
furent elles au derain mises a desconfiture.*

Similar amplifications characterise the French version throughout, and provided inspiration for the illustrators who produced such magnificent representations of the monsters as those found in Brussels MS BR 11040.

1. *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman*, ed. A. Hilka, Halle, 1920.

2. p.237.

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SECTION 6

THE LETTER OF
PHARASMANES

SYNOPTIC TEXT

Key to Abbreviations

EP	<i>Epistola Premonis</i>
FL	<i>Fermes Letter</i>
FR	<i>Feramen Rex</i>
-C	MS Cava 3
-M	MS Madrid 19
-MC	MS Monte Cassino 391
-P	MS Paris BN anc. fonds. lat. 7418
Ger	Gervase, <i>Otia Imperialia</i> , III
GerII	Gervase, <i>Otia Imperialia</i> , II
HP	<i>Historia de Preliis</i> , J2
LM	<i>Liber Monstrorum</i>
Mir	<i>Mirabilia</i>
Mir-B	MS Bodley 614
OE	<i>Old English Wonders</i>
-T	MS Tiberius Bv
-V	MS Vitellius Axv
OFr	Old Picard translation
Pit	<i>Epistola Parmoenis</i>

Key to Colour Coding

P-Group

LM 


GerII 

EP 

Pit 

Mir 

Mir-B 

Lost Fulda MS 

F-Group

HP 

FR 

FL 

Ger 

INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXT

The aim of this edition of the *Letter of Pharasmanes* is to present the text of all known versions in a form which is at one and the same time faithful to the MSS and highlights the points of convergence and divergence between the texts. Conventional presentations have been examined, and rejected as unsuitable. The texts vary too much in their readings for the use of a base text with variants in footnotes to be satisfactory - the essential character of all texts apart from the base text would be lost in a morass of footnotes¹. The alternative of presenting up to 12 different texts in parallel is too unwieldy; the mere spread on the page makes comparison difficult and the resultant fragmentation of the text destroys continuity. The sample passage overleaf, laid out in parallel and also following the method I have chosen, exemplifies the extreme difficulty of the former for all purposes except the reading of one single version.

1. This method has been attempted by H. van Thiel in the appendix to F. Pfister, *Kleine Schriften zum Alexanderroman*, Meisenheim am Glan, 1976. His text is based on the better-known Latin versions (i.e. those known to Faral, and excluding P1t and FR which Faral cited only in footnotes) and for the whole text he cites only 55 variant readings. The result is a text which is far less use than the printed versions on which it is based.

Specimen Passage: Parallel Text (21,1-5)

Mir

Circa hunc locum nascuntur mulieres barbas habentes
usque ad mamillas pelliculas equorum ad vestimentum
habentes & hae uenatrices. maxime

OE

Ymb þa stowe beoð wif acenned. þa habbað beardas swa
side oð hyra breost. 7 horses hyda hy habbað him to
hrægle gedon þa syndan hundicgean swiðast nemde.

Pit

Ibi nascuntur mulieres barbas habentes usque ad
mamillas, pelliculas vestimentis et equas habentes
venatrices. Sunt maxima

EP

Circa hunc etiam montem sunt mulieres barbas habentes
usque ad mamillas, pelliculas vestimenta habentes.
Venatrices maximae sunt

GerII

Ibi nascuntur mulieres barbas habentes usque ad mamillas
pelliculas pro vestimentis utuntur equos habent
venatrices sunt

LM

Mulieres, ut ferunt, iuxta montem Armeniae nascuntur,
pellibus indutae, barbam usque ad mammas habentes
prolixam. Quae dum venatrices sunt

OFr

Et enuiron chele region naissent femmes qui ont
longues barbes iusques as mameles. et de piaus sont
vestues. Et sont ententiues a vener.

(F-Group texts add a further four versions.)

Interlinear Text with Underlining (21,1-5, P-Group)

- 1 | Mulieres, ut ferunt, iuxta Armeniae
 etiam montem
 Ibi
 Circa hunc locum
 Ymb þa stowe
 Et enuiron chele region
- 2 | sunt
 nascuntur mulieres
 beoð wif acenned.
 naissent femmes
- 3 | 12 barbam mammās habentes prolixam
 barbas habentes usque ad mamillas
 ~~þa habbað beardas swa side oð hyra breost.~~
 qui ont longues barbes iusques as mameles
- 4 | 1 pellibus indutae
 vestimenta
 pro utuntur
 vestimentis
 pelliculas equorum ad vestimentum
 7 horses hyda hy habbað him to hrægle gedon
 et de piaus sont vestues.
- 5 | 3 Quae dum
 equos habent sunt
 et equas sunt maxima
 habentes & hae venatrices maxime
 ~~þa syndan hundicgean¹ swiðast nemde.~~
 Et sont ententiues a vener.

Key

Mir

Pit

EP

GerII

LM

1. OE-T huntigystan.

The solution which has been adopted is the presentation of two texts in parallel. Each group of texts is condensed into an interlinear text based on the readings of a selected Latin text. Variants appear above and below the line, and coloured underlining is used to show the readings of the individual Latin texts. By this means a great degree of comparability is achieved, because points of divergence are immediately evident. The integrity of the individual texts is maintained. Attention is focussed on the similarities, and the number of words on the page is greatly reduced, for in cases where all texts are in agreement only one line of text is given. This greatly improves the clarity of the text, compared with the parallel text layout. The individual texts are all presented in Appendix 1 (P-Group) and Appendix 2 (F-Group), and variant readings within the same text are given in these individual texts, as is the punctuation of the MS or printed version used as a source.

In preparing the text, a Latin base line has been selected for each group. In P-Group this is Mir; it is the fullest P-Group text and it provides ready comparison with OE. The vernacular texts, OE and OFr, lie below Mir. They have no coloured underlining, because each is on a single line and the language makes them easily distinguished.

Above the text of Mir, in ascending order, are Pit (which is closest to the ancestral text in many instances and would be a strong candidate for base line if it did not finish at the end of §22), GerII (which provides readings for only §§§ of text but is very close to Pit in those readings), EP and LM.

For the F-Group text, FL provides the base line. It is the most complete of all the texts and probably best represents the text as it first appeared in Latin. Ger, a direct descendant of FL (although not drawn from the extant MS) lies below it, and FR, which appears to be an edited form of an earlier version of FL, lies above. HP, a derivative based on a text very close to that of FR, lies on top of FR.

In the handful of instances where the order of the text within a section has been changed in any version (as it has in LM in 3-5 of the specimen text) comparability has been maintained by inverting phrases to restore the original order. Phrases thus displaced have been numbered to show the order in which they appear in the MSS. In the individual texts in the Appendices, the sequence of individual texts has been preserved inviolate.

No emendations have been made except on the basis of another copy of the same text. Where readings have been inserted or emended on this basis,

they are italicised. It was felt that explanatory footnotes would clutter the page to no effect, as all such information is readily, and more fully, available in the Appendices. Editorial emendations for the readings of difficult passages are suggested in the Commentary. In a text such as this, with a complicated textual history and no clear precedence for any one version, errors and variants are an important pointer to the relationships, priority and provenance of the various versions. For this reason I have chosen to retain all such details in an accessible position in the body of the text.

Punctuation and capitalisation in the synoptic text follow the MS usage of the base text or the text closest to the base text which gives the reading (i.e. the text on whose line the reading is given, and whose colour code appears lowest. This means that the precise punctuation of all texts cannot be shown in the interlinear text, but it is given in the individual texts in the Appendices. In instances where the punctuation differs sufficiently to alter the sense of the passage, this is indicated in footnotes. Punctuation is given in the closest modern equivalent. With MSS ranging from the ninth century to the fourteenth, a wide range of punctuation is used.

In order to emphasise similarities and to keep the number of words on the page to a minimum, non-significant variants have not been noted. In the Latin texts the practice of following the text providing the base line has been adhered to. The following variations have been deemed non-significant:

<i>ae</i> - <i>e</i>	<i>adp</i> - <i>app</i>
<i>i</i> - <i>j</i>	<i>cum</i> - <i>quum</i>
<i>i</i> - <i>y</i>	<i>cumque</i> - <i>cunque</i>
<i>oe</i> - <i>e</i>	<i>in</i> - <i>im</i>
<i>b</i> - <i>v</i>	
<i>f</i> - <i>ph</i>	

u and *v* have been standardised following modern practice in the Latin texts. In OFr, where the specific value of the graphs *u* and *v* is debatable in certain words, the readings of the MS have been retained in the interests of preserving the text as a specimen of the Picard dialect.

e is represented throughout by *e*,

For the OE text, Appendix 1A gives all orthographic variation between the two MSS, with the single exception of the two graphs *ð* and *p*.

TEXTS SELECTED FOR THE SYNOPTIC EDITION

(A full description of each of the MSS and of the significant features of each text is given in the relevant sections of the Introduction. The reasons for the choice of base MS and the extent of collation with other MSS in the Appendices are explained here.)

P-Group

Mir

BL Cotton Tiberius Bv (Mir-T) is used as base MS. It is the earlier of the two MSS and the later, Bodley 614 (Mir-B) has been demonstrated to be directly descended from it. All the variant readings from Mir-B, many of which have been drawn from the OE text, are given as footnotes in Appendix 1B. The extensive interpolation in Mir-B on the phoenix (34,4-7), which is discussed at length in the Commentary, is included in the main body of the text but italicised.

Pit

The sole source is the text printed by J.B. Pitra in *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi*, Paris, 1884, Vol. 2, pp.648-649 (repr. Farnborough, 1967).

EP

The sole source is the text printed by E.G. Graff in *Diutiska*, Stuttgart, 1827, Vol. 2, pp.194-198, based on Strasbourg MS C.iv.15 which was destroyed by fire in 1870.

GerII

Extracts from §§6, 7, 20, 21 and 22 appear in the Second *Decisio* of Gervase of Tilbury's *Otia Imperialia*. For this edition they have been newly transcribed from Vatican MS Vat. Lat. 933, ff.19^r, 19^v and 20^v. This MS has corrections and interpolations which appear to be in the hand of Gervase himself.

LM

Reference is made to Bologna's edition (Milan, 1977). I have collated the 5 known MSS, and although the text is not reedited here I have in certain instances adopted readings which are closer to those of the other P-Group texts than that selected by Bologna, who largely follows Haupt (*Opuscula*, Leipzig, 1876, Vol. 2). In §21, where LM has made use of the same material in two different places (I,22 and II,31), a different colour code has been used for the shorter borrowing so that the two readings of LM can be distinguished.

OE

The text of BL Cotton Vitellius Axv (OE-V), the earlier of the two MSS, has been followed except where it is patently corrupt. Where it has been necessary to make emendations or insertions on the basis of the later MS (BL Cotton Tiberius Bv - OE-T) these are given in italics. There are no footnotes for variant readings in the synoptic text, but all variants (except in the use of *ſ* and *p*) are shown in the interlinear text in Appendix 1A.

OFr

The Picard dialect translation has been retranscribed from the unique MS, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 14562 ff. 5^V-6^V.

F-Group

FL

The text of *Fermes Letter* is taken from the unique MS, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS nouv. acq. lat. 1065. The beginning of the text has benefited from the attentions of a Corrector (FLCor) who may have had access to a better copy of the text. In the synoptic text I have selected the better reading, either from the original text of FL or from the Corrector. Those readings which have been drawn from FLCor are given in italics. In Appendix 2A all readings are shown;

the original text is used as the base and the Corrector's readings are given as footnotes.

FR

The earliest MS, Monte Cassino 391, is used as base MS for the synoptic edition and for the text in Appendix 2B. Where words have been supplied from one of the later MSS in the synoptic text, they are italicised. All variants from all four MSS are noted in the Appendix.

Ger

The text of FL used by Gervase of Tilbury in the Third *Decisio* of *Otia Imperialia* is taken from Vatican MS Vat. Lat. 933, ff. 72^v-73^v. This is the MS with corrections and insertions which appear to be in the hand of Gervase himself. In the small number of cases where the readings of other MSS are closer to the extant text of FL than are those of the Vatican MS, emendations have been made on the basis of these alternative readings in the synoptic text, where they are italicised. The text in Appendix 2C does not attempt to offer a complete *editio variorum*, but all variant readings which are discussed at any point in this study are listed. Since the corrections in the base MS are thought to be in the hand of the author, they have been

accepted without comment in preference to the original readings of the scribe. These corrections and the scribe's readings are tabulated in the Introduction; only those which are of especial significance are repeated in the footnotes to Appendix 2C.

HP

The borrowings from the *Letter* found in the second interpolated version of the *Historia de Preliis* are reproduced from Hilka's edition of 1977. In Appendix 2D only such variants as cast light on the relationship between these interpolations and the extant texts of the *Letter* and those which are referred to elsewhere in this study are noted.

SECTION DIVISION

The diversity between the texts of the *Letter* presents difficulties in determining section division. Previous editorial practice has varied, with editors of Mir and OE tending to follow the divisions of the MSS while editors of the continental texts since Faral have, on the whole, sacrificed textual loyalty in the interests of ease of comparison by following the complicated notation introduced by Faral, expanding it where necessary to accommodate new material.

Division in the Manuscripts

OE and Mir

BL Cotton Tiberius Bv has parallel texts, divided into 36 sections of Latin text and 39 of Old English. The Latin precedes the Old English, which is followed by the illustration; both Latin and Old English texts begin with a rubricated initial in green or red. (The colours normally alternate, regardless of language, but the sequence has been broken in several places for no apparent reason.) Red ink spots over the text on 81^v show that the normal procedure was followed and rubrication took place after the text had been written.

In three sections in T the Old English section has been split in half, each half beginning with a rubricated initial. These sections are 8 (Mir-T 7), split at 8,7; 12 (Mir-T 10), split at 12,10 and 34 (Mir-T 35), split at 34,4. In the last of these, the passage describes two different creatures, the griffin and the phoenix, each with their own illustrations. S12 is the long passage on the gold-digging ants, which is interrupted by an illustration as well as having one at the end. There is no evident reason for the subdivision of 8,6-7, except that the subject matter moves on from a general consideration of the horned snakes to a description of the way in which they guard the pepper forests. The fifth section of this text (6,1-4) is not followed by an illustration, and it appears, from a comparison with the other versions, that it and the following section (6,5-9) are best considered as a single unit, accidentally subdivided.

BL Cotton Vitellius Axv divides the Old English text into 32 sections, each indicated by a large black capital set into the margin. In the majority of cases the top of the frame of the accompanying illustration is on a line with this initial. Some of the capitals have been lost because of the damage by scorching and the subsequent crumbling of

the edges of the MS, but in many instances the vestiges of the capitals are still visible. The discrepancy in the number of sections between this text and OE-T can be accounted for as follows:

OE-T 5 (6,1-4) is lacking. This has been adduced elsewhere as evidence that OE-V was descended from a bilingual exemplar.

Mir-T 10 (§12), which is subdivided in OE-T at 12,10, appears as a single section in OE-V as in the two MSS of Mir.

The final four sections (OE-T 36-39; §§33-35), which come after the final break in sequence in T, are not present in this MS.

MS Bodley 614 is divided into 37 sections, comprised of the 36 sections of Mir-T plus a subdivision of Mir-T 35 (§34) at 34,4, as in OE-T.

§33 (Mir-T 25 and 34) is broken in the three versions in which both parts of it appear, as it straddles the point at which the final break in sequence occurs. The second half of the section is lacking in OE-V, which omits the end of the text. It is possible that §33 was already divided in the MS of Mir in which the displacement took place, as it is also divided in OFr, which has no displacement.

This edition follows the undisturbed order of the continental texts. The table below gives the paragraphing in the MSS of Mir and OE, with section and line references of the starting point of each section in this edition.

Sequence of sections in Mir/OE

Mir-T	Mir-B	OE-T	OE-V	This ed.
1	1	1	1	2,1
2	2	2	2	3,1
3	3	3	3	4,1
4	4	4	4	5,1
5	5	5	-	6,1
6	6	6	5	6,5
7	7	7	6	7,1
"	"	8	7	8,7
8	8	9	8	10,1
9	9	10	9	11,2
10	10	11	10	12,1
"	"	12	"	12,10
11	11	13	11	13,1
12	12	14	12	14,1
13	13	15	13	15,1
14	14	16	14	16,1
15	15	17	15	17,1
16	16	18	16	18,1
17	17	19	17	19,1
18	18	20	18	25,1
19	19	21	19	27,1
20	20	22	20	28,1
21	21	23	21	29,1
22	22	24	22	30,1
23	23	25	23	31,1

Mir-T	Mir-B	OE-T	OE-V	This ed.
24	24	26	24	32,1
25	25	27	25	33,1
26	26	28	26	20,1
27	27	29	27	21,1
28	28	30	28	22,1
29	29	31	29	23,1
30	30	32	30	23,5
31	31	33	31	23,8
32	32	34	32	24,1
33	33	35	33	24,3
34	34	36	-	33,4
35	35	37	-	34,1
"	36	38	-	34,4
36	37	39	-	35,1

Of the nine sections which do not coincide with the section division used in this edition, three can be disregarded as they are not represented as separate sections in Mir-T. The division at 6,5 (between Mir-T 5 and 6) does not conform to the usual pattern, for there is no illustration after the OE text for 5. It seems likely that a single section (it is presented as such in all other texts) was divided between two pages or continued over the page in the copy from which the OE translation was made, and that the copyist-translator who produced the first parallel text MS treated each half as a separate section, resulting in the sequence Latin/OE/Latin/OE/illustration. He quite naturally gave a rubricated initial to each of the four sections. The loss of

the first part of this section in OE-V is almost certainly due to the absence of an illustration after it in the source MS.

The division at 11,2 is due to a difficult reading which has been misconstrued both here and in OFr. Pit and F-Group divide at 11,1. Division at 23,5 and 24,3 is unique to Mir and OE, but there is some support for the division at 23,8 from OFr, which divides one line earlier, at 23,7. Division at 33,4 can probably be attributed to the displacement of material at that point, although there is a division here in OFr as well, which has no such displacement. In the comparative table at the end of this examination of the section division the paragraphing of Mir-T is given for comparison with the other versions of the *Letter*.

Pit

Pit is divided into 7 sections, numbered I, II, III, IV, V, V and V (*sic*). For the sake of clarity I have designated the last three sections V^1 , V^2 and V^3 . I and V^2 are further divided by a dash; the latter portion of each is indicated in my table by the letter *b*. Two of these 9 markers do not coincide with the beginning of a section in this edition. These two occur at 3,3 (Ib) and 16,1, four words after the beginning of §16 (V^2).

EP

No paragraphs are indicated in the printed text of EP.

OFr


Two types of marker are used in the OFr MS, the paragraph marker ¶ and the word *N(ota)* inserted in the margin. The paragraph marker occurs 30 times in all, 10 of them in conjunction with *N(ota)*. *N(ota)* appears independently a further 11 times, 7 of which mark the beginning of a description. In this edition and in the comparative table, the sections marked by ¶ are numbered (1), (2) etc. The 11 instances of *N(ota)* without the paragraph marker are treated as subdivisions and numbered (1b), (1c), (3b) etc. The following markers do not coincide with the beginning of a section in this edition:

¶ (9)-13,8; (19)-23,7- close to a division in Mir and OE; (24)-28,3; (29)-33,4- see also Mir and OE.

N(ota) (3b)-6,3; (5b)-8,5; (6c)-11,2- also Mir and OE; (6d)-11,7; (7b)-12,16; (11b)-16,5.

FL

The state of the section division in FL is rather haphazard and was evidently felt to be so by the

Corrector, who marked the beginning of §§2, 6, 8 and 9 with  and who also inked over some of the capital letters at the beginning of other sections to make them more distinctive.

The scribe frequently uses large capitals throughout the text, indented in the margin when they happen to fall at the beginning of the line. The most frequently used mark of punctuation (') is sometimes followed by a lower case letter, as is the seldom-used semi-colon (;). Both are also followed on occasion by capitals of varying sizes. ':' is normally followed by a capital. The only punctuation mark the scribe seems to have used intentionally as a section marker is ':' followed by a capital, which occurs on 23 occasions. 15 of these coincide with the beginning of a section in other versions of the text. The remainder mark the beginning of (3)-3,5; (8)-10,3; (10)-12,32; (13)-15,10; (17)-20,10; (21)-34,15; (22)-34,19; (24)-36,13.

I have allocated numbers only to those sections marked with ':' This may present an untrue picture, for the scribe may have intended ; followed by a large capital to mark a new section in certain instances, but there are fewer occasions on which these

are supported by the evidence of those versions whose sections are more consistently marked.

FR

FR-MC makes extensive use of a flamboyant ',' followed by a large capital, which appears to be no more than the scribe's usual way of marking a period. It is heavily used in the Solinus which precedes this text. In FR it coincides with the sections numbered (1), (2), (4), (5), (6), (7), (8), (9), (10), (11), (12), (13), (14), (15). It also appears at the beginning of §§ 7, 19 and 34 (as numbered in this edition) and at the following points: 8,1 (*A mari*); 8,14; 12,11; 12,13; 12,17; 12,19; 12,24; 12,32; 32,22; 32,26; 33,5; 34,18.

FR-C divides the text into 15 sections by the use of double size initials at the margin. All except (14)-32,28 are supported by the evidence of other texts, and it is the paragraph division of this MS which is presented in the comparative table.

FR-M has four initials set into the margin. Two of them agree with FR-C, marking (7)-13,1 and (14)-32,28. The others appear at 8,11 (*Cum*) and 12,14 (*He*).

FR-P has no division into sections.

Ger

Vat. Lat. 933, in common with most of the other MSS of Ger, marks the sections with inserted rubrics (e.g. *de serpentibus*). In this particular MS a space has been left for a rubricated initial at the beginning of each paragraph. Guide letters are present, but the rubrics have never been inserted. The text is divided into 11 sections, most of which consist of between one and three of the sections of FL. (11)-3,11 and (5)-20,5 do not coincide with the beginning of sections either in FL or in this edition. The section headings, together with alternatives found in other MSS, are all given in the text in Appendix 2C.

Section division in earlier editions

Previous editors of OE and Mir have tended to adhere to the division found in the MSS. The picture is very different, however, for the continental texts. In the case of Pit and EP, the earliest printed texts represent our sole source of the text, and as such have been discussed above.

Omout¹ divided FL into 14 sections, all but

1. H. Omout, 'La Lettre à l'Empereur Adrien sur les Merveilles de l'Asie', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 74, 1913, pp. 507-515.

one of which correspond to the division in other texts, although he gives independent status to §§23, 26, 34 and 36 which do not have the ';' symbol (all but the first do have moderately large capitals) and are thus not listed as separate sections in the comparative table. Omont's sixth section begins at 13,3, where the MS has a semi-colon followed by a large capital; none of the other texts is divided at this point.

Faral², who was the first to bring together several texts, introduced a complicated notation using both Roman and Arabic numerals. This notation has, in the interests of comparison, been adopted by subsequent critics and editors. It divides FL into 49 sections:

MS paragraphs	Faral's sections
1	I
2	II, III, IV
3	V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X.1, X,2
4	XI.1, XI.2
5	XII.1, XII.2
6	XIII
7	XIV
8	XV, XVI.1
9	XVI.2
10	XVI.2 ctd., XVII.1, XVII.2

2. E. Faral, 'Une Source Latine de l'Histoire d'Alexandre: La Lettre sur les Merveilles de l'Inde', *Romania*, 43, 1914, pp. 199-215 and 353-370.

MS paragraphs	Faral's sections
11	XVII.3
12	XVII.4
13	XVII.4 ctd.
14	XVII.5
15	XVII.6
16	XVIII, XIX
17	XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII
18	XXIV.1, XXV, XXVI.2
19	XXVI.4
20	XXVII.1, XXVII.2, XXVIII.1, XXVIII.2
21	XXVIII.2 ctd.
22	XXVIII.2 ctd.
23	XXIX, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV
24	XXXV

This complicated notation, despite the obvious high risk of errors in transmission, could be defended if it reflected the state of the MSS, with Roman numerals denoting paragraphs in the base MS (which for Faral was FL) and using Arabic numerals either for editorial subdivisions or for divisions found in other versions but not present in the base MS. However, it is obvious from the above table that no such attempt to preserve the integrity of the MS section division has been made. In fact, the least complicated areas of text are those which have been broken down into a large number of sections with whole (i.e. Roman) numbers, whereas the middle, in which many difficulties are created by comparison with other texts, has been

allowed only 10 Roman numerals (XVII-XXVI) for the 18 sections from §13 to §31 in this edition. This causes a need for extensive subdivision and clumsy notation. The most acute problem arises between XVII.4 (§15) and XVII.5 (§18). Faral aligned the passage which appears at this point in EP wrongly; he linked it with the stork passage (§14) and numbered it XVII.3. (The passage which really does correspond to the stork passage he numbered XVII.2bis.) Hilka¹, who printed OEr and Mir, both of which include an additional section (§17) in this part of the text, numbered the two passages (§§16 and 17) for which there is no corresponding material in F-Group XVII.3b and XVII.4b. This expedient, which is rooted in Faral's error, is unsatisfactory because any reader without the full text before him would assume, justifiably but wrongly, that XVII.3b followed XVII.3.

Section division and numbering in this edition

On the basis of maximum agreement between the MSS, I have divided the text into 36 sections. The order of §§25 and 26 could be reversed (one appears only in F-Group, the other only in P-Group), but I have followed the precedent set by Faral in putting P-Group first. §25 is unlikely to have been present in the archetypal *Letter*, and there is a strong probability that the sequence of the material has been disrupted at this point in one group if not in both.

Table of Section Division

FL (1)	Ger (10)	FR title	EP title Intro	Pit title	Mir-T	OFr Intro	This ed. I
(2)	"			I	(1)	(1)	2
(2,3)	(10,11)	(1)		I, Ib	(2)	(1b)	3
(3)	(11)	"	(1)	Ib	(3)	(1c)	4
"	"	"	"	"	(4)	(2)	5
(4)	(1)	(2)	"	II	(5,6)	(3,3b)	6
"	"	"	"	"	(7)	(4)	7
(5)	"	(3)	"	"	"	(5,5b)	8
(6)	-	-	"	III	"	(6)	9
(7,8)	(2)	(4)	"	"	(8)	(6b)	10
(8)	"	(5)	"	IV	(8,9)	(6c,d)	11
(9,10)	"	(6)	"	"	(10)	(7,7b)	12
(10)	"	(7)	"	V	(11)	(8,9)	13.
(11)	"	"	"	"	(12)	(9b)	14
(12,13)	(3)	(8)	"	"	(13)	(10)	15
-	-	-	"	v, v^2	(14)	(11,11b)	16
-	-	-	-	v^2	(15)	(12)	17
(14)	(4)	(9)	"	-	(16)	(13)	18
(15)	"	"	"	v^{2b}	(17)	(14)	19
(16,17)	(5)	-	"	v^3	(26)	(15)	20
(17)	"	(10)	"	"	(27)	(16)	21
"	(6)	(11)	"	"	(28)	(17)	22
"	"	-	"	-	(29,30,31)	(18,19)	23
(18)	(7)	-	"	-	(32,33)	(20)	24
-	-	-	"	-	(18)	(21)	25
(18)	(7)	(12)	-	-	-	-	26
"	"	-	"	-	(19)	(22,23)	27
-	-	-	-	-	(20)	(23,24)	28
-	-	-	"	-	(21)	(24b)	29
(19)	"	"	"	-	(22)	(25)	30

FL	Ger	FR	EP	Pit	Mir-T	OFr	This ed.
-	-	-	(1)	-	(23)	(26)	31
(20)	(7)	(13,14)	"	-	(24)	(27)	32
"	"	(14)	"	-	(25,34)	(28,29)	33
(20,21, 22)	(8)	(14,15)	"	-	(35)	(30)	34
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P-Group

1.

1 | sermonis
| premonis regis trojanum
| Incipit epistola Parmoenis ad Trajanum
| Haus empereres.

2 | demonstrans
| Loca vel insulas in
| imperatorem data de locis aut incolis
| Je vous senefiie aucunes choses qui sont

3 | montes
| oriente diversa hominum
| aut ubi quales homines nascuntur
| merueilleuses en Inde.

4 | moresque
| monstrorumve qualitas nascatur,
| vel qualia monstra vel montium

5 | describi jussimus.
| figuras et hominum vel bestiarum

F-Group

1.

1| Haec discriptio partis orientis
| de hominibus qui pedes habent octenos et totidem oculos

2| Feramen rex. Ad Adrianum imperatorem.
| Divo adriano fermes divo adriano salutem

3| Litteras tuas, domine caesar, ab asacrate et monacrate
| Si quis dimensionem terrarum perscrutari paraverit,

4| recepi quibus recensetis quod te fortem atque hiliores
| attendat non omnia nos corporali visione probasse quae

5| imperium tuum amplatumque esse cognovi gavisus sum.
| scripsimus, quinimo quaedam ex alienis libris transumpta,

6| Interea cognovi ut nationes hominum et qualitates
| quaedam ex virorum proborum relatione congressimus.

7| locorum que in terris nostris sunt exquisivi meisque
| nihil mendacium linguis aut mimorum fallaciis

8| litteris conexas transmittam. Quamobrem sive quae
| contribuentes.

9| ipse nobis sive parentes atque germanos quae addiscere

10| potui amplexus pariter adnexui.

P-Group

2.

1 | Antepoli usque Serimum.
Colonia est initium ab antimolima
Seo landbuend onfruman from antimolime þæm lande
Premierement il i a vne isle qui a non atymolimus

2 | quia habet stadia numero quingenta que faciunt
þæs landes is on gerime þæs læssan milgetæles . þe stadio
hatte fif hund.
qui a

3 | leuvas trecenta sexaginta octo.
7 þæs miclan þe leuva hatte þreo hund 7 eahta 7 .lx.
iii.c. et lxiii liues de lonc.

4 | quae insula habet multitudinem ovium. et inde
On þæm ealande bið micel mæneger sceapa 7 þanon
Et i croist moult de brebis. Et de la

5 | usque Babylonia, nunc num. LXIX.
ad babiloniam stadia sunt centum sexaginta octo
is to babilonian þæs læssan milgetæles stadio hundteontig 7
eahta 7 lx.
iusques en Babilone

6 | numero quae faciunt leuvas .c. et .xv.
7 þæs miclan milgetæles þe leuva hatte fiftyne 7 hundteontig
a .c. et .xii. liues.

F-Group

2.

1| Est igitur a finibus antiochiae
| ut ergo praemisimus cui

2| dirus flumen stadia cxc^{tis}; hic locus
| fluvijs subiacet desertam

3| sanctus est.
| sanctis hominibus copiosa repleta spatiosa patent.

4| A nicerorum autem usque ad Olinum insulam et usque
| quibus Oliviam

5| in finibus Eufrates fluminis stadia sunt xcv;
| ad fines euftratis mansiones plereque

6| haec insula multitudinem habens ovium
| habet

7| innumerabilium.

P-Group

3.

1 | maxima
Haec colonia est maxime negotiatorum
 Seo londbunis is swyðust cypemonnum geseted
 ② Et moult est markaande.

2 | Ibi vervices
ubi nascuntur berbices magnitudine boum
 þær beoð weðras acenned on oxna micelnesse
 ① Et les brebis de chele isle sont ossi grans quest vns
 buef.

3 | habitantes usque ad medorum civitatem
 þa buað oð meda burh
 ③ De cheste isle dusques a vne chite de Mede

4 | cum hominis Magna et fructuosa.
cui nomen est archemedon. que maxima est
 þære burge nama is archemedon. sio is mæst
 qui a non Arcemedon qui est boine chites.

5 | A Babylonia usque Archemedon num.
(i. excepto babilonia)
Ad babiloniam inde sunt stadia ad babiloniam numero
 to babilonia burh þonon syndon þæs læssan milgetæles
 stadi
 Et dusques en Babilone

6 | ccc. que faciunt leuvas .cc. ab archemedone.
 ccc. 7 þæs maran þe leuua hatte .cc. from archemedon
 a .ii.c. liues.

F-Group

3.

1| Hic Egmonas stadia xviii
| et exinde

2| haec colonia maxima negotiatorum,
| magna et negociatoribus exposita.

3| berbices sunt ibi inmensi ac capree. Unde et
| illic de velleribus ovium caprarum

4| tunice et birri vel ceteras res fiunt.
| bissique

5| Hinc euntibus ad meridiem versus civitas
| transeuntibus occurrit

6| est opulenta nomine archymedia;
| oppulentissima quam arcimedium dicunt.

7| distat a babilonia stadia ccc:

P-Group

3.

7| praedia Hoc est Athenas
Ibi sunt illa magna insignia que
þær syndon þa miclan mærdā þæt syndon þa weorc
Et de la dusques a Athaines

8| Magni Alexandri
magnus alexander operari iusserat.
þe se micla macedonisca alexsander het gewyrca.
le grant Alixandre

9| que terra habet in longitudine et latitudine
þæt land is on lenge 7 on bræde .cc. þæs læssan
milgetæles

10| sunt n.
stadia numero .cc. que faciunt leuvas
stadi 7 þæs miclan þe leuua hatte

11| cxxxiii & dimidium miliarium.
cxxxiii 7 an healf mil
cxxxiii liues. Et pres de la moitie dune mille

F-Group

3.

8| In haec eadem arcymeda sunt predia
illic terra fertilia et in

9| opulenta et fructuosa nimis. Hinc usque ad
fructibus opulenta.

10| Anteletens stadia ccc. Fluviu inmensu.

11| Inter babyloniam
A Babilonia
Super terra de caldera et siria. Porro

12| et
usque Mesopotamiam stadia sunt lx; locus honestus
lx^{ta}, lacu piscosu

13| est regio
et plus quam locuples hinc usque Damnas
et ex damascu

14| castroru stadia sunt clxxxv. A sinistra vero
mansiones plereque

15| euntibus civitates sunt xii: Valatho, Melenimo,
occurrunt Valatha. melemno.

16| Cleopatra, Termasia, Marmino, Maragdon, Fluviu,

17| Casia, Possidonia, India, Anda, Eluchana.
amdan. eleudiana.

18| flaviu.

4.

1

estIbiEst locus euntibus ad mare rubrum quiSum stow is mon fered³ to pære readan sæ seo

② et li lieus ou eles naissent est apeles

2

lentibel.Lentabel Feniae.dicitur lentibelsinea.

is haten lentibelsinea

Lentibel de Surie et est enle voie qui va a le rouge mer.

3

cuius finibuslocisetin quibus galline nascuntur quales

on pæm beoð henna acenned onlice

① naissent gelines de tes couleurs que les nostres

4

similesapud nos rubicundo colore. Has cum aliquis

þonne þe mid us beoð reades heowes. gif hi hwylc man

③ Et quiconques

5

comprehenderemanus eius quimanu sua siadprehendere voluerit: manum suam quam tetigeritniman wile oppe him o æthrined³

prenderoit vne de ches guelines a sa main.

6

earum comburittotumcomburet, quia veneficæ sunt.totumque corpusconburit.þonne forbærnað³ hy sona eal his lic pæt syndon ungefrægelicu

liblac.

tous ses cors arderoit, car eles sont enuenimees.

5.

1 | Quasdam enim bestias prope ad mare Rubrum nasci

Ibi sunt

nascuntur

Preterea

ibi bestie nascuntur.

Eac þonne þær beoð wildeor acenned.

Apres il i naist bestes

2 | ipsa fabulositas perhibet,

quasi simiae.

ossi que singes.

3 | hi quum unum

longe

hæ cum sonum audierint hominum. statim fugiunt.

þa deor þonne hy mannes stefne gehyrað þonne fleoð hy feor.

② et sen fuient loins quant eles oent aucun son.

4 | et quod .viii.

octonos

habentes

octonos

pedes habent

octenos

þa deor habbað eahta fet.

① qui ont .viii. pies

5 | duplicibus membris ② cum oculis fingunt gorgoneis.

quaternos.

et

gorgonios,

oculos habent gorgoneos

7 wælcyrian eagan.

et ossi de femme.

F-Group

5.

1| erant ibi
ubi nascuntur bestiole
Sunt et humiles
illic homines

2| simie.
quasi simii,

3| audiunt, fugient,
quando sonum audierint, fugiunt.
qui ut

4| habentes oculos et totidem pedes,
octonos idemque et
pedes habentes octenos totidemque oculos
habent

Historia de Preliis, chapter 123 (Hilka 1977)

P-Group

5.

6 l et bina
binaque
bina capita habent.
7 twa heafdu
et .ii. testes

7 | has cum voluerint
 Hos quum volueris
 si quis eos voluerit
 gif him hwylc mon
 ③ et quant on les veut

8 | comprehendere id. pugnant.
adprehendere corpora sua inarmant.
onfon wille þonne gewrædað hy sona grimlice ongen þæt syndon
þa ungefrægelicu deor.
prendre. eles enarment leur cors a leur pooir, si sont fors a
avoir.

F-Group

5.

5 | in capite duo cum quibus feriebant sive
cornua bina habentes

6 | hominem sive aliud animal. Interficiebant eos.
Quas cum aliquis occidere voluerit,
quos qui perimere

7 | diligenter se munire debet.
muniat armaturis.

P-Group

6.

1 | a Seleucia ad

Hascellentia babiloniam proficiscentibus

Hascellentia hatte þæt land. þonne mon to babilonia færð

Après de Seleucie iusques a Babilone

2 | sunt ii,

habet stadia ix.

þæt is þonne ðæs læssan milgetæles þe stadia hatte .ix. mila

a entour .ix. estades.

lang 7 brad

3 | Regio

subjacent

que subiacet regionibus medorum

þæt bued oð medarice

② *et est par desous medie.*

4 | plena est hominibus

omnibus bonis plena.

þæt land is eallum godum gefylled.

① *Et chele tere habunde en tous biens,*

5 |

Assyriorum

quoque

Habet in locis illis

Hic locus serpentes habet

Deos stow hafað nædran.

③ *Et i a serpens*

6 | in desertis nasci perhibentur,

Liber Monstrorum, III, 2.

Ger II - Vat. Lat. 933 f.19^v col.2.

F-Group

6.

1 | Et inde amoto exercitu venit
| Est et alia regio que dicitur

2 | in terram Babilonie
| pelusia distans a
| A seleucia autem babylonia
| Babyloniam

3 | pergentibus stadia sunt lx

4 | Subiacet haec regio in Sidonia.

5 | in qua invenerunt

Ubi

Ibi

in qua

serpentes nascuntur

6 | mire magnitudinis

horridos

nimis

inmensi

atque horridi et plus quam

horrendi

Historia de Preliis, chapter 123 (Hilka 1977)

P-Group

6.

7 | qui habent et inmensa
| habentes
| capita bina habentes
| þa nædran habbað twa heafdu
| qui ont .ii. testes.

8 | corporis volumina torquent; ^{que} quatuor per umbras

9 | nocturnas oculis in modum
| de
| lucerna
| quorum oculi nocte sicut lucerne lucent
| þara eagan scinað nihtes swa leohte swa blæcern.
| et leur oeil luisent de nuit comme candelles.

7.

1 | nascunturque onagra
| In his locis onagri
| Nam ibidem
| nascuntur et ibi onagri
| On sumon lande eoselas beoð acende þa habbað
| Apres la naissent asne sauvage.

2 | atque fortia
| formam maximam
| cornua boum habentes forma maxima
| swa micle hornas swa oxan þa syndon on þære mæstan wæstne
| qui ont cornes ^{que} ossi de buef et sont moult grant

Liber Monstrorum, II,4 ... Sed ipsi (onagri) in
desertis Persarum esse, cum incredibilibus quibusdam
prodigiis boum habentes cornua, et magnis describuntur
corporibus.

Ger II - Vat.Lat. 933 f.19^V col.2.

F-Group

6.

7 | sevissimos, duo
| sevissimi, habentes bina capita

8 | lucebant
| ut
| quorum oculi lucent velut lucerna

7.

1 | ibi
| Nascuntur et onagri

2 | formam maximam
| cornua habentes et forma maxima.
| cornuti

P-Group

8.

1 | In confinio Rubri maris et Arabiae
| dexteriore ab arabia
| Hi in dextera parte a babilonia
| pæt is on þa suð healf e from babiloniam .
| Et se traient en le darraine partie d'Arrabe

2 | sunt inculta prope
| occulta loca
| ducunt se in occulto ad mare rubrum
| þa buað to þæm readan sæ
| vers les lieus repus sur le Rouge Mer.

3 | esse perhibentur
| quibus
| propter serpentes qui in illis locis nascuntur
| for þara nædrena mænego þe in þæm stowum beoð
| pour les serpens qui naissent la,

4 | 2 Qui nuncupantur,
| serpentes corsica vocantur
| Corsia
| qui vocantur corsias
| þa hatton corsias.
| et ont a non confia.

5 | et habent arietina,
| habentes arietinis similia
| habentes cornua similia arietibus
| þa habbað swa micle hornas swa weðeras.
| Et chil ont cornes sanlaules as cornes de mouton.

Liber Monstrorum, III, 6.

F-Group

8.

1 | Hec iuxta arabiam. A mari rubro pergens

2 | Et exinde amoto exercitu venit in loca deserta

in arabiam est regio

His confinis Arabia iungitur

Huic

3 | (2) Erantque ibi mire magnitudinis,
inculta propter serpentes, ducens ad Mare rubrum,

4 | in quibus locis nascuntur serpentes

5 | cerastes

caeraste

cerastes nuncupatos

6 | habentes in capite sicut magni arietis

cornua

similia habentes arietum

arietina

Historia de Preliis, chapter 118 (Hilka 1977)

8.

6 | et ab eis percussus tumens.
 Si hi cito
 Hi hominem percusserint moriatur.
 Hii quem percusserunt moritur.
 gif hy hwilcne man sleað ~~oppe~~ a æthrined þonne swylted he sona.
 Et se chis serpens fiert aucun homme, il morra tantost.

7 | 1 cum quibus piper album;
 etiam abundantia.
 Ibi
 Ubi nascitur abundantia piperis,
 On þam landum bið pipores genihtsumnis
 Et la naist li poiures en habundanche,

8 | hi Sed hi homines
 quod serpentes servant sua industria
 þone pipor healdap þa næddran on heora geornfulnysse.
 lequel li serpent wardent par grant diligence.

9 | quod, incenso loco,
 et homines
 Hoc piper sic tollunt. Incendunt ea loca
 þone pipor mon swa nimesæt mon þa stowe mid fyre onæled
 Et de la le wardent li homme, que il ne perdent le poiure pour
 les serpens, et i boutent le fu.

10 | fugientibus
 adquirunt serpentes
 terra
 et serpentes sub terram fugiunt
 7 þa nædran þonne of dune on þa eorþan þæt hi fleod
 Et li serpent s'en fuient desous terre

8.

7 | cum quibus feriebant milites Alexandri, et statim moriebantur
hominem cum percusserint, occident.
quibus homines vulnerant et perimunt.

8 | 1 in quibus

Ibi nascitur et multitudo piperis
Illic nascitur,

9 | quod idem serpentes custodiunt, quod sic ab hominibus
ibidem homines vero
verum

10 | colligitur:
propter industria sua sic colligunt,

11 | cum maturum fuerit incendunt eadem loca
piper comperiunt loca

12 | ab igne fugantur
et serpentes sentientes ignem fugiunt
sic igne fugant

13 | se terram
et sub terra se mittunt merito

P-Group

8.

11 | homines flammis labentibus deripiunt.
| piper propter incendium.
| ideo nigrum est piper
| for pon se pipor bið sweart
| et on kuelle le poiure qui pour le fu est noirs.

F-Group

8.

14 | Qua

propter flamma piper ipsum nigrum
et ita mutato calore nativo

15 | efficitur

efficiet et sic eligitur
fit

16 | nam album

verumtamen natura piperis alba est.
ab incendio.

P-Group

9.

1 | ad persidem
| Persidam
| A babilonia usque persiam civitatem
| from babiloniam oð persiam þa burh.
| Et de babilone ② iusques a Perse la chite

2 | etiam piper
| Ibi n.CCC.
| ubi nascitur piper stadia sunt .dccc.
| þar se pipor weaxeð is þæs læssan milgeteles þe stadia
| hatte eahta hund mila
| ① ou li poiures naist

3 | que faciunt leuvas dcxxiii & dimidium miliarium
| of þam is geteald þæs miclan milgeteles þe leuua hatte .vi.
| hund 7 xxiii. 7 an healf mil.
| ③ a .lxxiiii. liues.

4 | sunt hostilia
| sunt
| Loca illa sterilia sunt
| Seo stow is unwæstmberenlicu
| Et entre deus a terres brehagnes

5 | multitudinem.
| propter multitudinem serpentium.
| for þara nædrena mænego.
| pour le multitude des serpens.

F-Group

9.

1| A Babilonia per Sidonia colonia

2| stadia sunt ecc,

3| que loca sterilia sunt

4| propter serpentes

- 1 | Et in Perside fingunt esse
 nascunturque canis cenonulli
 ibi cynocephali
 Similiter ibi nascuntur cenocephali
 Eac swylce þær beoð cende healfhundingas
 Et la naissent cenophale
- 2 | bestias
 homines vel bestiae quaedam vel verius homines mixti
 quas conopenos appellant
 Conopenras appellatis
 quos nos conopenas appellamus
 þa syndon hatene conopenas
- 3 | quibus sub caninis capitibus equina dependet per cervices
 iuba
 cum capitibus canum quorum
 comas
 habentes iubas equorum
 hy habbað horses mana

10.

1| Deinde amoto exercitu castra metatus est in loco
Seleucia autem a parte dextra
de equicenofalis Seleucie

2| euntibus ad Mare rubrum sunt vicinales divisiones.

3| in quo erant Kynokephali multi
cunocephali
Ibi nascuntur quinococephali,
equinocefali

4| habentes cervices similes
iubam
iube equorum habentes,
iubas (i. comas)

Historia de Preliis, chapter 119 (Hilka, 1977).

P-Group

10.

4 | dentes capita sunt
| aprorum dentes canina capita
7 eoferes tuxas 7 hunda heafdu
qui ont testes de kien

5 | et ore naribusque flammasque expirant.
| ignium flammas
| ignem et flammam flantes
7 heora orod bið swylce fyres leg
et ont alainnes de flamme.

6 | Et ibi
| Hic est civitas vicina dives
| þas land beoð neah þæm burgum
Et la est vne chites rike.

7 | hominum bonis.
| omnibus bonis plena
| þe beoð eallum worldwelum gefylled

P-Group

11.

1 | Sunt homines in Oriente in cuiusdam eremi
| ducent in Aegyptum,
| dexteriore parte ducitur illa terra ab aegypto.
| pæt is on þa suð healf egyptana landes.

2 | Ibi binorum
| qua binum,
| In aliqua nascuntur homines statura pedum vi.
| On sumon lande beoð men acende þa beoð on lenge syx fotmæla.
| En lequele naissent homme qui nont que ii pies

3 | vasta latitudine morantes qui, ut perhibent,
| in longitudine
| *large*
| de long,

4 | barbam pertingentem habent
| habentes,
| barbas habentes usque ad genua
| hi habbað beardas op cneow side
| et leur pendent leur barbes iusques as genous

5 | comas usque ad talos
| 7 feax oð helan

6 | cenodubii idest homunculi.
| Homines Durci
| qui homo dubii appellantur
| homodubii hy syndon hatene pæt beoð twimen
| On les apele hommeles.

Liber Monstrorum I, 18.

F-Group

11.

1 | A dextra parte ducent ad aegyptum; hinc
| descenditur

2 | non longe abest insula quo
| ad insulam in qua nascuntur homines

3 | longi

4 | habentes barbas usque ad genua,
| nutrientes barbam

5 | iethiophagi
| qui appellantur idtofagi
| nuncupantur idrofagi

P-Group

11.

7 | crudis piscibus vescuntur

Hi

et pisces crudos manducant.

7 be hreawum fixum hy lifiað 7 þa etap

Et menguent les poissons tous crus

8 | lesquels il prennent en le riviére de Cables.

F-Group

11.

6 | pisces enim crudos vescuntur.
| quia comedunt.

- 1 | Est ibi eadem insula
 | Capi fluuius in eodem loco
 | Capi hatte seo ea in þære ilcan stowe
 | (... en le riviere de Caves) En chele isle
- 2 | Gurgarus etiam
 | apellatur gorgoneus. ibi nascuntur
 | þe is haten gorgoneus. þæt is wælkyrging þær beoð cende
 | naiscent
- 3 | staturam
 | formice statura canum
 | æmetan swa micle swa hundas
 | fourmi de grant estature comme sont kien
- 4 | senos et
 | senos Qui pedes
 | habentes pedes
 | hy habbaþ fet
 | et ont .vi. pies
- 5 | marinae
 | quasi locustae
 | swelce swa græshoppan
 | comme laoustes de mer

Liber Monstrorum, II,16. Et inter ipsa quae dicunt
inania ferunt Formicas in quadam esse insula, et quod
.VI. pedes et atrum colorem et miram habeant
celeritatem depromunt. Cum quibus incredibilis auri
abundantia describitur, quod ipsae sua servant
industria.

1 | Et exinde amoto exercitu venit ad quendam fluvium

2 | et transmeans illum castra metatus est ibi.

enim fluvius

Est autem flumen in eadem insula

3 | Subito exierunt desubtus terra

gargarus

nomine Gargerum trans hoc flumen nascuntur

flumen gargarum quod

4 | catulorum

formice myrmidones

magnitudine catulorum,

mirmidiones

5 | sex cintras
habentes pedes senos et centrios

(id est medias partes)

6 | et maiores quam canes

quasi locustae marine dentes habentes canum

habent

P-Group

12.

6 | nigro
 sunt nigro
rubro colore nigroque
hy syndon reades heowes 7 blaces heowes
Et sont de noire couleur.

7 | et ibi
Quae formicae fodiunt
 fodientes aurum et quod per
ba æmettan delfað gold up
Et fouent lor

8 | et proferunt
noctem fodiunt sub terra, profertur foras usque
of eorpan from foran nihte oð ða
et traient de tere iusques

F-Group

12.

7 | colorem nigrum. Tunc in exitu

| colore autem sunt nigrae

8 | desub terra interfecerunt multitudinem ex animalibus

9 | de ipso exercitu. Iste formice aurum

fodiunt

aurumque custodiunt

10 | desub terra et proferunt

et proferunt de subterraneo ad lucem;

quod

11 | vel aliud

que cum

hominem aut

animal

vero

quodlibet

12 | invenerunt,

conspexerint,

viderint,

devorant usque ad ossa;

attigerint ad ossa

13 | sunt enim velocissime in cursu, ut putes eas volare

que

magis

14 | Et tota nocte

he sole oriente usque

quam gradi censcantur.

P-Group

12.

9 | ad diei quartam. et post abscondunt sub
| hora quinta.
| diei horam quintam
| fiftan tid dæges
| a le quinte heure du iour.

10 | terra. ab illis aurum
| audent illa
| Homines autem qui audaces sunt illud tollere
| þa men þe to þon dyrstige beoð þæt hi þæt gold nimen
| Et li homme qui ont hardieche de chel or prendre

11 | ducunt. autem
| Ducunt apud se
| sic tollent apud camelos
| þonne lædað hy mid him olfendan
| font ensi. Il prenent cameus

12 | feminarum fetus.
| masculos et feminas illas que habent foetas
| meran mid hyra folan 7 stedan.
| masles et femeles les queles ont petis cameus.

13 | gallalim alligantes
| Gorgarium alligantur et
| Foetas autem trans flumen gargulum alligatos
| þa folan hy gesælað ær hy ofer þa ea faren.
| Et laissent les petis cameus bien lies outre une riviere.
| le quele a non gargalo. et

F-Group

12.

15 | ad diei terra
| horam quintam sub terram
| in hora quinta subterraneo sunt et aurum

16 | ab hora autem quinta usque ad occasum solis
| fodiunt. et proferunt de subterraneo ad lucem
| exinde in

17 | sunt super terram.
| quod aurum ex ingenio ab ipsius confinitatis
| producunt. artificibus

18 | hominum qui ibidem sunt confines
| hominibus ita ingeniose

19 | Inducunt
| aufertur. Ducunt camelos quamplures
| extrahitur enim

20 | feminas pullis
| masculos et camelas cum pulletris suis,
| pullis

21 | pullos relinquunt
| quos pulletros super ripam fluminis relinquunt
| et cum ad ripam transeundi pervenerint

P-Group

12.

14| relinquunt,

15| aurum.

et camelis foeminis aurum inponunt.

þæt gold hio gefætað on þa meran. 7 hy sylfe onsittað
metent les meres outre le rivièrre en le terre ou li ors est.
et les karkent de chel or.

16| festinant.

Ille autem pietate ad suos pullos festinantes,

Et eles par lamour queles ont a leur petis cameus passent le
rivièrre pour aler a aus atout chel or.

17| ubi cum masculis

ibi masculi remanent.

7 þa stedan þær forlætað.

et li camel masle demeurent avæc les hommes

18| Dumque eas insequuntur rapiunt

et ille formice sequentes inveniunt eos

þonne þa æmettan hy onfindað

Et li fourmi keurent sus as cameus

F-Group

12.

22 | ligatos
| adligatos
| ad riparios cespites pullos alligant.

23 | flumen
| et ipsi transeunt in flumine cum
| transito itaque

24 | camelis masculis et feminis, quippe cum ad locum
| utriusque sexus camelis

25 | pervenerint, camelis feminis aurum imponunt.
| camelabus

26 | Et ad filios festinantes
| Ille filiorum adlacte festinanter
| quae onuste et amore pullorum allecte

27 | suos
| plus quam cursim fluvium transeunt ad filios
| cursu festino transvadant

28 | suos, homines vero dum viderint
| Comperientes igitur

29 | formicarum agmina se sequi relinquunt
| formicas agminatim insequi relinquentes
| insequentium agmina formicarum relictis

30 | et atque
| camelos masculos fugiunt ad fluvium

P-Group

12.

19 | edunt et
| eas. Quum
| masculos et comedunt eos. Dum circa autem eos
| 7 þa hwile þe þa æmettan embe ða stedan
| masles et les menguent. Et u tamps que li fourmi

20 | occupaverint. feminis ne cum viris
| occupate sunt. feminae transeunt
| abysgode beoð. þonne þa men mid þam merun 7 mid þam golde
| sunt en chele ocupation: li homme passent avoec les

21 | fluvium
| flumen cum hominibus; sunt autem tam veloces ut
| ofer þa ea fareð hy beoð swa hrædlice ofer þære ea þæt
| cameus femeles qui portent lor. Et tant sont hastives,

22 | eas putas.
| putas
| putes eos volare.
| men wenað þæt hy fleogan
| quil sanle car eles volent.

F-Group

12.

31 | camelis
| et cum camelas feminis
| et ad devorandum expositis camelis masculis.

32 | volantes eunt.
| volanter transeunt. Formice
| celeri transitu flumen peragrant. Sane

33 | cum
| autem camelos masculos cum invenerint,
| praedonum captura fraudate obiectorum camelorum

34 | devorant et retardantes,
| devorantes eos retardantur; nam cum consequi
| devorantione et fluvio contradicente

35 | voluerint et ad aquam pervenerint transire non
| praepeditae, faciunt quod possunt dum devorant

36 | possunt. Sic fit ut aurum illius
| camelos quos inveniunt. illud

37 | provinciae auferatur.
| obrizum ad nos usque perveniat.

P-Group

13.

1 | has aquas nomine
 | vias

Inter duas has amnes (2) colonia est

Betwih pysson twam ean is londbunis.

Entre ches .ii. isles .v voies. est une terre qui

2 | Quem fluvium, in quo nascuntur,
 | locata.

Liconthea,

locothea

locotheo hatte

est apelee lothee v iothee.

3 | Nilo vicinum descripsimus,

(1) idest

quae inter nilum & brixontem posita est.

paet is betwih nile 7 bryxonte geseted

qui est entre le flueve Nile et brixont.

4 | cuius secundum plurimos ignoratur

Nec Nili, nec Brixontis initium invenitur.

qui sont rivieres des queles on ne puet trouver les commenchemens.

5 | Nam hic influit illum

Et voirs est que brixont kiet v nile.

6 | nilus est capud fluviorum & per aegiptum fluit.

seo nil is ealdor fullicra ea. 7 heo flowed³ of egypta
lande.

Liber Monstrorum, II, 32.

F-Group

13.

1| Est

Et inter has vias colonia est
autem

2| ex irrigatione nili fertilis facta

3| inter Brisonem fluvium & nilum

4| Nilus enim Brisonem fluvium implet
brisonem

5| et ducet ad meridianum a quo effunditur

6| irrigatur
egyptus inrigata Nilo.
egipti fluvium cuius beneficio terra inundata

P-Group

13.

7 | Qui apud Aegyptios 2 vocatur
 quem aegyptii Arcubelita
 quam egipti archoboleta vocant
 7 hi nemnað þa ea archoboleta.
 que li egyptiient apelent Aruiobolet.

8 | 1 quod dicitur
 quae est aqua magna.
 þæt is haten þæt micle wæter
 chest adire grant iaue.

9 | 3 ubi
 In his locis nascitur
 On pyssum stowum beoð acende
 Et la habite

10 | magna
 multitudo magna elephantorum.
 þa miclan mænego ylpenda.
 grant foisons dolifans.

Liber Monstrorum, II,3:

Elefanti ... qui apud Gangaridas et Indos et inter
Nilum fluvium et Brixontem nasci perhibentur.

F-Group

13.

7 | regio

Hic Aegypti partem vicinam vocant,
ad fertilitatem revocatur.

8 | que mesopotamia.
quod dicitur Maram aquam,

9 | cuius Nili hoc Brisonis origo invenitur.

10 | qua
In his locis
brisonis fluvii confiniis

11 | est
multitudo elefantorum est
elefantes nascuntur affluenter.

F-Group

13.

7 | regio

Hic Aegypti partem vicinam vocant,
ad fertilitatem revocatur.

8 | que mesopotamia.

quod dicitur Maram aquam,

9 | cuius Nili hoc Brisonis origo invenitur.

10 | qua

In his locis

brisonis fluvii confiniis

11 | est

multitudo elefantorum est

elefantes nascuntur affluenter.

P-Group

14.

1 | Quidam quoque homines Brixonti Niloque fluminibus
 ubi sunt

et ibi

Nascuntur & ibi homines habentes

Ðær beoð cende men hy beoð

Et la naiscent homme qui ont

2 | vicini,

2 .xii.

altitudinem

quindecim

n.x

statura

pedum .xv.

fiftyne fota lange.

.xii. pies de lonc

3 | habentia, 1 corpora miri

candoris habentes

corpore

candido

corpus habentes candidum

7 hy habbað hwit lic

et les cors blans.

4 |

quidem bipertita et

3 facie

parthica,

duas in una habentes capite facies

7 twa neb on anum heafde.

et visages partikes.

Liber Monstrorum, I, 20.

F-Group

14.

- 1 | Et exinde ambulantes invenerunt habentes
| Ibique
| Ibi nascuntur homines
| quoque
- 2 | longa
| longa femora habentes, longi pedes xii
| ad mensuram pedum habentes
- 3 | sex,
| reliquum vero corpus senum pedum
| corpus relicum pedes .xii
| itidem pedum
- 4 | longitudine terminatur.
- 5 | femora;
| candida brachia usque ad humeros,
| horum brachia
- 6 | coxe et crura erant nigra
| nigre sure
| (.i. crura) nigre

Historia de Preliis, chapter 119 (Hilka 1977)

5 | pedes et sub ea,
 rubra genua naso longo.
 fet 7 cneowu swyðe reade 7 lange nosa
 et ont les genous et les pies tous nus. Et lons nes

6 | macilenti corpore describuntur.
 et
 scapulas nigras habentes.
 capillis nigris
 7 sweart feax
 et noires espauls.

7 | omni
 In tempore suo
 Cum tempus gignendi fuerit suis manibus
 þonne hy cennan willað þonne farað hy
 Et en aucun tamps il passent

8 | immorantur navibus
 avibus
 transferuntur in indiam et
 on scipum to indeum. 7
 en nes vn flueue qui a non ydees

9 | ibi prolem reddunt.
 7 þær hyra gecynda in world bringað
 selonc leur coustume.

F-Group

14.

7 | pedes rubei, caput rotundum et magnum, longas
nares longe
nasus procerus

8 | Hii homines in avibus caeli certo tempore
certis temporibus

9 | transfigurantur, et apud vos
in ciconias transformantur nos quotannis

10 | fetum faciunt, quos ciconias appellatis.

P-Group

15.

1 | Et cum his incredibilibus fingunt execrandae

Item liconia in gallia

Ciconia in gallia hatte þæt land þær

Apres en vne region qui a non galle

2 | formae ippotamos, quos ferunt triplicem

etiam ibi animalia triplici

et quadrupedia

nascuntur

homines

tripartito

beoð men acende

þreosellices

en le quele naiscent tripaire.

3 | habere colorem

coloris

sunt

colorem equorum

pedes

colore, quorum capita capita leonum

heowes þara heafdu. beoð gemonu swa leona heafdu.

qui ont testes de lion.

4 | longa pedum decem et octo.

pedibus .xx.

7 hi beoð .xx. fota lange

et .xiiii. pies de lonc.

Liber Monstrorum, II,18.

F-Group

15.

1 | Deinde ambulantes per ipsam silvam invenerunt

Ibique

Item que

nascuntur

In eisdem Brisonis fluvii partibus

2 | bestias

bestiae colore similes equorum

celereres ad instar

3 | pedes habentes leonum

habent, colla equina.

4 | quorum latitudo erat pedes triginta

latitudinem habentes tricenum

et ipsi longitudinem

pedum

tricenorum

5 | grossitudo pedes duodecim.

grossitudine xii

pedum duodena.

vastitatem duodecim

Historia de Preliis, chapter 119 (Hilka 1977)

P-Group

15.

5 | Qui oris latitudine vanno comparantur.
| habentia regunt:
| ore amplissimo sicut vannum.
7 | hy habbað micelne muð swæ fon.
| Et ont si grant guele quil i porroit bien vn van.

6 | Sunt autem tam fugaces, ut
| homines viderint eos
| verum hos aliquis
| hominem cum cognoverint aut si quis
| gyf hi hwylcne monnan on þæm landum ongitað oððe geseop oððe
| him hwilc man
| Sil voient homme qui les

7 | insequitur fugiant quousque
| insequatur, ita ut
| sequitur sanguinem
| persequatur longe fugiunt et sanguine
| folgiende bið. þonne feor þæt hi fleoð 7 blode
| sieuent il furent bien loins. et

8 | Hyppotami appellantur.
| sudant. Hos potamos appellant.
| sudent. Hi putantur homines fuisse.
| þæt hy swætað. þas beoð men gewende.
| suent sanc. on les apele ypotames.

F-Group

15.

6| edificio amplo.

7| Hanc bestiam si quispiam (3) persequi voluerit,
(2) hascemodi bestias (1) quis

8| harum sanguine aluntur homines
sanguinem suum a quolibet se sequi adimens
seseque

9| sugit et omnino ab is feris non nocetur,
fugit ab eis

10| qui yppophagi nominantur.
nam yppofogi appellantur.
et

P-Group

16.

1 | (2) Brixontis fluminis ab oriente nascitur
| Est in
| Trans brixontem flumen ad orientem nascuntur
| Begeondan brixonte pære ea east þonon beoð men acende
| Après outre brixont le flueue dont nous auons parle naiscent

2 | (1) hominum quoque genus immensis corporibus
| longipedes macri
| homines longi et magni. habentes femora
| lange 7 micle þa habbað fet
| homme lonc et grant. qui ont longues gambes

3 | (4) et xviii. pedes altitudinis accipiunt.
| suras pedum
| subta (pedes n.iv.)
| et surras .xii. pedum. latera cum pectore
| 7 sconcan .xii. fota lange sidan mid breostum
| et longues cuisses. tant quil ont .xii. pies de lonc. et par le
| pis. et par les costes

4 | (3) corpore
| pedum sex admodum nigri
| (pedes n.iv.)
| .vii. pedum colore nigro
| seofon fota lange. hi beoð sweartes hiwes
| .iii. pies de le. Et sont noir.

5 | (5) Et, ut ferunt, homines cum
| Hos ostes appellant,
| Quos hostes rite appellamus. nam quoscumque
| hostes hy synd nemned cuplice swa hwylcne man
| On les apele hostes, chest adire Anemis. car tous

Liber Monstrorum, I, 33.

F-Group

16.

No reading.

P-Group

16.

6 | conprehenderunt crudos manducant.
| capiunt comedunt.
| swa hy gelæccað þonne fretað hy hyne.
| chiaus quil prendent il menguent.

17.

1 | 2 bestiae quaedam non magnae quoque
| alii juxta Brixontem
| Sunt et alie bestiolae 1 in brixonte
| Donne seondon on brixonte wildeor
| Et en le riuere de brixont a autres besteletes

2 | 3 sed prope omnibus nationibus ignotae gigni

3 | perhibentur, quas Caelestices vocant.
| Lerueis appellant.
| quae lertices apellatur.
| pa hatton lertices
| qui ont a non celestices.

4 | auribus asininis. vellere ovino. pedibus avium.
| hy habbað eoseles earan 7 sceapes wulle 7 fugeles fet.

17: *Liber Monstrorum*, II, 32.

F-Group

17.

No reading.

F-Group

18.

1| Deinde amoto exercitu venit ad quendam fluvium

2| in quo erat

Est namque et alia insula in Brisone flumine
fluvio

3| in qua erant

ubi nascuntur homines sine capite

4| habentes

habentes oculos et os in pectore;

5| quorum longitudo erat

hi

longi sunt pedes xii,
eorum pedum

6| lati et vasti pedes septem.

latitudo vastitas pedum

7| pectore similes.

colore et corpus auro simile.

Corporis color similis.

Historia de Preliis, chapter 119 (Hilka 1977)

P-Group

18.

6| et ressanlent as ypotames.

7| 1 quos epifugos Graeci vocant;
| hos epifagos vocamus.
| on les apele v pais epiphongos.

8| 4 nisi quod oculos in humeris habere videntur.

BLANK IN ORIGINAL

P-Group

19.

- 1 | autem et
 | ibidem
 | Nascuntur et ibi dracones
 | Ðar beoð dracan cende
 | Apres en chele meisme isle naissent dragon
- 2 | longitudine
 | longipedes n.C.
 | longitudinem habentes .cl. pedum
 | þa beoð on lenge hundteontige fotmæla lange 7 fiftiges
 | qui ont .c. et .l. pies de lonc.
- 3 | grossitudine et pro multitudine
 | vastitudine columnarum. Propter multitudinem
 | hy beoð greate swa stænene sweras micle. for þara
 | ossi gros que piler. (2) pour le multitude
- 4 | ibi commorari
 | tam
 | draconum nemo facile adire potest
 | dracena micelnesse ne mæg nan manna yþelice on þæt
 | des dragons (1) Et nus ne puet la legierement aler.
- 5 | (Super hoc flumen)
 | super illud flumen.
 | trans flumen
 | land gefaran
 | (Apres entre che flueue)

F-Group

19.

- 1 | Ibidem nascuntur dracones immensi,
| ibi quoque quorum
- 2 | longitudinis forma
| longi formam pedes cl
| longitudo centum pedum et quinquaginta
- 3 | grossi
| crassi latitudine
| latitudo et grossisies
- 4 | columnarum maximarum
| ad quantitatem columnarum
- 5 | qui in Brisone et Nilum nasci potuerunt.

P-Group

20.

- 1| Super hoc flumen est...
| Est et altera regio
| Donne is oþer rice
| Après entre che flueue
- 2| Babylonem. est
| in terra babílonie et mons ibi est
| on babilonia landum. pær is
| et babilone est vne regions. en lequele est vne
- 3| et altissimus est
| maximus
| seo mæste dun
| tres haute montaigne et tres grans.
- 4| in quo natio Tyrannorum est
- 5| Moeniam Arimeniam
| inter mediam et armeniam
| betwih media dune 7 armoenia.
- 6| est
| mons maximus et altissimus.
| Seo is ealra duna mæst 7 hyhst.

Liber Monstrorum, II,31:

Et in vicino Armeniae montis loco, ubi margaritae
nasci perhibentur, leones et tigres, lynces et
leopardos, et cuncta genera ferarum horribilium
mons quidam altissimus gignit.

1| Inter babilonyam vero mons est

2| in quo natio quasi leonum oritur.

3| in media autem Armoenia

4| alius mons est in quo sunt valde locupletes.

5| A parte vero dextra euntibus ad Mare rubrum

6| civitates sunt duae, nomine Phenix et Ioraba
 due ioracia

P-Group

20.

7 | ibi homines.
| sunt ibi homines honesti
| þær syndon gedefelice menn
| ou il a hommes honnestes.

8 | et habitant usque ad
| tenentes rubri maris
| tenent in imperium
| Hi retinent mare rubrum imperio
| þa habbað him to cynedome þone readan sæ 7 to anwalde
| qui tienent le rouge mer en le partie par desous

9 | ibique margaritae
| ubi nascuntur margarete pretiosissime.
| þær beoð cende þa deorwordan gimmas.
| et la naissent les marguerites.

Ger II: Vat. Lat. 933, f.20^v, col.2, ll.18-19.

P-Group

20.

7 | ibi homines.
| sunt ibi homines honesti
| þær syndon gedefelice menn
| ou il a hommes honnestes.

8 | et habitant usque ad
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9 | ibique margaritae
| ubi nascuntur margarete pretiosissime.
| þær beoð cende þa deorwordan gimmas.
| et la naissent les marguerites.

Ger II: Vat. Lat. 933, f.20^V, col.2, 11.18-19.

F-Group

20.

7 | ubi valde homines locupletes sunt,
| mansio est hominum plurimum locupletum

8 | (Circa Indiam arabiam regio est ...)
| ex quibus ad India et Arabia collationes sunt.
| a indiam arabiam directiones fiunt.

9 | hi tenent Rubrum maris imperium.
| rubri

10 | Ibi nascuntur margaritae
| Illic

11 | ingentes et maxime forme.
| et optime

P-Group

21.

1 Mulieres, ut ferunt, iuxta Armeniae
etiam montem

Ibi

Circa hunc locum

Ymb þas stowe

Et environ chele region

2 sunt

nascuntur mulieres

~~beoð wif acenned.~~

naissent femmes

3 (2) barbam

mammās habentes prolixam.

barbas habentes usque ad mamillas

~~þa habbað beardas swa side oð hyra breost.~~

qui ont longues barbes iusques as mameles

4 (1) pellibus

indutae

vestimenta

pro

utuntur

vestimentis

pelliculas equorum ad vestimentum

~~7 horses hyda hy habbað him to hrægle gedon~~

et de piaux sont vestues.

5

(3) Quae dum

equos habent

sunt

et equas

sunt maxima

habentes & he

venatrices

maxime

~~þa syndan huntigystan swiðast nemde.~~

Et sont ententives a vener.

Liber Monstrorum, I, 22.

Ger II: Vat. Lat. 933, f. 20^v, 11.19-22 and marginal note.

F-Group

21.

1 | Alio namque die amoto exercitu cepit ire per ipsas

2 | silvas Indie, et invenerunt ibi
| Indiam et arabiam regio est in cuius montibus
| Circa eadem loca mons est ubi

3 | habentes corpora magna
| sunt mulieres horride
| horrende

4 | et
| habentes barbas usque ad mammas caput planum;
| barbate mamillas; habent

5 | vestite
| pellibus vestite.
| vestiuntur

6 | optime,
| venariaces
| sunt namque venatrices
| sunt.

Historia de Preliis, chapter 94 (Hilka 1977)

P-Group

21.

6 | A leones et tigres
 3 sibi
tigrides
 in forma canis tigrides
 pro canibus tigres
7 | *fore hundum tigras*
et en lieu de chiens nourrissent tigres.

7 | A lynces et leopardos
habent
 et leopardos nutriunt.
7 | ~~leopardos~~ ~~pæt hy fedað~~
et lupars

8 | rapida ferarum pro canibus nutriunt
 illic
& omnia genera bestiarum quae in eodem monte
pæt syndon þa cenestan deor 7 ealra þara wildeora cyn þara þe
 on þære dune
et autres bestes.

9 | nascentium interficiunt.
nascuntur cum illis venantur
acende beoð pæt hy tohuntiap

A. *Liber Monstrorum*, II, 31 (see §20)

F-Group

21.

7| bestias

canes

pro canibus bestias nutriunt ad venationem

venandum,

8| nutriunt. Tunc Macedones insequentes illas

magnitudine colore

quae bestiae magnitudinem et colorem

ad instar et quantitatem

9| apprehenderunt ex eis aliquantas.

leonibus comparantur.

leopardum.

leopardorum.

P-Group

22.

1 | enim
| nascuntur
| sunt ibidem
| Et alie sunt mulieres ibi.
| Donne syndan opere wif
| Et la sont autres femmes

2 | ut ferunt, speciosae, cohaerentes;
| Rubro mari proximae,

3 | aprilinos
| dentes aprorum habentes
| pa habbað eoferes tuxas
| qui ont dens de saingler.

4 | 3 et crines defluentes,
| habentes
| capillos usque ad talos
| 7 feax oð helan side.
| et les kauiaus lonz iusques au talon.

5 | et cauda in lateribus,
| et habentes
| in lumbis caudas boum
| 7 oxan tægi on iendunum.
| et ont keues de buef

Liber Monstrorum, I, 28.

Ger II: Vat. Lat. 933, f. 19^r, col. 2, 11.9-13.

F-Group

22.

1 | Deinde ambulantes invenerunt ibi

eisdem montibus

In eodem monte silve sunt,

Sunt et vicini montes

2 | in quibus nascuntur et alie mulieres

3 | aprorum

aprorum dentes habentes

que habent aprinos

4 | et

capillos usque ad talos

5 | bovis habentes;

bobis

② et in lumbis caudam quasi bos

caudas bovinas

Historia de Preliis, chapter 95 (Hilka 1977)

P-Group

22.

6 | xii pedes altitudinis
statura
stature
sunt
2 Quae sunt altae pedum xiii.
pa wif syndon pryttyne fota lange
et .xiiii. pies de lonc.

7 | 1 quarum corpora marmoreo nitore fulgent.
cum vel ut marmor
speciosae
specioso corpore quasi marmore candido;
7 hyra lic bið on marmorstanes hwitnysse
et sont ossi blankes que marbres. et ont biaux cors.

8 | 4 et pedes habent.
quae camelorum
habentes.
camelinos:
pedes habentes cameli.
hy habbað olfendan fet
et pies de kamel.

9 | et dentes asinorum habent
propter inspectionem
aprilinos quarum
7 eoseles teð
et oreilles dasne.

F-Group

22.

6 | statura earum alta

alte

pedes

xii

vii

sunt pedibus

7 |

autem

① reliquum

corpus pilosum

8 |

strutio

quasi structio et camelus.

ut

③

9 | Deinde amoto exercitu venerunt ad alias silvas Indie

10 | et deambulantes per eas invenerunt ibi mulieres que

11 | dicuntur lamie, speciosas valde, capillos usque ad

12 | talos, pedes habentes equorum; statura earum alta

13 | pedibus septem.

14 | Quas insequentes Macedones apprehenderunt ex eis et

Propter vero desiderium cupivi ut aliquas caperem,

15 | statuerunt eas ante Alexandrum. Cumque vidisset eas

atque vivas Romanniae adducerem.

P-Group

22.

10 | et decem occidit
| tres his occiderunt
| multe ex ipsis ceciderunt pro sua obscenitate
| for hyra micelnesse hy gefylde wæron
| Nos gens en tuerent .ii.

11 | Alexander magnus,
| socii nostri
| a magno nostro macedone alexandro,
| from þæm miclan macedoniscan alexandre
| Et li grans alixandres

12 | eas capere poterat.
| quoniam prendere potuerunt.
| quia illas vivas adprehendere non potuit, occidit.
| þa cwealde he hy þa he hy lifiende oferfon ne mehte
| ne les peut prendre vives. mais il les ochist.

13 | ideo quia sunt publicato corpore et inhonesto.
| for þon hy syndon æwisce on lichoman 7 unweorþe.

F-Group

22.

16 | Alexander, mirabatur in eis valde, eo quod iam
| Tres autem comiti armati ut unam occiderent. quippe.

17 | pulchre a vertice capitis usque ad talum pedis.
| ut evadere potuissent diu multoque pugnauerunt.

- In Oriente quoque iuxta
autem
Secus oceanum sunt genera bestia
Be þæm garsecge is wildeora cyn
Après dencoste le grant mer sont

F-Group

23.

1 | Hi confinis Dii, regis Persarum,
| In hoc sane confinio

2 | coloniam vero cinctam in qua
| colonia optime fertilis est

3 | idem Darius rex cum suis commanebat
| manebat persarum

4 | et omnibus bonis fruebatur
| ubi plurima ubertate amenitateque

P-Group

23.

7 | habentes tyrannos confines secus oceanum. A sinistra
 leodhatan heora landgemæra buap neah þæm garsecege þanon
 fræm þæm wynstran
 tirans. Et leur voisin qui sont sur le grant mer

8 | Et
parte sunt reges conplures. hoc genus hominum
 dæle syndon fela cyninga. Ðis mancyn
 qui sont apele reges.

9 | vivit multis annis, adeo hospitale,
multos vivit annos, homines sunt benigni.
 lyfað fela geara 7 hy syndon fremfulle men
 ② et viuent moult longuement ① sont homme benigne.

10 | ut quis venerit ad eos,
et si qui ad eos venerint cum mulieribus
 gif hwilc mon him to cymð þon gifað hy him wif
 ③ Et se aucuns va a aus. il leur baillent conduit

11 | illos magnus,
eos remittunt. Alexander autem macedis
 ær hy hine onweg læten. Se macedonisca alexander
 et les renuoient sil ont femmes.

12 | ad eos,
cum ad eos venisset miratus est
 þa he him to com þa wæs he wundrende

13 | illorum, noluit eos
eorum humanitatem nec voluit eis nocere
 hyra menniscnesse ne wolde he hi cwellan
 Et pour leur benignete alixandres

F-Group

23.

5 | In illa quoque uicinitate Ibi secundum Oceanum
| (2) ad

6 | (1) reges sunt multi, (3) quorum
| plurimi

7 | propter multitudinem nec numerum nec nomina
| nomina vel

8 | scribere potuimus.
| ignoramus. Verumptamen hoc testamur quia abinde

9 | Ad quos qui forte pervenerint
| redeuntes conspeximus plurimis ac pretiosis donariis

10 | remunerati dimittuntur.
| remuneratos.

P-Group

23.

14 | ulterius accedere.
| nec ultra voluit occidere.
| ne him nan lað don.
| ne leur fist nul mal.

24.

1 | ibi serpentes
| Sunt arbores in quibus lapides pretiosi
| Donne syndon treowcyn on þæm þa deorwyrþystan stanas
| Et la sont arbres esquels naiscent pierres precieuses.

2 | nascuntur et ibi germinabuntur.
| synd ofacende. þonon hy growað.
| et pour che sont il apele gemmer quil portent gemmes.

3 | Et illic sunt
| Aliud genus est hominum valde nigrum qui ethiopes
| Oþer moncyn is seondon sweartes hyiwes on onsyne
| Et la sont ethiapien

4 | nigri homines.
| vocantur.
| þa mon hateð sigelwara.
| qui sont noir.

F-Group

24.

- 1 | Sunt namque et alia
| Iuxta terminos memoratos
- 2 | flumina ubi pretiosi lapides
| ex quibus preciosi
- 3 | nascuntur unde gemme naturales sunt nigre:
| eliciuntur ubi fiunt
- 4 | hoc genus Ethiopes appellantur,
| Gens autem illa ethyopum nomine censetur.
- 5 | quorum et Omerus meminit.

P-Group

25.

1 | est et
Post hunc locum alia est regio
From þisse stowe is oðer rice
Après ② est vne regions.

2 | proxima
oceanò dexteriore parte, stadia .cccxxiii.
on þa suð healfe þæs garsegges þæt is geteald þæs læssan
milgeteles þe stadia hatte .ccc. 7 xxxiii.
① sur le grant mer a dextre. Par lespasse de

3 | que faciunt leuvas .ccliii & miliarium unum
7 þæs miclan þe leuua hatte .cc.liii. 7 an mil.
.cc. et liii. liues et .i. mille.

4 | homines qui vocuntur.
ubi nascuntur homodubii
þær beoð cende homodubii þæt beoð *twylce*
③ enquele naissent homme qui ont a non homoduli. chest
a dire hommelet.

5 | tenent.
qui usque ad umbilicum hominis speciem habent.
hy habbaþ oð ðone nafolan on menniscum gesceape.
qui ont fourme domme iusques a le boutine.

6 | reliquum corpus simile,
reliquo corpore onagro similes
7 syþþan on eoseles gelicnesse
et apres fourme dasne sauage.

F-Group

25.

No reading.

P-Group

25.

7 | pedes habent equus
| longis pedibus ut aves. lena voce.
| 7 hy habbað longe sconcan swa fugelas 7 lipelice stefne.
| Il ont .xii. pies de lonc. et souef vois comme oisel.

8 | cum ab eo.
| Sed hominem cum viderint longe fugiunt
| Gif hy hwilene man on ~~pæm~~ landum ongytað oððe geseoð þonne
| fleoð hy feor.
| et quant il voient hommes il senfuient loins.

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P-Group

26.

No reading.

(some parallels in 29,1-3)

1 | Est quoque Itaque insula est 2 in mari rubri maris insula
| rubro mari,

2 | in qua 1 est genus gens aliqua
| hominum genus est

3 | quod apud nos appellatur donestre, quasi divine,

F-Group

26.

1| Juxta quod Oceani fines stadia sunt cclxxx.
| hoc quoque

2| In persarum vero partibus orhaci
| In illo loco nascuntur soraci

3| nos tritognides
| qui apud vos tritonides
| alios

4| appellantur, quasi divini,
| appellantur.

5| causa
| quos de quacumque res interrogare volueris,
| a quibus de omni interrogatione

6| responsum accipies.
| accipitur.

P-Group

27.

1 | etiam ibi
Est et alius locus hominum barbarorum habens
 Donne is oþer stow elreordge men beoð on 7 þa habbað
 Apres en vn autre lieu. habitent gens qui ont

2 | in gens haec pessima
sub se reges numero .cx. genus pessimum &
 cynigas under þara is geteald .cx. þæt syndon þa
 wyrstan men 7
 sur aus .c. et .x. rois qui les gouernent et sunt barbarin et

3 | ibi duo laci
barbarorum est. Sunt et alibi loci duo.
 þa elreordegestan . 7 þar syndon twegen seapas.
 tres male gent. Et la sont .ii. lieus

4 | unus
Unis solis et alius lune. Qui solis est
 oþer is sunnan oþer monan. se sunnan seað se bið
 li uns du soleil. et li autres de le lune. Chius du

5 | nocte frigidus est
die calidus nocte frigidus.
 dæges hat 7 nihtes ceald
 soleil est frois par nuit. et caus par iour.

6 | vero et est
qui lune est nocte calidus die frigidus.
 7 se monan seað se bið nihtes hat 7 dæges ceald.
 chius de le lune est frois par iour et caus par nuit.

F-Group -

27.

(some parallels to 27,1-2P in 23,5-8F)

5| ibi secundum Oceanum
2 ad

6| 1 reges plurimi sunt multi, 3 quorum

7| propter multitudinem nec numerus nec nomina
nomina vel

8| scribere potuimus.
ignoramus.

1| Sunt vero circa eadem loca latera duo,
et palatia

2| unum Solis et alterum Lunae. Ille Solis
illud

3| inter die calet, nocte fervescit.
mediocriter et fervet.

P-Group

27.

7 | Longitudo eorum .cc. stadia sunt
| heora widnes is .cc. þæs læssan milgeteles stadia
| Et le longueur de ches .ii. liues est

8 | que faciunt leuvas .cxxxiii. & dimidium miliarium.
| 7 þæs maran þe leuua hatte .cxxxiii. 7 an healf mil.
| .cxxxiii. liues.

28.

1 | Hoc loco arbores nascuntur similes lauro et olive
| On þisse stowe beoð treowcyn þa beoð lawernbeame 7 eletreowum
| onlice.
| Et la naissent arbre sanlaulea loriers et a oliuiers.

2 | In quibus arboribus basamum nascitur
| of þæm treowum balzamum se deorweorðesta ele bið acenned.
| esquels naist basmes.

3 | & inde proficiscentibus locus est qui habet stadia
| seo stow is þæs læssan milgeteles þe stadia hatte
| Et ensi que on se part de la, on troeuue un lieu

4 | .cli. que faciunt leuvas .l. et i miliarium.
| .c.li. 7 þæs miclan þe leuua hatte .lii.
| qui a .c. liues de lonc.

F-Group

28.

(This description appears in 32,6-8F)

6 | stadia ccc. In quo loco arbores sunt similes
| illis

7 | lauro et olive ex quibus thus et
| consimiles.

8 | apobalsamo nascitur.
| opobalsamum nascuntur.
| distillando

P-Group

29.

1 | rubri maris insula
| Est quoque mari
| Itaque insula est 2 in rubro mari
| Ðonne is sum ealond in þære readan sæ
| Et la en lerouge mer est vne isle.

2 | gens aliqua
| 1 est genus
| in qua hominum genus est
| þær is mancyn
| en le quele sont gens

3 | quod apud nos appellatur donestre. quasi divine,
| þæt is mid us donestre nemned. þa syndon geweaxene swa
| frihteras.

4 | conmixtae naturae
| qui sunt
| a capite usque ad umbilicum quasi homines.
| fram þam heafde oð ðone nafolan

5 | reliquum vero corpus dissimile humano.
| reliquo corpore similitudine humana
| 7 se oðer dæl bið mennisce onlic.

6 | 3 quam linguas loqui posse
| omnium
| nationum linguis loquentes
| 7 hy cunnon eall mennisce gereord
| qui parolent de tous langages.

Liber Monstrorum, I,40.

F-Group

29.

No reading.

(There are some parallels to 29,1-3P in 26,2-4F)

2 | In persarum vero partibus orhaci
| In illo loco nascuntur soraci

3 | nos tritognides
| qui apud vos tritonides
| attos

4 | appellantur, quasi divini,
| appellantur.

P-Group

29.

7 | testantur. ideo homines de longinquo venientes
| et si alienigenam
| Cum alieni generis hominem viderint
| þonne hy fremdes cynnes mannan geseoð
| et saluent tous chiaus qui la vont.

8 | appellant
| ipsius lingua appellabunt eum & parentum eius
| þonne nemnað hy hyne. 7 his magas
| chascun en sen propre langage. et leur nomment leur cousins

9 | eorum cognitos nominando
| cognatorumque dicunt
| et cognatorum nomina
| cupra manna naman
| et leur lignage.

10 | adtonitos faciunt comprehendant
| blandientes sermone ut decipiant eos & perdant
| 7 mid leaslicum wordum hy hine beswicað
| et par beles paroles les dechoivent

11 | et illos
| Cumque conprehenderint eos perdunt eos
| 7 hine gefoð 7 æfter þan hy hine
| et les prenent

12 | crudos devorent.
| et comedunt. et postea conprehendunt caput
| fretað ealne buton þon heafde
| et menguent et quant il les ont mengie

P-Group

29.

13 | ipsius hominis quem comederunt et super ipsum plorant.
7 þonne sittað 7 wepað ofer þam heafde.
si se metent en orisons sur les testes.

P-Group

30.

- 1 | etiam ibi
Ultra hoc ad orientem nascuntur homines
Ðonne is east þær beoð men acende
Et outre naissent homme
- 2 | in orientalibus plagis qui, ut fabulae ferunt,
- 3 | pedes
pedum altitudinis
longi pedum xv. lati pedum .x.
þa beoð on wæstme fiftyne fota lange 7 .x. brade
qui ont .xii. pies de lonc et .x. de le.
- 4 | capiunt vannosas latas
caput magnum 2 et aures
hy habbað micel heafod 7 earan
Et grosse teste et orelles ossi grans
- 5 | tanquam vannus;
habentes tamquam vannum.
swæ fon
quest vns vans.
- 6 | quibus se noctu
et
unam sibi nocte substernunt. de alia
oper eare hy him on niht underbredað 7 mid opran
et par nuit gisent sur une. et se cueurent de lautre.

Liber Monstrorum, I, 43.

F-Group

30.

1 | Ibi sunt homines
| illic nascuntur

2 | staturam habent
| statura habentes pedes xvi
| pedes in longitudine.

3 | latitudinem
| latitudine pedes vii;
| Septem vero in

4 | habentes,
| caput magnum habent, auriculas vero

5 | statura
| quasi vanno similes
| alas;

P-Group

30.

7 | ceperunt
| se cooperiunt & tegunt se his auribus
| hy wreod him

8 | corpora marmorei candoris
| colore
| Leve 1 et candido corpore
| beoð þa earan swiðe leohte 7 hy beoð swa on lichoman swa
| hwite
| Il sont blanc

9 | habent hominem
| lac, 3 et,
| sunt quasi lacteo homines cum viderint
| swa meolc gyf hy hwilcne mannan on þam lande geseoð oðpe ongytað
| comme lais. Sil voient hommes

10 | erectis auribus per deserta vastissima
| excludunt
| tollunt sibi aures
| þonne nymað hy hyra earan him on hand
| il lieuent les orelles

11 | sic volent.
| et longe fugiunt quasi putes eos volare.
| 7 fleoð swyðe. swa hrædlice swa is wen þæt hy fleogen
| et fuient si tost quil sanle quil volent.

F-Group

30.

6| corpore candido;
| Corpus candidum,

7| qui cum homines alios viderint,
| et

8| extendunt,
| auriculas suas ostendunt,
| protendunt

9| ut putes eos volare.
| ita credas.

para eagan

F-Group

31.

No reading.

P-Group

32.

1 | ibi est,

| Est et alia insula

| Donne is sum ealond

| Et vne autre isle

2 | stadia habens longitudine et latitudine .ccc.l.x.

| ~~pæt~~ is ~~pæs~~ læssan milgeteles ~~pe~~ stadia hatte on lenge 7 on
| bræde .ccc. 7 lx.

| qui a

3 | in qua eliopolis

| que faciunt leuuas .cx. ubi est belis templum

| 7 ~~pæs~~ miclan ~~pe~~ leuua hatte .cx. ~~pær~~ wæs getymbro

| .c. et .xl. liues de lonc et est apelee helyopolis.

4 | in diebus regis et iobis

| on beles dagum ~~pæs~~ cinges 7 iobes temple

5 | constructa aere ferro cooperta,

| aereo et ferreo opere constructum

| of isernum geworcum . 7 of { aerenum geworht }
| { glæsgegotum }

| et est edefiie de fer et darain.

6 | quod etiam beliobilis dicitur.

F-Group

32.

1 | eodem
| In eo loco insula
| hiis terminis colonia est solis ad modum insule

2 | stadus
| est habens longitudinem et latitudinem stadia cc.
| in longitudine habens

3 | In qua colonia est Solis,
| et in latitudine totidem. ergo

4 | nomine ② Eliopolis ① muro cincta
| nuncupatur,

5 | structa ere ferro.
| ③ in structura aerea et ferrea altercatos
| ac opere alternato;

P-Group

32.

(28,1-2P have some parallels to 32,6-8F)

1| Hoc loco arbores nascuntur similes lauro et olive

2| In quibus arboribus basamum nascitur

F-Group

32.

- 6 | stadia ccc. In quo loco arbores sunt similes
| illic
- 7 | lauro et olive, ex quibus thus et
| consimiles. tus
- 8 | apobalsamo nascitur.
| opobalsamum nascuntur.
| distillando
- 9 | dicitur autem balsamus arbor. balsamus distillans
- 10 | humor. carpobalsamum fructus. silobalsamum lignum
- 11 | quod inciditur. opobalsamum liquor quem in foramine
- 12 | concavitatis pendere cernimus sic dictus ab ope quod
- 13 | est concavitas. unde opida dicuntur a cuncavitate
- 14 | vallorum, que de ope id est terra fiunt. sane
- 15 | diascorides dicit balsamum fruticem esse ad quantitatem
- 16 | tantum duorum cubitorum crescentem circa babiloniam
- 17 | in campo in quo sunt septem fontes. si autem ad
- 18 | aliud locum transfertur nec florem nec fructum
- 19 | facit. In estate rami eius exciduntur aliquantulum.
- 20 | sicque gutta exit. & in suppositum vas vitreum
- 21 | stillat ad .xl. libras.

P-Group

32.

7 | ubi aedes est
| & inde est edis solis ad orientem
| 7 on þære ilcan stowe is { east ðanon eac oþer templ sunnanhalig
| æt sunnan upgange
| Et la est le maisons au soleil vers orient.

8 | ubi est sacerdos quietus qui illa oppida maritima
| { to þam is sum gepungen 7 gedefe sacerð togesett 7 he ða hof(a)
| setl quietus þæs stillestan bisceopes ænænine oþerne mete ne
| en lequele se repose vns prestres qui edeopame

9 | observat
| { gehealdeð and begymeþ.
| þige buton sæ ostrum be þam he lifede.
| le chite.

(This *sacerdos* appears in 33,6-9F, and the two passages are presented in parallel in S33.)

33,4-5P correspond to 32,28-30F

4 | Est & vineola ubi etiam lectus eburneus est
5 | longitudinis pedum
| longitudine .ccc.vi pedum.

F-Group

32.

22| In eodem loco sunt edes due similes:
due satis consimiles.

23| quadrata ex tructa.
una ex auro quadrato et cinnamorio in structura
quadrate — cinamomo constructe.

24| alia
aerea ② et lata pedes ccclxv,
latitudo pedum trecentorum .lxv.,

25| longitudine unius, in structure ③ parietes
① longitudo edis

26| pedes viiii. In hac ede est arula ex margaritis

27| scinindris structa et longitudine
et cilindris instructa latitudine

28| item lectus
pedum lxx. Est in eodem loco lectulus solis
Ibidem

29| purissimo,
ex ebore factus et auro probatissimo,
auro obrizo confectus — ebore

30| ornatus
lapidibus ornatis pretiosissimis,
interiectis.

31| fulgora id est radios
quippe fulgur eius radiat pedes xvi.
cuius fulgor ad palatii

32| interioris consistentiam.

P-Group

33.

- 1 | etiam ibi
| Est & vinea aurea in oriente ad solis ortum
| Ðonne is gylden wingearð æt sunnan upgonge
| Et la est vne vingne dor.
- 2 | que habet uvas pedum .cl.
| se hafað bergean hundteontiges fotmæla lange 7 fiftiges
| dont les crape ont .c. et .l. pies de lonc.
- 3 | de qua nascentes pendent margarite.
| of þæm bergean beoð cende swylce meregrota oððe gymmas.
| esqueles sont marguerites. et pierres precieuses
| autres.

32,7-9P corresponds to 33,7-9F

- 7 | ubi aedes est
| & inde est edis solis ad orientem

8 | ubi est sacerdos quietus qui illa oppida maritima

9 | observat

F-Group

33.

1 | Est ibidem in eadem ede vinea aurea, hoc es vitis
 | cuius

2 | infixa, cuius
 | ex auro facta atque fixa, quarum vitum
 | et confixa & eius vitis

3 | pretiosis
 | pavimentum est ex lapidibus pretiosissimis

4 | scinindris qua
 | et cylindrinis, in quibus pendent racemi
 | cilindris vitibus aureis

5 | ex margaritis et unionibus. Illa vero edis
 | edes

6 | vero est argento
 | est domus sacerdotis ex auro facta;
 | contigua est strata.

7 | tus vescitur. opobalsamum
 | qui sacerdos thus vestitur. et apobalsamum
 | vero thure ex opobalsamo

8 | bibit;
 | vivit; dormit 2 in eodem pavimento
 | dormit,

P-Group

33.

4 | etiam est,
Est & vineola ubi est lectus eburneus
Ðonne is sum land wingearðas weaxet on swiðast þær bið rest
of elpenda bane geworht
Et la est vns lis diuoire

5 | longitudinis pedum
longitudine .ccc.vi. pedum.
seo is on lenge þreo hund fotmæla lang 7 syxa.
qui a .ccc. et .iii. pies de lonc.

(This *lectus solis* appears in 32,28-30F
and the two passages are presented in
parallel in §32.)

F-Group

33.

9 | eadem vinea.

1 | sub isdem vitibus; extraneum umquam non licet
3 | extraneo nulli aditum pandit

10 | hunc videre, nisi qui Eliopolis commoratur.
| apud eliopolim commorabitur.

P-Group

34.

1 | montes Riphei ibi.
Est et mons adamans
Donne is sum dun aḏamans hatte on ðære dune bið
Et la est adamas le montaigne

2 | sunt gripes qui habent
ubi est griphus avis que .iiii. pedes habet.
þæt fugelcynn þe grifus hatte þa fugelas habbað feower fet
ou est li grifons.

3 | equinum capud
caput aquilinum & caudam bovis.
7 hryðeres (sic) tægl 7 earne heafod.

4 | eodem quoque
In eo etiam monte est avis fenix
predicto dicta.
On þære ylcan stowe byð oðer fugelcynn fenix hatte
Et li oisiaus qui a non fenix.

5 | quae colorem feniceum habet. vel quod sit in

6 | toto orbe singularis & unica.

7 | qui cristam orbem
que habet cristas quasi orbes pavonis.
þa habbað cambas on heafde swa pawan
qui a couronne de paon.

8 | et nido
nidum* habet de cinnamomo ipsa in sinu suo
7 hyra nest þætte hi wyrcað of ðam deorweorðestan wirtgemangum
þe man cinnamomum hateð

* Mir-T only. Mir-B continues 1.12.

F-Group

34.

- 1 | eam
| Circa ea vero mons est adamans inaccessibilis.
| Ad confinium eliopolis adans inascensibilis
- 2 | In quo monte est avis
| propter sui celsitudinem est
- 3 | habens caput aquilinum, pennas maximas
| habens aquile
- 4 | similis lupe.
| similes luppe. In eodem monte est alia avis
| hoc quoque est
- 5 | ampla que
| nomine fenix; amplam habet
| habens vittam (.i. pepulam)
- 6 | capite
| in caput cristam similem orbi
| orbiculari caudae
- 7 | paonis
| pavonis. quae avis est in deliciarum Solis,
| In hac ave delicie esse
- 8 | referuntur.

P-Group

34.

9 | quingentesimo xlmo anno
| post mille annos
| 7 of his æðme æfter þusend gearum
| et quant ele a vescu .m. ans

10 | ignem incendit se et
| he fyr onæled ?
| ele sart.

F-Group

34.

- 9 | & fauces cristatas, circa collo fulgore aureo,
- 10 | postera parte purpureus. Extra caudam roseis pennis.
- 11 | In qua ceruleus scribitur nitor.
- 12 | videlicet .e.
vivit annos innumerabiles in toto seculo
innumeris annis
- 13 | qui ex divinitate sola nata est
sola ut tradunt processit.
- 14 | et sola erit;
ideoque amomo thureque vivens
- 15 | habens
nidum habet ex margaritis et unionibus
nido insidet ac conserto.
- 16 | manet in cinnamo
Haec phenix in cynamum semper manet
- 17 | quid vescatur, quemammodum ignoratur.
quod vero vescitur, vel quemadmodum vivet, ignoramus.
- 18 | Ipsa autem nidum suum seseque incendit et ex isdem
Ex se nidoque combusto

P-Group

34.

11| post haec favilla exsurgit.
| nova de favilla exurget.
| bonne geong upp of þam yselum eft ariseþ.
| et vne autre vient de le cendre.

12| Hec quingentis annis ultra vivens. dum se

13| viderit *senuisse, *collectis *aromatum *virgulis.

14| rogum sibi instruit & conversa ad radium sol

15| alarum plausu voluntarium sibi incendium *nutrit et

16| moritur. Decuis humore carnis urm̃is exurgit.

17| paulatimque ad olescit. in durcque alarum remigia

18| atque in superioris avis spetiem formaque reparatur.

* Supplied from Isidore *Etymologiae*, XII,vii,22.

F-Group

34.

19

cineribus iterum renascitur. Ita fit ut dum
unde

20

semper moritur semperque vivit. vivat
vivere praedicatur secundum

21

illud ovidii:

22

vna est quae reparat seseque reseminat ales

23

asserii fenica vocant non fruge, nec herbis

24

sed thuris lacrymis et succo vivit amomi.

1 | In quodam quoque deserto montes ignei leguntur,

ibi est

Est et alius mons

Donne is oðer dun

Et la est vns mons

2 | in quibus nascuntur toto corpore

ubi sunt homines nigri.

þær syndon swearte menn

ou il a noirs hommes.

3 | sicut Aethiopes. Quorum nos quendam vidimus carbonea

ultra quem ascendere adeo Oriens

ad quos nemo accedere potest, quia ipse mons

7 nænig oðer mann to ðam mannum geferan mæg for ðam þe seo dun

Et ne puet nus che mont passer. car

4 | nigritudine, dentibus et oculis tantummodo et unguibus

ardet

byð eall Byrnende.

il art tous.

5 | nitentem.

Explicit lepistle le roy P(er)imenis a lempereur.

F-Group

35.

- 1 | Ab hoc autem monte sunt et alii montes,
| Sunt ad montis huius confinium
- 2 | que sole oriente flammam mittunt usque in horam
| 2 hii emittunt
- 3 | quintam. Hi montes Olympus et Smaragdum
| 1 quos olympum
- 4 | appellantur. 3 Circa eosdem montes
| vulgo nominant. hos
- 5 | mare fervens a colonia Eliopoli exoriuntur,
| fervet quod coloniam eliopolis tangit
- 6 | quoniam mare non dicam transire, sed nec
| illud dixerim
- 7 | respicere quispiam potest.
| humanus oculus aliquamdiu
- 8 | In eadem vero Eliopolis colonia
| porro colonia
- 9 | homines sunt religiosi deorum cultores
| et in gente
- 10 | Iuxta eadem vero secundum Oceanum sunt
| sua, nec procul ab illis homines
- 11 | Aegypti 1 deos spernentes. Ab eodem loco
| 2 egyptii quidem 3 In eorum

P-Group

36.

No reading.

F-Group

35.

12| a finis orbis sunt homines qui caprorum cornua
| quoque confinio caprarum

13| et pedes habent, qui Gegotones
| habentes quos alii gorgones alii gaulales

14| appellantur. Ad eos sana loca qui a nobis missi
| nominant.

15| pervenerunt regressi ad nos nuntiaverunt nihil

16| alterius alii boni nisi tenebras.

36

1| Interea cupiens haec omnia per me cognoscere quam
2| etiam misi a me carissimis parentibus ac sollicitis
3| magnis pretiosissimis lapidibus sarcitus reppedavi.
4| Similiter qui hic, ut dixi, ultra me loca inaccessabilia
5| circuir divites ac nudati locupletes regressi sunt,
6| solliciteque ac verifice omnia desideria adnexui,
7| designavi, quod instruere parentem Romanum festinantius
8| commodavi. Domine invictissime, perennis Caesar, obto
9| autem te victorem haec omnia agnoscere perpetui quam
10| melios te vivere semperque in bonis meminere multosque
11| per annos feliciter vivas multis meritis. Hanc
12| epistolam descripsi et transmisi. Lege felix, quod
13| obto, Domine semper meus. explicit.

**PAGE
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SECTION 7

COMMENTARY

Each Section of Text is Discussed under the
Following Headings:

Letter of Pharasmanes

Analogues

Significant Readings

P-Group

F-Group

Derivatives

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COMMENTARY

SECTION 1

The full introduction in epistolary style is found only in FL, a passage which has been transformed into an apologia by Gervase. The introduction is reduced to a formulaic description of the contents of the text in most P-Group texts, with EP alone retaining the first person *describi iussimus*.

P-Group has additional witnesses in the form of two catalogue entries for lost MSS (Fulda Ordo XV 175, lost during the Thirty Years War, which appears to have contained the whole text and Tournai 135, destroyed in 1940, which cites *permonis rex perearum* as a source of material in a compilation *de mirabilibus orbis terrarum*, see pp.311-312.)

Mir and OE are unique in lacking any indication, either in heading or in epistolary style, that this is a letter. FR has reduced the introduction to the briefest statement of writer and recipient's names.

Letter of Pharasmanes

The introduction as given in the original *Letter* is probably best represented by FL, which contains an extensive first-person introduction. Structurally this balances the final passage, also found only in this version, with which it agrees in certain details.

The introduction sets the *Letter* into the context of a correspondance between Pharasmanes and Hadrian.

Pharasmanes acknowledges receipt of Hadrian's latest letter by the hands of Asacrates and Monacrates. An earlier letter had requested information on the races of men and the different types of places (*nationes hominum et qualitates locorum*, 1,6-7) in the realm of Pharasmanes, and now, thanks both to his own research and to that of his predecessors and his own brothers and sisters, he is able to supply this.

Significant Readings

P-Group

OFr uses a conventional epistolary opening:

Haus empereres. Je vous senefiie aucunes choses qui sont merueilleuses en Inde.

which almost certainly bears little resemblance to the version found in the Latin text used by the translator.

1,1 *Parmoenis*. Fulda MS read *sermonis*, showing confusion of *p* and *s* which can be found in insular hands. An Anglo-Saxon exemplar would be a possibility in the Anglo-Saxon foundation of Fulda, as would the use of insular hands by continental scribes. However, the text is taken from a sixteenth century transcript and, although it appears

sound, it would be unwise to pay too much attention to palaeographic oddities.

1,1 *Trajanum*. Pit gives *trojanum* as the reading of the MS, emended to *Trajanum* by the editor. His correction confirms that the error was present in the MS. It would have arisen from the earlier α form of *a* (Merovingian, early Carolingian, Insular and other early scripts) rather than the later a form.

1,2-3 in *Oriente* (EP), *en Inde* (OFr). These are the only texts to include a localisation. The heading *Haec descriptio partis orientis* which precedes FL in the MS has almost certainly been added by a scribe at some stage in the transmission of the text.

F-Group

FR omits the whole section, including only a very brief statement to show that this is a communication between Feramen and Adrianus - it does not even contain a word such as *epistola*.

The change of order in Ger. places this towards the end, forming the tenth section. In place of the epistolary introduction there is a first-person editorial note:

Gervase affirms his confidence in the veracity of his sources, at the same time absolving himself from the responsibility for any errors as he has not attempted to verify the facts. He is anxious not to dissuade anyone who might feel inclined to make such a voyage of discovery.

1,1 *De hominibus qui pedes habent octenos et totidem oculos.*

Some MSS of Ger use an alternative rubric:

de hominibus simiis et gallinis qui comedentes urunt.

1,1 *Haec descriptio partis orientis.* (FL) This heading is probably not to be seen as part of the text but as a rubric added by a scribe or the compiler of a codex.

1,2 At this point two MSS of Ger, Vat. Lat. 933 (N) and Wolf. Helms. 481 (E), have the marginal note:

Fermes ad Adrianum imperatorem epistola.

This note is repeated at intervals for the whole length of the text.

1,3 *Asacrate et Monacrate.* (FL) These names given for Hadrian's messengers are Greek in origin. They are not known elsewhere.

1,4 *recepit*. (FL) The use of the first person singular for the verbs in this passage (*cognovi*; *gaviscus sum*, 1,5; *cognovi*, 1,6; *exquisivi*, 1,7; *transmittam*, 1,8; *potui*; *adnexui*, 1,10) contrasts with the use of the regal plural both in FL (*in terris nostris*, 1,7) and in EP (*describi iussimus*, 1,5P). FL shows the same inconsistency in the closing section of the text, referring to the writer in the plural in §35 and in the singular in §36.

1,5-6 *quaedam ex alienis libris transumpta, quaedam ex virorum proborum relatione congeessimus*. (Ger)

This is typical of the personal notes added by Gervase which help us to build up a picture of his method of composition. It corresponds to the deductions made from an examination of the marginalia of MS Vat. Lat. 933 (N) and of the MS tradition, which revealed that Gervase built up the work over a long period, adding material of interest from many sources as he discovered it.

(This is discussed in detail on pp. 262-265 and 284-296.)

SECTION 2

This section, which consists mainly of geographical data and includes a description of an island with a huge population of sheep, is present in Mir/OE, Pit and OFr of the P-Group texts and in FL and Ger in F-Group.

Letter of Pharasmanes

The passage begins with a geographical localisation which has suffered so badly in transmission that the underlying text cannot be identified with any certainty.

A distance is given from a place whose name begins

Anti-

(FL's *Antiochia* may be correct. Omont suggested that the town in question was not the well-known city on the Orontes but Antioch on the Tigris, which fits in with his identification of *Olinum insulam* (2,4FL) as the island Olabus in the Euphrates (Omont, 'Lettre...', p.509).

This place is rather more than 100 stadia (Mir gives 168, and translates this into 115 leagues. FL gives 115 (xcv) stadia.)

from an Island with a multitude of sheep.

(P-Group gives the distance as that from this island to Babylon, possibly anticipating the reference in 3,5P.)

Analogues

See 53 (St. Brendan describing an island of sheep).

Significant Readings

P-Group

2,1 The readings of the P-Group texts at the beginning of this section are difficult and it seems possible that they share a common ancestor which had suffered damage of some sort at this point.

Initium ab Antepoli usque Serimum. (Pit) This reading suggests a solution to the difficult reading in Mir (*Colonia est initium ab ...*) (1) in raising the possibility that *initium* is not part of the sentence but simply a rubric marking the beginning of the text. A similar rubric, *item*, is preserved at the beginning of §15 in Mir, where it appears to have been displaced from the previous section.

(2) in supplying a second place-name, to read 'from A to S'. (Pit then omits the distance in stadia, presumably the distance between these two places, found in 2,2-3Mir.)

Colonia est. (Mir) This is probably a later addition in Mir to cover the loss of the second place name and provide an alternative point of reference for the distance. The contradiction between *Colonia* (2,1) and *quae insula* (2,4Mir) appears to support this hypothesis.

Antimolima. (Mir) James (Varvels, p.25) suggests

that this form arose by the conflation of two names from FL, *Antiochiae* (2,1FL) and *Olinum* (2,4FL).

Anteroli (Pit) is close to an actual place-name, *Antipolis*, and may have been influenced by it.

It is, however, geographically inappropriate, for *Antipolis* is modern Antibes on the Cote d'Azur.

OFr *Atymolimus* derives from the form as found in Mir, with loss of a nasal stroke over *a* and the substitution of *y* for *i* which is so frequently found in the place names in these texts.

landbuend. The emendation to *landbunes* which is normally made is supported by the translation of *colonia* as *londbunis* (3,1 and 13,1) and by the feminine definite article *seo* which is inappropriate for masculine *landbuend*, but correct for *londbunis*. The error, which was present in a common ancestor of V and T, may have arisen as part of an attempt to make better sense of this difficult passage. The normal sense of *landbuend* is 'inhabitant, land-dweller', being the name of the agent formed on the root *buan*, 'to dwell, cultivate'. There is, as far as I can tell, no support for a figurative interpretation of *landbuend* 'cultivating or inhabiting of the land', although such an interpretation would explain the otherwise superfluous *ðæs landes* (2,2) which has been added either by the OE translator or a later intermediary.

Editors who have emended to *landbunia* may well be restoring the form used by the translator. However, it seems that the difficulty of the passage (caused by the corrupt state of Mir) led to an unsuccessful attempt to remodel to *seo landbuend ... þær landes*, with the intention of expressing the idea that the first cultivated land after Antimolima is 500 stadia away. This remodelling probably also included the removal of *is* to this point, where Mir reads *habet*. Mir and OFr both tell us that the colony 'is' first and 'has' 500 stadia. This probably seemed the best way to incorporate *onfruman* (a literal translation of the rubric *initium*). If we accept that *landbuend* and *þær landes* are both deliberate, albeit unsatisfactory, modifications to the text made by an Anglo-Saxon scribe if not the translator himself, it may well be that it is our ignorance of similar uses of *landbuend* which causes us to consider emendation necessary. The expression may have been acceptable to the native speaker who introduced it. Unlike other errors shared by both MSS (such as *micelnesse* for *uncleennesse*, 22,10) this change does not result from something mechanical such as minim confusion. The emendation normally proposed requires alterations to two readings where both MSS agree.

Premierement il i a vne isle qui a non atymolimus.

The OFr translator, showing an ingenuity which outstrips that of his OE counterpart, has placed

colonia and *antimolima* in apposition, relating them to the same place, and has ignored the difficult *ab*.

Isle is used in 3,2 to render *colonia*, and in 13,1 where his Latin source probably read *inter has duas vias colonia est* the translator provides *isles* as an alternative reading for *vias*: *Entre ches .ii. isles .v. voies. est une terre*. It seems likely that the Latin source of OFr began *colonia*, as does Mir. An alternative possibility is that the translator drew *quae insula* from 2,4, to supply a sense gap at the beginning, although he could have filled it equally well with *Atymolimus*. (It is possible that the apparent equation of *colonia* and *insula* in Mir's version of the Latin led to the confusion of the two concepts later in OFr.)

2,2 *quia habet*. (Mir) Emendation to *quae* is necessary. Confusion of abbreviations is probably to blame for this.

pæ̃s landes. The case for emendation has been discussed above.

habet stadia ... que faciunt leuvas ... (Mir)

Comparison with F-Group texts indicates that the distance given here is not a dimension (as assumed by OFr, *qui a .iii.c et lxiii liues de lonc*) but the distance between two places. However, *habet* is normally used only with dimensions, *sunt* being

employed in this text to express distance between places. In the two instances where Mir uses *habet* with a number which appears to express the distance from one place to another (6,2 where Pit uses *sunt*, and 28,3-4) both translations render it as a dimension. The use of *habet* at this point is a further contributory factor to the difficulty of interpreting the text. OFr, in taking the numerals as the length of the island and not a distance between two places, is following the normal practice of the Latin text, although it may be simply an expedient necessary following his apparent reduction of two places into one single location.

stadia ... leuvas. (Mir) All the conversions from stadia to leagues are based on the wrong assumption that the stadium was equivalent to the Roman mile. The league is assumed, as frequently in metrological texts up to the thirteenth century, to be $1\frac{1}{2}$ Roman miles.

pæc læssan milgetæles þe stadio hætte. This formula is used whenever distances are given in stadia in the OE translation.

habet. (Pit) Pit omits the numeral, possibly because the copyist's eye wandered from *habet* (2,2 - if this was indeed the reading in a text where the number would clearly have referred to a distance) to the second *habet* (2,4).

2,3 þæs miclan (milgetæles) þe leuua hatte. This formula is given by the translator whenever he gives distances in leagues. It is sometimes reduced, as here in V, by the omission of *milgetæles*, but the formula as a whole is never taken as read. It is not found in Mir and was introduced because neither Greek stadia nor Gallic leagues were common measurements to the Anglo-Saxons who used a long mile of 12 furlongs (2640 yards). (P. Grierson, *English Linear Measures*, Reading University Stenton Lecture, 1971.) It is somewhat surprising that V and T preserve the measurements so faithfully, for the league was obviously unknown to the scribe of V (or of an antecedent MS) who persistently transcribed it *leones* 'lions'. This easy graphic error is based on the regular WS form *leowe* for league, which must have appeared as *leoue* in the exemplar used by the copyist who introduced the error.

trecenta sexaginta octo. (Mir) The correct calculation on the basis used in these texts should be 333 (CCCXXXIII) which in fact varies from CCCLXVIII by only two digits, the change of X to L and the third X to V. It is likely that the calculation was made correctly, but the L seems to have slipped into the common ancestor of Mir and OFr, for the latter agrees with Mir except in the omission of V.

2,4 *quae insula*. Mir's relative pronoun has no antecedent. OE avoids this difficulty by translating *on þam calande*. In OFr, the reference to *iele* in 2,1, whether as a translation of *colonia* or in anticipation of *insula*, allows *quae insula* to be translated by *i*.

2,5 *to babilonian*. V is the only MS to use an inflected form of this name, and it is not consistent, sometimes failing to inflect (e.g. 3,5) and sometimes adopting the Latin form (e.g. *from babiloniam*, 8,1; 9,1). The form used here appears to be a weak OE masculine, chosen probably because the nom. sing ends in *a*.

centum sexaginta octo. (Mir) Fit's reading *nunc num. LXX* is very close to Mir, although patently corrupt. *nunc num* almost certainly is a corruption of *centum*, although with the dubious history of this text it is impossible to guess how this might have come about. 68 and 69 are very close in Arabic numerals, but quite distinct in Roman numerals unless 9 is rendered VIIII, in which case the loss or addition of a digit is all that is required.

2,6 .c. et .xv. (Mir) This numeral is lacking in Mir-T, where the end of the line is filled with a pattern of linked x's. The numeral was probably submerged by the pattern in an earlier copy.

Mir-B supplies the numeral correctly, but this does not indicate independent development, as there are several instances in which Mir-B has readings which can only have been taken from the OE text.

The figure for leagues given by OFr, .c. et .xii., is exactly two-thirds of the figure for stadia found in Mir, 168, suggesting that the common ancestor of OFr and Mir in which the conversions were first introduced gave the stadia figure as in Mir and that for leagues as in OFr. Mir's .xv., in place of .xii., shows minim confusion, a frequent source of error in numerals, exemplified several times in these texts.

F-Group

2,1 a finibus antiochiaae. There were a large number of towns named Antioch (Pauly-Wissowa cites two dozen). The best-known of these was the town on the Orontes, a centre of early Christianity. As mentioned above, Omont suggests that *Antiocheia* on the Euphrates, known from a reference in Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* V, 86) and from numismatic evidence, is better placed geographically for this passage. It should,

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however, be remembered that the only name in this passage which can be interpreted without emendation is that of the river Euphrates.

2,2 *fluvius subjacet desertum*. (Ger) The distance present in the text of FL at this point has been replaced by Ger with this phrase. *Deserta* does not appear in FL and has been introduced because of the reference to sanctity which follows.

2,3 *hic locus sanctus est*. (FL) This simple statement of sanctity, which may refer to a holy river, a shrine or any sort of holy place, pagan or Christian, has been changed by Ger into a typically Christian view of a holy place as a desert, somewhat ironically packed (*repleta*) with hermits or desert fathers: *sanctis hominibus copiosa repleta spatiosa patent*. This is typical of the liberties which Gervase was willing to take with the text.

2,4 *A nicerorum*. (FL) This may represent the town of Nicephorium, also on the Euphrates. The unknown name, which appears in FL to be a gen. pl., presented Ger with the double problem of an unidentifiable word and an ungrammatical construction. He sidestepped this quite neatly, replacing it with a *quibus* which refers back to the *sanctis hominibus* he introduced in the preceding sentence.

2,4 *Olinum insulam*. (FL) Omont (see above) suggested that this refers to the island Olabus, again in the Euphrates. Ger reads *Olivam* in a large number of MSS (although not the MS with autograph corrections, which reads *Oliviam*) and it is probable that his earliest version read *Olivam*, which is very close to FL's *Olinum*, showing a change which is just as likely to be scribal as editorial, and that *Oliviam* is a later change.

2,5 *mansiones pleraque sunt*. (Ger) Ger introduces this phrase to replace the distance given in FL. The phrase is reminiscent of the itineraries, where it indicates sources of hospitality for the traveller.

2,6-7 *multitudinem ... innumerabilium*. (FL) The clumsy tautology is found only in FL. Ger has a reading which agrees with P-Group in everything except word order, but whether this shows a late addition in FL of *innumerabilium* or simplification by Ger of an inelegant phrase which coincidentally produced the same reading as P-Group cannot be determined.

SECTION 3

This section describing the home of giant sheep and wealthy traders in affluent estates, to which a reference to Alexander the Great has been added in P-Group, is found in Mir/OE, Pit and OFr among the P-Group texts and in FL and Ger in F-Group. The text of FR begins with a snatch from 3,11-13.

Letter of Pharasmanes

This colony is a great trading centre (*est maxima negotiatorum*) and immense sheep live there

(P-Group makes them as big as oxen.)

The next city

(In P-Group *medorum civitatem*, 'a city/state of the Medes'; F-Group has *ad meridiem* 'to the south'.)

is very wealthy and is called Archemed-

(Archemedon in P-Group, Archymedia in F-Group.)

It is situated 300 stadia from Eabylon and

there are great estates (*praedia*) there.

(Mir/OE in place of the estates refer to large symbols or memorials (*insignia*) erected there by Alexander the Great.)

The two groups diverge at this point. P-Group texts (excluding Mir/OE) have a confused reference to Athens and Alexander the Great. This is at its clearest in Pit, which refers to the estates as

Athenas Magni Alexandri, almost certainly a cognomen for a city founded by Alexander and intended to equal the splendour of Athens. Alexander founded several cities, of which Alexandria on the Nile Delta is probably best known. Alexandria which lies to the north of Antioch (cf. 2,1F) and which is not far distant from the Euphrates would fit this context best. This reference probably derives from the earliest form of the *Letter* but survives only in a very corrupt state.

F-Group texts tell us that from Archmeda to a place called Anteletens is a distance of

three hundred stadia

(P-Group two hundred stadia. The number has become dislocated in OFr and Pit; Mir/OE presents it as the dimension (*in longitudine et latitudine*) of the country described.)

F-Group alone continues:

Babylon is 60 stadia from Mesopotamia, a wealthy place. It is a further 175 stadia to *Dammas castrorum*. The traveller on that road passes 12 states (or cities) to his left, and a list of their names is given.

Analogues

An island full of sheep (see also §2) is mentioned

Athenas Magni Alexandri, almost certainly a cognomen for a city founded by Alexander and intended to equal the splendour of Athens. Alexander founded several cities, of which Alexandria on the Nile Delta is probably best known. Alexandria which lies to the north of Antioch (cf. 2,1F) and which is not far distant from the Euphrates would fit this context best. This reference probably derives from the earliest form of the *Letter* but survives only in a very corrupt state.

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Analogues

An island full of sheep (see also §2) is mentioned

by St. Brendan (*Navigatio Sancti Brandani Abbatis*, ed. C. Selmer, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1959, University of Notre Dame Publications in Mediaeval Studies, 16, p.18) chapter 9:

*Perambulantes autem illam insulam, invenerunt
diversos greges ovium unius coloris, id est albi,
ita ut non possunt ultra videre terram pre
multitudine ovium.*

Wandering around that Island they discovered
several flocks of sheep of one colour, that is
white, so that they could not see the land beyond
on account of the multitude of sheep.

The *magna insignia* of Mir/OE are drawn from the
Alexander legend. In the *Letter of Olympias*,
following the text of Julius Valerius (*Res Gestae
Alexandri Magni*, ed. B. Kuebler, Leipzig, 1888,
pp.157-158) Alexander tells his mother of the pillars
(*stelae*) in honour of Hercules which he has seen.
The Vulgate *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle* (ed.
B. Kuebler, *op.cit.*, p.220) ends with a description
of the pillars Alexander set up as a memorial to
his own victories after hearing the prophecy of his
death:

*Ibique legato meo praecepi, quem praesidio
praeposueram nomine Alticonem, ut poneret
Persarumque et Babyloniorum pilas solidas aureas
duas pedum vicenarium quinque et in his omnia facta
scriberet faceretque ... et in eis victorias atque
itinera nostra describere imperavi, quasque miraculo
futura sunt, carissime praeceptor, posteris saeculis.*

And I instructed my second-in-command, whom I had put in charge of the guard - Alticones by name, to place two solid gold pillars there, 25 feet high, and that he should inscribe on them all the deeds of the Persians and the Babylonians and that he should do it ... and I ordered him to describe our victories and our travels on them, every one of them will be marvelled at in the future, my dearest tutor, in centuries to come.

Significant Readings

P-Group

3,1 OFr reverses the first two phrases in the interest of style. (Changed order is also found in 4,1-4; 5,3-5; 6,3-4; 9,1-2; 19,3-4; 23,9; 25,1-3 in this text.)

maxima negotiatorum. This unusual expression is found in identical form in F-Group, and thus shown to be inherited from the archetypal Latin version of the Letter. OE simplifies the expression to *swyðust cypemonnum geseted*. V's *ceremonnum* shows misreading of *p* as *r*, an easy error in an Old English hand.

markaande. (OFr) is an adjective based on 'merchant' but used elsewhere to mean 'bounteous, well provided for':

*La table fut moult marcëande,
Grant plente i ot de viande
(Floris et Blanchefleur, 1.1263)*

3,2 *de chole isle*. (Ofr) On the use of *isle* to render *colonia* see the note to 2,1.

3,4 *cui nomen est*. (Mir) The corruption to the ungrammatical *cum hominis* in Pit may indicate that either the MS used by Pitra or an antecedent MS was an early one with poor word division, for the two minims of the *n* at the beginning of *nomen* have been added to the single minim at the end of *cui* to produce *cum*. The change of sense by the introduction of a prosthetic *h* appears in other versions of the Letter, e.g. 10,7P and 10,8F where both EP and Ger have changed *omnibus* to *hominibus*.

3,4-5 *que maxima est. Ad babiloniam inde sunt stadia ad babiloniam numero ecc.* (Mir) Both MSS of Mir have an interlinear gloss over *maxima est ad babiloniam* (which is unpunctuated in the MSS) reading *.i. excepto babilonia*. This gloss is in the same hand as the main body of the text, and it led Sisam (K. Sisam, 'The compilation of the *Beowulf* Manuscript', *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, Oxford, 1953, pp.75-76) to see English influence on the composition of the Latin, for the use of a superlative + *to* to mean 'the next most ... after' or '*...-est except*' is used in Old English not only here but also in *Genesis B*, 1.254:

hehstne to him on heofena rice.

Sisam concluded from this that:

the inference is that *Mirabilia* was compiled by an Anglo-Saxon whose simple Latin was influenced by his native idiom.

It is on this slender evidence that claims for the compilation of *Mirabilia* in England are based.

Although the translation in T follows the Latin faithfully, omitting only the interlinear gloss, V points to an earlier stage of development in the Latin text, for it reads:

*sio is mæst to babilonia burh þonon syndon þæs
læssan milgetæles stadia .ccc. ... from
archemedon.*

If this is translated back into Latin it produced a simpler reading than that of the extant texts of Mir:

*que maxima est (cf. Plt. magna et fructuosa).
Ad babiloniam inde sunt stadia numero .ccc.
... ab archemedone.. (cf. Plt. A Babylonia
usque Archemedon.)*

The juxtaposition of *mæst* and *to* in V is coincidental; comparison with all the other texts shows that the source described firstly the size and opulence of Archemedon and secondly the distance from it to Babylon. However, the Old English idiom of superlative + *to*, probably aided by the absence of punctuation, caused the remodelling, first of the OE text to produce a reading as in T:

*sco is mæst to babilonia byrig. þanon is to
babilonia in þæs læscon milgeteles stadia .ccc.
... from archimedon.*

The introduction of a sense pause after *byrig* had two effects. It related to to the superlative *mæst*, producing the Old English idiom discussed above, and it left *þanon is ... stadia .ccc.* without a second point of reference. An Old English scribe, perhaps aware of the two possible interpretations of his text, introduced the necessary place name in the form of a second *to babilonia*.

This construction was then carried over into the Latin text of *Mir* (although there are few conclusive examples in *T* of a crux in the Latin resolved by reference to the OE text, *B* has many such examples, e.g. 11,2; 25,6-7; 29,3-5) and the scribe, aware of the unfamiliarity of the expression *maxima est* with the meaning now given to it, added an explanatory gloss.

3,7 *Ibi sunt illa magna insignia.* (*Mir*) The agreement between *Pit* and *FL* shows that the earliest versions of the *Letter* referred at this point to *praedia* 'estates'. Both *Pit* and *Ofr* have incomplete texts in this passage, *Ofr* lacking the phrase containing *praedia* but otherwise deriving from a Latin text similar to *Pit* in the

details retained. It appears that all three P-Group texts go back to a damaged copy, and that *insignia* has been inserted in Mir in an attempt to make sense of a passage which may, like the source of OFr, have contained little more than the words *Ibi sunt magna*, the name of Alexander the Great and a distance in stadia and leagues. An alternative explanation, that *insignia* originated in a gloss on *praedia* would indicate a poor standard of Latin literacy in the glossator.

The reference in Mir has clearly been transformed into a description of Alexander's memorials to his own exploits (see above), but the word *insignia* is unusual in this context.

3,8 *magnus alexander operari iusserat.* (Mir)

The inherited material has been amplified in Mir in order to explain the connection with Alexander. The position of *le grant Alixandre* in OFr is uncertain, for it is an inflected form (nom. *li grans alixandres*, 22,11) and it functions neither as object of a verb nor after a pronoun. Mir probably inherited a similarly confused reference, either with or without the mention of Athens (*Athaines*, 3,70Fr).

Pit's *Hoc est Athenas Magni Alexandri* suggests that the original text did not refer to Alexander as a person but simply as part of the description

of these estates, as the eponymous founder of Alexandria. FL agrees in giving the name of a place and a distance in stadia, but the place name, *Anteletens*, casts little light on this crux.

ce micla macedonica alexsander. The OE translator, who shows a fondness for formulae of this type, repeats this phrase whenever the name of Alexander is mentioned.

3,10 *stadia numero .cc.* (Mir) In FL this is the distance to the town Anteletens. OFr (which gives the distance only in leagues - see note to 3,11 below) has introduced *Et de la dusques a* in 3,7 in order to make sense of this distance as that from Archemedon to Athens, thus incorporating both Athens and the distance into the sentence. Mir, whose source evidently also contained an unattached distance (cf. *Pit sunt n. .cc.* which refers to nothing in particular) turned it into a dimension by the insertion (3,9) of *que terra habet in longitudine et in latitudine ...*

3,11 *cxxxi liues. Et pres de la moitie dune mille.*

OFr breaks up the distance in leagues, adding the half mile to the beginning of the next section.

This reads uneasily, and led Hilka (A. Hilka, 'Ein neuer (altfranzösischer) Text des Briefes über die

Wunder Asiens', *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, 46, 1923, p.98) to propose the insertion of a second *la* after *mille*. The OFr translator usually smoothes over such difficulties, so it is likely that this change in the sentence division was made after translation. However, the reversal of the sentence order (this time certainly by the translator) at the beginning of 84 makes it difficult to be absolutely certain here.

F-Group

3,1 *Egmonas*. (FL) This unidentifiable place-name has been edited out by Ger, who replaces the confusing construction *Hic Egmonas stadia xviii* (which should probably read *Hinc ad* as in 3,5) with the uncontroversial *et exinde*.

3,2 *maxima negotiatorum*. (FL) This reference to this settlement as a great centre of trade seems not to have been fully understood by Ger, who changes it to *magna et negociatoribus exposita* 'large and exposed/accessible to merchants'.

3,3 *berbices sunt ibi inmensi ac capree*. (FL)

The reading of FLCor, *capree*, in place of the meaningless *ac pree* should probably be interpreted 'there are immense sheep and goats there'. *Ac* can be employed in expressions of comparison, but usually only with the comparative or with words such as

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The reading of FLCor, *capree*, in place of the meaningless *ac prae* should probably be interpreted 'there are immense sheep and goats there'. *Ac* can be employed in expressions of comparison, but usually only with the comparative or with words such as

similis which express comparison. P-Group compares the size of the sheep with that of oxen, but a comparison with goats would not indicate anything out of the ordinary, as sheep and goats are normally the same size. Ger takes *ae* as *und'*, rewriting to tell of the manufacture of garments from the fleece or hide (*velleribus*) of sheep and goats. He links the products with the presence of the merchants by the simple expedient of referring to manufacture rather than agriculture.

3,4 *bissique*. (Ger) This misreading of the correct form *birri* 'cloaks' (as in FL) may point to an exemplar in an insular script. Gervase appears to have been unfamiliar with the word. His substitution is not meaningful here - *bisea* 'red deer hind'; *bisse* 'two thirds'.

3,5 *ad meridiem versus*. (FL) is an unusual and tortuous way of expressing *adversus meridiem* 'towards the South'. *Meridiem* is used rarely in these texts to express direction, the preference being for directions as measured on the road, to left and right, not as seen on the map. These two facts may indicate that P-Group's *ad medorum civitatem* represents the earlier reading of the Letter, and that *versus* was added in FL after *medorum* had been changed to *meridiem*. *Versus* is not in any

case necessary for the sense and has been omitted by Ger.

3,5 *occurrit*. (Ger) Twice in this passage (cf. 3,15) Ger replaces the verb 'to be' with *occurro*. In both instances the subject is *civitas*.

3,10 *Anteletens*. (FL) This unknown town is probably derived from the same name as Pit's *Athenas Magni Alexandri* (see above). FL here, as throughout the text, lacks any reference to Alexander.

3,11-13 *Inter babyloniam et Mesopotamiam est regio locuples*. (FR) FR's suppression of the purely geographical data at the beginning of the text appears to be a result of deliberate editing. This is one of the small snatches the editor chose to retain as an introduction to the descriptions of wonders and monsters which are his sole interest in this text.

3,12 *lacus piscosus*. (Ger) Ger uses this phrase to replace *locus honestus et plus quam locuples*. This is typical of the respect he accorded to his sources, despite what he says to the contrary in his introduction. It is amusing to note that the French translation of *Otia Imperialia* in MS Paris BN Français 9113 has further adapted this to give:

*De babilone jusques a mesopolitaine il y a
soixante lacs qui habundent de poisson. (f.242^v)*

3,13 *Damnas castrorum.* (FL) Ger's emendation to *Damascus* has met with approval from modern editors (e.g. P. Gibb, *op.cit.*, p.133) and it may well be correct, for the route between Mesopotamia and Damascus borders on *Arabia Deserta*, that haven for fabled creatures. An alternative localisation to the Levite town of *Damna* (referred to in the Bible as *Dimnah*, Jos. 21,35 R.S.V.) has little to recommend it except the need for no textual emendation. It also is in Palestine, and unlike Damascus it is little-known, although occasionally referred to in commentaries. (The Vulgate gives the name *Damna*.)

3,14 *mansiones plereque.* (Ger) A phrase borrowed from the Itineraries, used here, as in 2,5, to replace a distance.

3,15-18 *Ialatho, Melenimo, Cleopatra, Termacia, Marmino, Maragdon, Fluvius, Casia, Possidonia, India, Anda, Eluchana.*

This list of twelve states is very like those included in the itineraries which were produced to help travellers to find their way safely through unknown country in the days before adequate cartography. Some of the names in this list are patently corrupt, and the list as a whole cannot

be related to any known area.

Valatho. A place named *valco* appears in the itineraries (*Itin. Ant.*, 233,3).

Melenimo. This name (which means 'Too Much Song') is not attested elsewhere.

Cleopatra. This is perhaps an unlikely name for a state, although the *Cleopatrīs insula* is said by the Geographer of Ravenna to lie in the Red Sea between the *Martīs insula* and the *Venerīs insula*.

Termasia. There were towns named *Telmessos* in Greece and also near Amphipolis in Syria.

Marmino. Not known elsewhere.

Maragdon. Probably from *smaragdus* 'emerald'.
Not known elsewhere.

Fluvius. Ger. relegates this to the end of the list and replaces it with the common Roman surname *Flavius*.

Casia. This appears as the name of a variety of cinnamon and of a variety of daphne. The *Casii* (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VI,55 for *Casiri*) are anthropophagi in Scythia.

Possidonia. This name, which looks as if it derives from the name of the sea-god Poseidon, is not known elsewhere. *Sidonia* is the name given to the region governed from Sidon.

India. Although several MSS of Ger agree with FL

in reading *India*, others, including H (which has corrections in the hand of Gervase) read *Nidia*. One group of MSS has *Scidia*, frequently coupled with an alternative (e.g. *Scidia alias Nydia*, K).

Anda. There was a town of this name in the region of Carthage. Arrian tells of a town named *Andaka* to the North of Kabul (*Anab.*, IV, 23,5) and Pliny mentions a place named *Andatis* in Ethiopia (*Nat. Hist.*, VI, 193).

Eluchana. This name is not known elsewhere. The element *Eleus-* or *Eleuth-* is common in place names, and the form *eleudiana* given by Ger probably points to the latter.

SECTION 4

This section on the venomous hens is present in its entirety in all P-Group texts. In F-Group, only FL and Ger have the complete section. FR retains only a few words from 4,1.

Letter of Pharasmanes

The location of these creatures is given differently in the two groups, but they agree in referring to a place ... called Fi..niae

(F-Group gives the name as *castellum Philoniae*. This may seem very remote from Mir's *lentibelsinea*, but this name is given as two separate names in Pit and OFr (EP omits the second element) and if the *i* from *-sinea* replaces the *e* from Pit's *Feniae* the result is F-Group's *Philoniae*, lacking only the second syllable, *-lo-.*)

where there are hens like ours and of the same colour
(*quales et apud nos similes colore*). But if anyone
wants to catch one of them

(P-Group texts add here a reference to touching them
by hand, which is a little confused in some versions)

his body burns

(Some P-Group texts explain that this is because they
are poisonous.)

Analogues

Hens which produce fire if threatened are referred to in some of the fuller versions of the *Letter of Alexander to Olympias*, in Pseudo-Callisthenes, II,36. The translation of the Armenian version (*The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes*, translated from the Armenian version by A.M. Wolohojian, N.Y., London, 1969, pp.114-115) reads:

And in the river there, there were fowl similar to those in our land. But if anyone approached them, fire came out of them. And I ordered that no one approach them.

Significant Readings

P-Group

4,1 *Et pres de la moitie dune mille naissent gelines.* OFr is alone in separating the half mile from the remainder of the distance in 3,11 (see note to that line). The translator, as elsewhere, has changed the order of the clauses in order to improve the style.

mon fered to. This seems an incomplete rendering of Mir's *cuntibus* 'for those going to'.

E.V. Gordon (*Year's Work in English Studies*, 1924, p.68) suggests the insertion of *bonne* on the analogy of 6,1 where the problematic reading of Mir:

Hascellentia babiloniam proficiscentibus ...

has been amplified in translation to:

*Hascellentia hatte þæt land. þonne mon
to babilonia færð ...*

This is not a particularly good comparison, because both the translator and the scribe who wrote MS B of Mir were aware of the difficulties created by the corruption of *A Seleucia* to *Hascellentia*, and amplified the text accordingly.

The use of the present participle in the dative plural with expressions of distance or location is a stylistic feature of the *Letter*, but there are no other examples which are directly comparable with this one. The occurrence in 28,3 has been misunderstood by the translator, and other instances are not paralleled in P-Group.

ad mare rubrum. Only the P-Group texts locate these hens near the Red Sea. There is a tendency in P-Group for more and more items to be associated with either the Red Sea or the River Brixo, and this tendency is carried on into LM. F-Group texts refer to the Red Sea five times, but in only three sections. No fewer than six different marvels are linked with the Red Sea in one or more of the P-Group texts and derivatives.

4,2 *lentibelsinea*. (Mir) Mir is alone in regarding this as a single word. The first element, *lentibel*, is found in exactly this form in EP and OFr, with Pit varying only by a single letter with *Lentabel*. The source of this word is uncertain. It is unlikely to be a corruption of F-Group's *castellum*, and as a place-name it is unknown elsewhere. There was a place by the name of *Lentulis* (Λέντιουλον), but its location in Pannonia (an inland region to the North of the Adriatic, now part of Austria, Hungary and Yugoslavia) is outside the usual geographical scope of this text. The second element of the name, *sinea*, probably derives from the form *finiae* or *philoniae*, as discussed above. It is noteworthy that both Pit and FL, whose forms mark the closest convergence between the two groups, give this word a feminine genitive singular ending, which in FR has been changed into a well-attested masculine personal name Philo (*filonis*). OFr also uses a genitive construction, *Lentibel de Surie*. The -ur- is probably the result of misinterpretation of the three minims of -in-, which would indicate a source MS in which a short form of *i* was used. Place names including the genitive form of a personal name or the name of a country are not uncommon, and it seems certain that the underlying name, now apparently irretrievable, was of this type.

4,3 *in quibus galline nascuntur.* (Mir) *quibus* does not agree in number with either of its expected antecedents, *locus* or *lentibelsinea*. Comparison with Pit's *in quibus locis* and EP's *in cuius finibus* indicates that Mir received this word in the plural, and that the accompanying noun has been dropped.

þæm (OE-V) A preposition has apparently been omitted here. OE-T reads *on ðan*, which may represent a more accurate copy of the archetype or may be a restoration.

4,4 *rubicundo colore.* (Mir) A late corruption in Mir (carried into the OE translation) from the *similes* found in all other versions. P. Gibb (*op.cit.* p.133) attempts to explain this as confusion with *surrufus* 'reddish', but no such explanation is necessary. There are several points at which Mir diverges in details of physical description from the readings of the other P-Group texts, and at each of these points the new reading describes what we see in the picture cycle. In this instance the five birds portrayed in T are of two types. Two of them are vermilion with their feathers picked out in lake, the other three are a pinkish brick red colour. V shows only two birds, but both are a mixture of pink and red. A scribe, who may also have been an illustrator, replaced *similes* with the name for

the colour of the hens in his exemplar or, possibly, of the hens in his own copy, if (unlike MS T) the illuminations were made first in that MS.

4,5-6 *manum suam quam tetigerit, totumque corpus conburit.* (Mir) This reading is obviously corrupt. *Tetigerit* shares the subject of the earlier verb *voluerit*, namely *aliquis*, but it appears to have two objects. *Manum suam* 'his own hand' and *quam*, which must refer to one of the hens, are both in the accusative. This confusion was probably already in the text of Mir when the translation was made, for the translator has avoided the problem by omitting *manum suam*. (*Æthrinan* 'to touch' may have been felt to include the idea 'with the hand', but there are frequent instances where this is expressed separately, as in *Beowulf* 722, *hire folmum æthran*.) Pit's reading *manu sua si tetigerit, totum corpus comburet* 'if he touches them with his hand all his body burns up' appears to solve the problem present in Mir. However, it requires an intransitive use of the transitive verb *comburo*. (This unusual use of *comburo* probably goes back to the common ancestor of both P and F-Groups, for the F-Group text shows the same feature, unless we are to understand that the man consumes his own hand by fire.) The OE translation renders *conburit* with a transitive

verb, put in the plural to agree with the hens -
forbærnað hi. The OFr translator, on the other
hand, used the intransitive form *arderoit*.

It was probably this confusion over whether *comburo*
should be used intransitively which caused EP to rewrite,
moving away from the original sense and producing
manus eius qui tetigerit, corpus earum comburit,
'the hand of anyone who touches them burns their
bodies'.

him o æthrined (OE-V) V uses the dative plural,
agreeing in number with *hi* (4,4) and *forbærnað hi*
(4,6). T on the other hand agrees with the Latin
text in using the dative singular, *hyre*.

o 'ever' appears only in MS V. The verb *æthrinan*
is used again in 8,6 where it is preceded, again only
in V, by the unrounded form, *a*. In neither instance
is there any support for this from the Latin text,
and it is possible that the addition was made to
improve the euphony of the sentences. (There is,
however, no other evidence that anyone, either
translator or scribe, considered the text as a work
which might be read aloud.)

4,6 *sona*. At this point *sona* 'at once' has been
inserted in the OE translation with no apparent
support from the Latin texts. In a similar instance
in 8,6 where Mir lacks an adverb but OE reads *sona*,

no fewer than three other texts (EP, LM and OFr) have a word which corresponds directly to the OE (*cito* and *tantost*).

4,6 *quia veneficae sunt*. (Pit) This phrase, which appears in OFr as *car eles sont envenimees*, evidently formed part of the ancestral P-Group text. It is lacking in the surviving texts of Mir, but a similar phrase was probably present in Mir at the time of the OE translation, giving *þæt syndon ungefrægelicu liblac*. It is likely that the Latin which gave rise to this read *quae veneficia sunt*, 'which are sorcery'. *Liblac*, 'sorcery, witchcraft, art of poisoning' is frequently associated with *veneficare* in glossaries. *Ungefrægelicu*, 'unheard of' is without any support from the Latin texts and is probably to be explained as an embellishment by the translator. It appears again in a similar phrase in 5,8 (*þæt syndon þa ungefrægelicu deor*); in this instance no convincing parallels are found in the other texts.

F-Group

4,1 *In qua est oppidum quod dicitur castellum filonis*. (FR) FR, which omits the bulk of §§1-4, presumably because the material was not of interest, adds the name *castellum filonis* to the seven words it retains

from §3 together with a linking phrase to form a brief, quasi-factual introduction to the accounts of monsters.

4,1-2 *ad castellum Philoniae qui locus dictus est stadia ccc.* (FL) This expression is very awkward and appears to have lost a place name after *est*. Ger, who has no compunction about mutilating his sources to remove distances in stadia and other irrelevant information, changes this to *ad castellum filonie transitus est*, 'one crosses to the castle of Philonia'.

The name *Philoniae* (genitive singular of *Philonia*) probably corresponds to the *Feniae/sinea* element of the name given in the P-Group texts, as discussed above. FL retains a Greek-type spelling with *ph*. FR has changed the gender, turning it into the Greek personal name Philo, genitive singular *filonis*. MS N of Ger (the MS with autograph corrections used as base MS for this edition) gives the name as *filone*, but the form *filonie* predominates in the remaining MSS, indicating that Ger's source copy of FL had this form with the second *i*, as in our extant text of FL.

4,4 *apud vos.* (FL) This earlier reading was changed to *apud nos* in the MS by the thirteenth-century corrector. *vos* agrees with the epistolary

style, for the familiar hens are part of the known world of the recipient, whereas the poisonous hens belong to the unknown world of the writer. However, all other texts which include this phrase, of both P-Group and F-Group, read *nos*. This may be a coincidental agreement, arising from the logical, but here incorrect, assumption that the familiar relates to 'us'; palaeographically the change is a very likely one, based as it is on the position of the link between two minims. This universal agreement does, nonetheless, raise the possibility that the Corrector of FL was working from another copy of the text which already read *nos*.

4,5 *quas qui*. (FL) We see the editorial concern with details of style which characterises Gervase's work in the modification to the easier expression *qui eas*.

4,6 *prandere*. (Ger) This word, meaning 'to breakfast on, to eat' has been substituted by Ger for the syncopated form of *prehendere*, i.e. *prendre*. This may be due to orthographic confusion, but it seems likelier that this is an instance of Ger trying to improve on his source. It is easier to imagine a hen harming someone who eats it than someone who touches it, so Ger here is probably attempting to render feasible an

account which belongs to the realms of fantasy.

comburet. As in P-Group texts (see note to 4,5-6) the normally transitive verb *comburo* is functioning intransitively here. The only possible subject is *corpus suum*, as the hens, who actually cause the burning, are plural. The unusual usage does not appear to have caused any problems in this instance.

SECTION 5

This section on the eight-legged beasts is present in all versions of the *Letter*. Accounts deriving from the *Letter* are found in *Liber Monstrorum*, II,11 and *Historia de Preliis* J², chapter 123.

Letter of Pharasmanes

In that place are born wild animals
(*humiles bestiolo*, 'insignificant little beasts' in F-Group)

like monkeys; when they hear a sound they flee.

They have eight feet and their eyes are
(8 in number in F-Group. P-Group texts mostly agree on gorgon-like, *gorgoneus*, but EP makes them 4 in number, *quaternos*.)

They have two
(heads, *capita*, in P-Group; horns, *cornua*, in F-Group.)

and anyone who wishes to capture
(F-Group, kill, *occidere*)

them must first arm himself well.

There is no certainty about which features belonged to these creatures in the earliest version of the *Letter*. Logic, although hardly a relevant criterion when dealing with material of this type, would suggest that the original concept was that of the Siamese twins with a double quota of everything - thus eight legs (as in all texts), two heads (as in P-Group)

and four eyes (as in EP). We cannot, however, prove whether this 'logical' creature lay behind the variants or whether there was a steady progression towards this more balanced idea during the transmission of the text, especially in P-Group. (On the question of eyes, F-Group's numeral appears to be supported by similar descriptions from other sources, although they cannot be shown to be connected - see discussion of Analogues, below. In P-Group, the agreement of all texts except EP in reading *gorgoneus* implies that this is the reading which reflects the common source. Pit frequently does not share corruptions unless they are common to all P-Group texts. This would suggest that *quaternos*, although logical, was a late alteration in EP.)

Analogues

In some versions of the *Letter of Alexander to Olympias* as presented by Pseudo Callisthenes the description of the fiery hens is followed by descriptions of five-legged, five-eyed beasts and of six-legged, six-eyed ones, (*The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes*, translated from the Armenian version by A.M. Wolohojian, New York, 1969, p.115). Other versions refer at the same point to six-legged creatures and giant onagers

with six eyes (J. Berger de Xivrey, *Traditions T ratologiques*, Paris, 1836, p.364, from MS Paris, BN ancien fonds grec 1685). (The Armenian version of Pseudo-Callisthenes was in circulation by the early sixth century and was probably made during the fifth century.)

Significant readings

P-Group

5,1 *nascuntur*. (Mir, Pit) The use of *nascuntur* and *sunt* (EP) as alternatives is mirrored in F-Group, where FL and Ger read *sunt* and FR reads *nasountur*.

bestiole. (Mir-B) The agreement between Mir-B and F-Group texts at this point must be coincidental, because Mir-B can be proved to be descended from Mir-T which reads *bestie*, as do all the other P-Group texts.

5,2 *quasi simiae*. (Pit) The reference to the simian characteristics of these creatures is preserved only here and in OFr *ossi que singes*. It is shown by its presence in all F-Group texts to have been part of the archetypal *Letter*. It was lost in Mir before the addition of the picture cycle, for the illustration in T shows a two-headed, eight-legged creature resembling a wolf.

5,3 *quum unum audierint*. (Pit) This corruption derives from *cum sonum* ... as in Mir and as translated in the vernacular versions. *Sonum* is also present in F-Group texts.

sonum audierint hominum. (Mir) *Hominum* has been added to make the fear more explicit. (OFr keeps the original sense of general fear with *aucun son*.) *Sonum hominum* has been translated as *mannes stefne*, 'voice of a man' thus narrowing the definition still further to one of the specialised meanings of *sonus*. *fleoð hy feor*. (OE-V) The translation in V seems to indicate a Latin text reading *longe fugiunt*, as in Pit (OFr *sen fuient loins*) instead of the reading in Mir, *statim fugiunt*. OE-T, with *raðe hi fleoð*, agrees with the reading of Mir, but it is impossible to tell in which text the change first took place.

5,3-5 The order of the text is modified in OFr, presumably for effect. Such reversals of phrases are quite frequent in this version, see note to 3,1.

5,5 *ossi de femme*. *Ossi*, for *oculos*, is surely an error of transcription, probably due to re-copying of *ossi* from the preceding line. The Picard form which glosses *oculos* elsewhere in this version is *ier* (18;3 OFr) where, by coincidence the following word is *ossi*. *Vis*, which may hide an unattested

but phonologically possible Picard **ius*, glosses *oculi* in 31,3. *De femme* probably represents the vestiges of a gloss on *gorgoneus*.

5,7 *eos*. (Mir) Like Pit's *hos*, *eos* must refer back to the *bestiae* in 5,1, and is therefore the wrong gender. The confusion, particularly in the vernacular translations, over who is doing what and to whom in 5,7-8 is probably due in part to this minor inaccuracy.

volueris. (Pit) The second person, which seems appropriate to the epistolary format, is used only in Pit. It may be original, but is a common literary device even outside letters. Pit used the third person in an identical phrase (*apprehendere voluerit*) in 4,5.

5,8 *corpora sua inarmant*. (Mir, Pit) Following the use of a singular (*voluerit* or *volueris*) for the prospective hunter of these creatures, the plural *inarmant* must refer to the creatures, 'they arm their bodies'. OFr also chose this interpretation, *eles enarment leur cors a leur pooir*. EP has an ambivalent reading, which allows one to take either the hunters or the prey as the subject of *inarmant*, since both are plural: *has cum voluerint comprehendere corpora sua inarmant. id' pignant*. It is this reading which most closely approaches that of F-Group,

where it is quite clearly the hunter who *diligenter se munire debet*. The gloss *id pugnans* seems to indicate, however, that *inarmant* was both misunderstood and taken to refer to the prey, and shows us how the confusion in the other texts may have arisen.

The OE translations add a further degree of complication. OE-T is closest to the Latin with *þonne gewræðað hy sona grimlice ongen*, 'then they return the attack fiercely straight away', but this is no closer than the gloss *id pugnans*, and, like that gloss, appears to derive from a misunderstanding of the sense of *inarmant*. It certainly does not translate the text of Mir, but it may be an unsuccessful editorial attempt to return to the Latin text from the bizarre reading of OE-V. V reads *hiera lichoman þæt hy onælað*, 'they set fire to their bodies'. There are several possible explanations for this extraordinary rendering. Firstly, *corpora sua* is translated by *hiera lichoman* (OE-T offers no translation for these words) and *onælað* may simply have replaced a verb meaning 'to arm; to gird with armour' during the transmission of the text. Secondly, the phrase in V to a large extent retranslates *totumque corpus conurit*, the last line of the preceding section (4,6). A translator with a wandering eye could have shifted from *corpora* (5,8 and just before an illustration)

back to *corpus* (4,6 and just before an illustration). It is not a case of simple haplography by a copyist, because the Latin is rendered differently in the two instances (4,6: *ponne forbærnað hi sona eal his lio*; 5,8: *hiera lichoman þæt hy onælað*). A third possibility, first suggested by Sisam ('The Compilation of the *Beowulf* Manuscript', *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, Oxford, 1953, p.80) is that the corruption first appeared in the Latin text, with *inarmant* modified to *inurunt*. The presence of the unmodified form *inarmant* in all P-Group Latin texts, albeit glossed in EP, makes this argument less convincing than it would be if the word in question were seen to be modified or corrupted in other MSS. The likeliest explanation seems to me to be that in OE-V we have an otherwise accurate translation in which only the last word has been changed. This so changed the sense, however, that OE-T, in attempting to restore the meaning of the original, retranslated the phrase without fully understanding it. (The second hypothesis outlined above is, however, of more help in explaining the accretion which follows this phrase - see next note.)

5,8 *þæt syndon þa ungefrægelicu deor*. 'those are unheard of animals' has no support in the Latin texts. It is very close to the ending of §4, *þæt syndon*

ungefrægelicu liblac, which, with the single exception of the word *ungefrægelicu*, is seen to be derived from phrases found in other P-Group texts but now lacking in Mir. The theory that the translator's eye wandered back to the end of the preceding passage could help to explain the presence of this phrase, although it is a far closer echo of the translator's work in 4,6 (especially his addition of *ungefrægelicu*) than of the Latin *quia veneficae sunt*, 'because they are poisonous'. Previous editors have seen it as a comment added by the translator or during transmission by an Anglo-Saxon scribe, and this view is probably correct.

5,8 *si sont fors a avoir*. 'if they are perhaps to be had/caught'. This addition in OFr probably represents an attempt by the translator to clarify the difficulty of a Latin text which caused these beasts to arm their bodies against hunters. Gibb (*op.cit.*, p.136) attempts to link this with the equally unsupported OE phrase by tracing the OFr back to *sunt arduae (bestiae) capere* (taking *fors* as 'difficult', relating it to the noun *force*) and the OE back to *sunt bestiae inauditae*. In the face of the total lack of support for this from the Latin texts and the fact that the OE translator introduces

ungefrægolicu twice in successive passages, this argument seems tenuous.

F-Group

5,1-2 *Sunt et humiles quasi simii.* (FL) The reading *humiles bestiote* in FR enables us to restore the missing noun here. Ger, faced by an unusual use of *humiles*, apparently as a noun, emended to *homines*. (This is an interesting minor example of the process of 'anthropomorphisation' which is seen more frequently in P-Group texts, the tendency whereby successive corrections move these creatures further from their animal roots and closer to the state of humanoid monsters.)

5,3 *quando sonum audierint, fugient.* (FL) *fugiunt*, present in all other F-Group texts as well as Mir and Pit, should be restored here in place of *fugient*. FR alters the sequence of tenses to accord with *quando*, reading *audiunt* in place of *audierint*. Ger solved the problem differently, changing *quando* to *qui ut* in order to retain the subjunctive.

5,4 *idemque et.* (FL, FR) The original reading of FL agrees with that of FR. The thirteenth-century corrector who worked on the MS of FL, possibly collating it with another copy, changed this to *totidemque*, the reading given by Ger.

5,6 *Quas cum aliquis occidere voluerit.* (FL) The loss of *bestiole* in 5,1 left *quas* with no feminine antecedent. Ger, who had replaced *humiles (bestiole)* by *homines*, modified *quas* accordingly. He replaced *occidere* with a more flamboyant verb *perimere*, 'annihilate', producing *quos qui perimere voluerit*.

5,7 *se munire debet.* (FL, FR) It is conceivable that this arose as a gloss on the more difficult expression found in P-Group. If this were the case, the original subject would have been the hunter, as here and debatably in EP, not the prey as in the remaining P-Group texts.

Derivatives

Liber Monstrorum.

5,1 *prope ad Mare Rubrum.* The reference to the Red Sea is taken from §4, a section otherwise not used in LM.

5,2 *ipsa fabulositas perhibet.* This editorial comment is typical of LM's attempts to distance himself from the credulity of his source.

Fabulositas is a late word, not found in Classical Latin.

5,5 *duplicibus membris.* The addition of this phrase to the standard description shows that the Compiler of LM saw these creatures as having the characteristics of Siamese twins, a double quota of

everything - even though his received text described the eyes as *gorgoneis* not *quaternos*. This lends some support to the hypothesis that this idea of doubling may have influenced corrections made to the text during transmission, and that the apparently logical readings are those most likely to have been added later.

5,5 *fingunt*. 'they invent, fabricate' introduces a further note of editorial scepticism.

Historia de Preliis

5,4 *habentes oculos octonos et totidem pedes*. The order of the original is reversed for no apparent reason, except possibly that eight eyes is more terrifying than eight legs. The illustrations in the illuminated MSS of the OFr Prose translation of the *Historia de Preliis* (e.g. British Library, Harley 4964) portray these creatures exactly as described, with one head, two horns, eight eyes and eight legs.

5,5 *cornua in capite duo*. The other F-Group texts use the form *bina* instead of *duo*, and are supported in this by P-Group texts, which read *bina capita*. The phrase *in capite*, which appears only in HP (the other texts read *cornua bina*) is unlikely to underlie P-Group's reading of *capita* in place of *cornua*, for it appears at just the point where HP begins to rewrite its source to fit the narrative.

SECTION 6

This section on the double-headed serpents or amphisbaenae is found in all texts of the *Letter*. OE-V lacks 6,1-4, which is treated as a separate section in the MSS of Mir (see below). Descriptions based on those in the *Letter* are found in *Historia de Preliis J*², chapter 123 and Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia, Decisio II*, MS Vat. Lat. 933, f.19^V, col. 2, ll.3-4 (GerII). There is a similar description in *Liber Monstrorum*, III,2, which contains additional material and may be from another source.

Letter of Pharasmanes

For those travelling from Seleucia to Babylon

It is a distance of 60 stadia

(The P-Group reading *ix* seems very short, and it is probably this reading which is the corruption, the reading *lx* in F-Group representing the archetype.)

This kingdom lies next to (*subiacet*)

(P-Group - the regions of the Medes, F-Group, Sidonia.

P-Group adds that this region is wealthy, *omnibus bonis plena*.)

In this place there are serpents

(F-Group describes them as immense, savage (*horridi*) and exceedingly fierce (*nimis sevissimi*).)

which have two heads and whose eyes shine at night like lamps.

Analogues

Despite the contradictory evidence of the illustrations accompanying this description in V, T and B, which show snakes with two heads on one end of their bodies, these creatures are the *amphisbaenae* described by Solinus (27,29; ed. Mommsen, p.122) and Isidore (XII iv 20). Solinus confines his description to the double-headedness and their wheel-like movement:

Amphisbaena consurgit in caput geminum, quorum alterum loco suo est, alterum in ea parte qua cauda: quae causa efficit, ut capite utrimque secus nitibundo serpat tractibus circulatis.

The amphisbaena lifts itself up with twin heads, one of which is in its rightful place, the other in the same place as the tail; this produces the result that with each head rising and falling in turn it creeps with a circular movement.

Isidore adds two details to this description, firstly a note that this is the only type of snake which is not afraid of the cold and secondly, the detail of the shining eyes which is found in the *Letter*:

Cuius oculi lucent veluti lucernae.

Their eyes shine like lamps.

There is nothing in any of the texts of the *Letter* to suggest that the two heads are the same end, and we must assume that the illustrations simply show one man's interpretation of the text, an interpretation not supported by knowledge of analogues and, coming

as the passage does straight after the double-headed creature of §5, one to which the reader's imagination must be predisposed.

This same assumption has found its way into the description of these serpents in the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem* (ed. Kuebler, *op.cit.*, p.200, 11.1-9):

*Tum ad horam noctis tertiam aliquam nobis sperantibus
requiem binorum ternorumque capitum cristati serpentes
Indici venerunt columnarum crassitudine consimiles,
aliquanto proceriores; ad potandam aquam ex vicinis
montium speluncis processere oribus squamisque suis
humum atterentes, quorum pectora erecta, et cum
trisulcis linguis fauces exsertabant, scintillantibus
oculis veneno, quorum halitus quoque erat pestifer.*

Then, towards the third hour of the night, when we were hoping for rest, there came Indian crested serpents with two or three heads, with the girth of marble pillars (cf. the dragons described in §19 of the *Letter*) and rather long; they approached from nearby caves in the mountains to drink water, rubbing against the ground with their scaly mouths.

They extended their mouths wide open with three-forked tongues, their shining eyes were poisonous and their breath was also deadly.

In iconography the amphisbaena became associated with the dragon and the devil. For a study of its origins and the manifestations of this tradition see G.C. Druce, 'The Amphisboena and its Connexions in Ecclesiastical Art and Architecture', *Archaeological Journal*, 67, 1910, pp. 285-317.

Omission of 6,1-4 in OE-V

The omission of these four lines in OE-V is of particular interest, for it provides the strongest evidence we have that this MS derives from a bilingual copy. §6 is divided in Mir after *plena* and the two halves are treated as independent sections, except insofar as there is no illustration between 6,4 and 6,5. No other version divides the text at this point, and the separation probably happened when the translation was added. Perhaps the section was spread over two pages, and the translator, who (as far as we can tell from the layout of T) added the translation paragraph by paragraph after the Latin text, supplied the translation for the first half of the section, not realising that it continued. The explanation for the loss of the first half in V is quite straightforward, if we assume a bilingual exemplar laid out as T. A scribe, whose Latin was perhaps limited, wishing to copy only the Old English text would quickly realise that in each case (except, of course, this one) the illustration comes immediately after the Old English. Thus instead of working his way through paragraphs of Latin, looking for something familiar, he simply moves on to the next illustration and works back. Working in this way it would be easy to overlook the small passage

of Old English text sandwiched between the Latin text of 6,1-4 and 6,5-9. Had the exemplar been in Old English only, or had it been bilingual but with a different layout from T, this omission would be far more difficult to explain.

Significant Readings

P-Group

6,1 *Hascellentia*. (Mir) The readings of other texts of both groups demonstrate that this peculiar and otherwise unknown name derives from the phrase *A Seleucia*. The change in the ending is easily explained by minim confusion, which led *u* to be copied as *n*, and misreading of *c* as *t*, which is a possibility in some continental hands as well as in insular hands. The beginning has been transformed by the addition of a prosthetic *h*, possibly because the *s* of *seleucia* became attached to the *a* and was read as *has*. The newly-coined form, *Hascellentia*, was acceptable as a place name; OE and Mir-B both add a definition of it as a place: *hatte pæst land* (OE-T); *regio que ...* (Mir-B). Once it had reached this state the name suffered no further distortion.

Seleucia. (Pit; F-Group) There were cities named Seleucia in Cilicia, on the Orontes near Antioch and on the Tigris in Babylonia. The last of these is very close to Babylon, and the sixty stadia of

the F-Group texts is a mere 7 miles.

6,2 *stadia ix*. (Mir) This is the only instance where the distance in *stadia* has not been converted into leagues in Mir/OE. OFr, which normally gives only the conversion to leagues, reads a *entour .ix. estades*, thus proving conclusively that the conversion was made in a MS which was a common ancestor to both Mir and OFr, and that in that common ancestor this one distance was not converted. The original reading of the *Letter* is more likely to have been F-Group's *lx stadia* (about 7 miles) than Mir/OFr's *stadia ix* (just over one mile). Pit's *stadia ii* shows a further stage of corruption in the numeral.

6,1-3 EP omits these lines, beginning after the localisation and the distance have been given in the other texts. Although this might be due to accidental damage it seems more likely that the omission of distances and similar information was editorial policy. EP gives no distances in either *stadia* or leagues.

6,3 *que subiacet regionibus medorum*. (Mir) As the sentence stands, either Seleucia (*Hascellentia*) or Babilonia could be the antecedent of *que* and subject of *subiacet*. The rewritten sentences of OE and Mir-B (which reverses the order as well as describing

Hascellentia as *regio*) attempt to clarify the position. In fact, the two places are so close that either, or both, could be described as adjacent to Media. EP, which omits the verb, begins with the word which functions as subject of that verb in F-Group - *regio*, possibly part of a late device to cover the deletion of the preceding lines.

Pit gives a plural verb, *subiacent*, which could refer either to the two places named in 6,1 (Seleucia and Babilonia) or to the stadia of 6,2, implying that the route, the distance between these two places lies next to Media.

Subiacet (Mir) has often been taken to mean 'is subservient to; is under the rule of', and it is translated this way in OFr: *et est par desous medie*.

Subiaceo can however be used with a positional meaning, simply 'to lie below; to lie next to'.

Ger introduced the verb in 2,2 in a context which does not allow for ruler and ruled; *dirus fluvius subjacet desertam*, 'the river Dirus lies next to (or below) the desert'. It is in this way that the word is best interpreted in 6,3.

Bueð oð. (OE) This expression, used to gloss *subiacet*, has been emended by editors who wished to introduce the concept of subservience, which may

in fact not be contained in the Latin reading.

E.V. Gordon (*Year's Work in English Studies*, 1924, p.69) first proposed an emendation to *bugeoð* to, 'bow down to, are subservient to'. There are two arguments against accepting this. The first is that the sense of *bugan* usually includes physical movement, the 'bowing, bending or inclining' is actual, not metaphorical. Just as *bugan fram* means 'to flee' (*Hi bugon þa fram beaduwe þe þær beon noldon*, *Battle of Maldon*, 185), so *bugan to* is used in the sense of 'to join' (*Da bugon to þam cyngre of ðam here fif and feowertig scypa*, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 1012 A.D.). The second argument is that *buað oð* has already been used by the translator. It appears in 3,3, where it glosses *habitantes usque ad* in the sentence *ubi nascuntur berbieces ... habitantes usque ad medorum civitatem*. This must mean that the sheep live right up to the edge of (i.e. next to) the city of the Medes. This same concept of being next to or adjacent to has already been shown to constitute a possible interpretation of *subiacet*, and therefore no emendation is necessary. The OFr translator, however, read the Latin text in the same way as have subsequent editors, and rendered *subiacet* as *est par desous medie*.

6,3-4 *Et chele tere.* OFr, which again reverses the order of the phrases, adds a noun to clarify the Latin *que*.

6,4 *omnibus bonis plena.* (Mir, Pit) There is nothing in F-Group texts to express great affluence at this point, and it is probably a late addition in P-Group (although early enough to be present in all texts) because it contradicts the statement in 8,2-3 that a region to the right of Babylon is *inculta propter serpentes*. EP's corruption to *hominibus bonis plena* (easy to explain palaeographically, for it requires only a prosthetic *h* and the insertion of one extra minim into a group of six minims) is mirrored in 10,7-8, where both EP and Ger give similarly corrupt readings.

6,9 *scinað nihtes swa leohte swa blæcern.* The translator evidently felt that *scinað swa blæcern* was insufficient to express the sense of *sicut lucerne lucent*. The same phrase occurs in 31,4, where it is rendered still more elaborately as *swa man micel blacern onele þeostre nihte*.

F-Group

6,1 *Est et alia regio que dicitur pelusia.* (FR)

By removing the present participle *pergentibus* (6,3FL) and replacing it with this simple statement, FR has

transformed this sentence from a description of a journey to an unverifiable statement of geographical 'fact' (at the same time avoiding a difficult construction). The name *pelusia*, used here instead of FL's *Seleucia*, is similar to the name of a town on the eastern edge of the Nile Delta, *Pelusium*. MS P of FR at first misread the *a* as *o*, and reads *pelusiōa*. This misreading points to the use of a round *a*-form in the exemplar. (Other misreadings in 8,1 and 32,26, where *a* has been copied as *t* indicate a Beneventan source.)

6,4 *Sidonia*. (FL, Ger) The region around the town of Sidon. One town named Seleucia lies to the north of the Sea of Galilee, not far from Sidon - but whether the archtypal *Letter* referred to this one or the town near Babylon which seems to fit better with the rest of the description we cannot be certain. It seems probable that the two towns were confused at an early date, and place names relating to the wrong Seleucia were added. The agreement of both groups in locating Seleucia near Babylon could be interpreted as demonstrating that it is this Seleucia which properly belongs here.

Derivatives

Gervase, *Otia Imperialia*, *Decisio* II.

GerII associates the two-headed serpents with the horned onagers of §7, but reverses the order.

Liber Monstrorum

6,5-6 *serpentes quoque Assyriorum in desertis nasci perhibentur*. The location given by the compiler of LM, together with the reference to a desert in Assyria, appears to be drawn from a different source, although it is possible that *Assyriorum* is derived from *Hascellentia* (at a stage before the prosthetic *h* was added) or from another debased version of Seleucia.

6,7-8 *et immensa corporis volumina torquent*. The immense size and the rolling movement are both found in other descriptions of the amphisbaena (see above) but are not included in the *Letter*. It is unlikely that either Isidore or Solinus was a direct source of this information, for LM gives the names of its subjects wherever it can.

Historia de Preliis

6,1 *Et inde amoto exercitu venit in terram Babilonie*. Instead of the geographical location, HP gives an often repeated formula to introduce the account into the narrative structure.

6,6 *mira magnitudinis*. This phrase, which replaces the *immensi* of FR and FL, is presumably intended to aggrandise the achievement of Alexander in overcoming these creatures. The same device is used elsewhere in these interpolations drawn from the *Letter*, e.g. 8,3; 21,3.

6,7 *duo capita quorum oculi*. *duo* is used in preference to *bina* as found in the source. The same alteration has already been noted in 5,5.

Two of the MSS collated by Hilka (*Historia Alexandri Magni (Historia de Preliis) Rezension J²*, ed. A.

Hilka, Meisenheim am Glan, 1977, part 2, p.170)

read *capita equorum quorum*, an interesting corruption and similar to one which is found in the *Letter* in §15.

SECTION 7

This description of the horned onagers is found in all copies of the *Letter*. It was used by *Liber Monstrorum*, II,4 (in addition to material from another source) and by Gervase of Tilbury in *Otia Imperialia*, *Decisio* II, MS Vat. Lat. 933 f.19^v, col. 2, l.2, where it precedes the two-headed snakes from §6. Thomas of Cantimpré, *De Natura Rerum*, IV,81, adds a description of the strength of these animals, attributed to *Adelinus*, to material mainly drawn from classical sources.

Letter of Pharasmanes

In the same place are born wild asses with horns (P-Group texts tell us that the horns are like those of bulls, *cornua boum*.)

and of very great stature.

Analogues

Horned asses are found in classical sources (see Thomas of Cantimpré), one of the earliest accounts being that of Herodotus (IV, 91).

Significant Readings

P-Group

7,1 *on sumon lande*. This rather loose translation of Mir's *ibi* probably arose because the MSS treat §7 and §8 as a single unit (with the exception of OFr and the F-Group texts, which mark a new section at or near the beginning of §8) and the localisation in §8, where the asses roam, contradicts that in §6, to which *ibi* refers.

onagri. (Mir, Pit) The concept 'wild' is included in this name for the ass; the term *asinus* is used for the domesticated variety. Both OFr (*asne sauvage*) and the Old Saxon gloss to EP (*uuildi esil*) express this idea, but the OE translation, *eoselas* (V) and *assan* (T), does not. *Eoselas* represents the Germanic root **esel*, and this form was ousted by the Celtic loan-word *assa*.

7,2 *on þære mæstan wæstme*. (OE-V) This is an accurate rendering of the Latin *forma maxima*, 'of very great stature'. The reading of OE-T, *on ðam mæstan westene*, 'in the very great desert' is a scribal emendation, presumably made in order to clarify the position of *þæt* in 8,1, by providing *þæt* with an antecedent. The only Latin version to refer to a desert in this section

is LM, which is hardly likely to have influenced the reading of OE-T, although the presence of barren places in the next few sections of the *Letter* could well have inspired the emendation.

7,2 *maxima atque fortia*. (EP) BP is alone in deviating from the reading *forma maxima*, which occurs in all other versions of the *Letter*. It probably results from a misreading of *forma*.

However, strength is a feature of the description of the wild ass in LM, where it is elaborated on at some length. This part of the account in LM is taken from another source, and the huge size, drawn from the *Letter* is also present.

F-Group

7,1 *ibi*. (FR) This adverb, which is present in all P-Group texts, is not found in FL or Ger.

cornuti. (Ger) Ger frequently changes a phrase such as *cornua habentes* (FL, FR) into an adjective, as here.

Derivatives

Liber Monstrorum

After a description of the strength of the wild ass (*saepe elata exultantes fortitudine saxa de montibus evellunt*, 'often, rejoicing in their exalted strength they tear rocks out of mountains') LM adds a description

of horned asses which seems to have been taken from the *Letter*, although several of the details contained in it present problems:

in desertis Persarum. Persia is not mentioned in any of the texts, and may well be an elaboration by the compiler of LM. (The serpents in §6 he located in the deserts of Assyria.) The agreement between LM's *in desertis* and the correction in OE-T to *on Jam mæstan westene* is surely coincidental.

cum incredibilibus quibusdam prodigiis. Although this appears to agree with the reading *atque fortia* in EP (see above), the vast size of the body, expressed as *forma maxima* (Mir) in the P-Group texts, is described in LM as *magnis describuntur corporibus*. This need not point to a source in P-Group which retained the original reading beside the corruption in EP (no such text is known to exist) for EP's *maxima* (following an apparently neuter *onagra*) must refer to body size, and would probably have been sufficient for LM to build on.

SECTION 8

This section on the snakes and the method of gathering the pepper which grows among them is present in all texts of both groups. Descriptions based on those in the *Letter* are found in *Liber Monstrorum*, III,6 and *Historia de Preliis J²*, chapter 118. The same subject matter is handled in Gervase, *Otia Imperialia*, *Decisio* II (MS Vat. Lat. 933, f.18^V, col.1, ll.37-40) but here it is drawn directly from Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago Mundi*, I,xi.

Letter of Pharasmanes

A region near Arabia, close to the Red Sea is
barren

(*inculto* (EP), *inculta* in F-Group. Pit, Mir and OFr have a common corruption to *in occulto*, 'in secret', which may indicate that they shared a common ancestor, separate from the source of EP. It is, however, a change of reading which could easily have been made, or corrected, at different times in MSS where word division is inconsistent.)

because of the snakes which live there, called
caerastes

(F-Group names them *caerastes*, which is the proper name for the horned snakes described. These snakes are not, however, usually associated with pepper.

P-Group texts have a corruption of the name to *corsias* and similar forms.)

with horns like rams, with which they can wound men fatally. Pepper grows there in abundance and is guarded by the snakes.

(F-Group *custodiunt*. P-Group texts read *servant sua industria*. In FL the phrase *sua industria* is used to refer to the diligence of the men who collect the pepper, and it is probably the text of FL which best preserves the meaning of the original *Letter* at this point. Pit and EP, as well as the vernacular translations, have felt the need to improve the clarity of the passage, which probably suffered compression or contraction in their common source.)

To gather the pepper, men must first set fire to the area. The snakes then flee underground and the pepper is turned black.

(FL and FR add, possibly from Isidore, that pepper is naturally white.)

Analogues

This story of the snakes and the pepper was very popular and analogues abound. The account given by Isidore (XVII,viii,8) is typical. It varies from that given in the *Letter* in locating the story in India, but otherwise agrees fairly closely.

*Piperis arbor nascitur in India, in latere montis
Caucasi, quod soli obversum est, folia iuniperi
similitudine. Cuius silvas serpentes custodiunt,
sed incolae regiones illius, quum maturum fuerint,
incendunt, et serpentes igni fugantur; et inde ex
flamma nigrum piper efficitur. Nam natura
piperis alba est ...*

The pepper tree grows in India, on the side of
the Caucasus mountains facing the sun. Its leaves
are like those of juniper. Snakes guard the
pepper woods, but the local inhabitants set fire
to those regions when the pepper is ripe, and the
snakes are put to flight by the fire. Black
pepper is produced out of the flame. For pepper
is naturally white ...

A reduced version which had a very wide currency
was that given by Honorius Augustodunensis (*Imago
Mundi*, I,xi). It is this version which Gervase
gives in *Decisio* II.

*Apud hos crescit piper, colore quidem albo.
Sed cum ipsi serpentes qui ibi abundant flamma
fugantur. Nigrum colorem trahit de incendio.*

Pepper grows among them, white in colour.
But snakes live there in abundance; they are
put to flight by fire. It takes its black
colour from the fire.

The name given to these snakes in F-Group texts is
caerastes. Although not normally associated with
the pepper story, this breed of snakes is well-known,
one of the earliest references being in *Genesis* 49,17:

Fiat Dan coluber in via, cerastes in semita.

Dan shall be a serpent in the way, a viper
by the path. (R.S.V.)

Isidore supplies an explanation for the name *cerastes*
in XII,iv,18:

*Cerastes serpens dictus, eo quod in capite cornua
habeat similia arietum; κέρατα enim Graeci cornua
vocant.*

That snake which has horns on its head similar to
those of a ram is called cerastes, for the Greeks
call horns κέρατα.

Liber Monstrorum, which calls these snakes *corsia*,
describes the *cerastes* in III,15:

*Cerastes autem cornuti serpentes fiunt, sed non
tam cornibus quam ore nocent et linguis, quae
nimiam atrocitatem habere dicuntur, et in multis
regionibus nascuntur.*

The cerastes are horned snakes, but they injure
not so much with their horns as with their mouth
and tongue; they are said to have excessive
fierceness and they live in many regions.

Significant Readings

P-Group

8,1 *babilonia*. (Mir) This corruption of *Arabia*
is unique to Mir and OE. *Babilonia*, which has already
been referred to in §52, 3 and 6, may have been
inserted by a scribe in place of a word he could
not read or which was partially illegible. *Arabia*
has not been mentioned before in the text.

8,1-2 *Hi in dextera parte a babilonia ducunt se.*

(Mir) The subject of the verb *ducunt*, *hi*, refers back to the wild asses of the preceding passage.

In Pit, where the beginning of the sentence up to and including *babilonia* or *arabia* is lacking, the verb comes directly after the description of the asses.

The Latin source of OFr used the same verb, which has been rendered *se traient*. EP's *sunt*, the subject of which is *inculta loca* (8,2) appears to be an emendation, made probably because the function and relevance of *ducunt* was no longer clear. The verb *duco* is used also in FL, which confirms its presence in the earliest version of the *Letter*. In FL the present participle is used and *Arabia* is the subject. The resulting concept, 'Arabia, leading to the Red Sea' is more satisfactory than the P-Group version, and geographically acceptable, so it is probably a more accurately preserved text at this point.

8,2 *in occulto ... propter serpentes.* (Mir) The reading of the archetypal Latin version, *inculta (loca)* (the adjective describes *Arabia* in F-Group texts) has been corrupted to *in occulto* 'in secret' in the texts of Pit, Mir and the source of OFr. This may indicate a common ancestor not shared by EP, but in view of other evidence, such as the agreement of EP,

and Mir against Pit and F-Group in §15 and the presence in all P-Group texts except Pit of references to Alexander the Great which are obviously accretions since they do not appear in the major F-Group texts, any such conclusions must be treated with caution. The OE translator did not attempt to render *in occulto*, but the OFr translator, whose source evidently read *in occulta loca* as in Pit, translated it as *les lieux repus*.

Propter serpentes, in those P-Group texts which retain *ducunt*, appears to be given as the explanation for the presence of the asses in this region. In F-Group texts it is presented as the reason for the infertility of the land. Unfortunately, EP, the sole P-Group text to preserve *inculta*, gives no reason for the barrenness; this passage has evidently been subjected to editorial smoothing in EP which has removed the reference to the serpents as a cause as well as the awkward verb *ducunt* and its pronominal subject.

8,4 *corsias*. (Mir) This form, which is supported by the reading *corsia* (Pit and LM), probably closely resembles the form used in the common ancestor of the P-Group texts. EP's *corsica* may go back to a α *a*-form, misreading of which was doubtless influenced by the fact that the name *corsica* is

well known (albeit not as the name of a snake)
whereas *corsia* is not. OFr *confia* is the product of
minim confusion combined with misreading of *s* as *f*,
an easy mistake in any script using a long *s*-form.

8,6 *sleað oppe a æthrined* (OE-V) Word-pairing
is a stylistic feature of the translator's work.
The single Latin verb glossed here is *percusserint*.
Æthrinan is used twice in this text, here and in
4,5. In both instances it is preceded in OE-V (but
not T) by a single vowel - *o* in 4,5 and *a* here.

Sona. (OE) Although there is nothing present in
Mir to correspond to this, *sona* is unlikely to be an
innovation by the translator. *Cito*, rendered as
tantost in OFr, is found in both EP and LM and was
probably present in Mir also at the time when the
translation was made. If this was the case, its
loss in Mir would have been very late and its
omission in Pit is presumably coincidental.

8,8-9 *quod serpentes servant sua industria. Hoc
piper sic tollunt*. (Mir) All the texts in P-Group
appear to have derived from a version similar to
that of Mir, which both omitted any mention of the
men (who should be the subject of *tollunt*) and
transferred *sua industria* to refer to the serpents,
not the unspecified men to whom it originally

referred. Pit has an obvious reworking of the text, based on a version similar to that of Mir but adding *homines* before *sua industria* and emphasizing the distinction with *hi serpentes* ... *hi homines*, a stylistic device used elsewhere by Pit (e.g. 12,4) but not in other versions of the text. EP reads *homines* where the other texts read *tollunt*, which looks like an unsuccessful attempt to clarify a reading in which the subject of the verbs *tollunt* and *incendunt* was unspecified.

The OE translator was in no doubt about the meaning, and translated *tollunt* by the non-specific *mon swa nimeð*. OFr seems to derive from a corrupt Latin version, possibly lacking *tollunt* like EP. The verb *wardent* (*servant*) is repeated, with both the snakes and the men as its subject. In order to make sense of the second *wardent*, the translator has added *que il ne perdent le poiure pour les serpens*. *Far grant diligence* (*sua industria*) is applied to the serpents, as is the OE *on heora geornfulnysse*.

8,11 *propter incendium*. (EP) This amplification of the adverb *ideo* (Mir, Pit, EP) may be an ancestral feature as it corresponds to *propter flamma* in FL. It was possibly present in the source of OFr, which reads *pour le fu*. This latter may however be an explanation added by the translator, for it is a logical explanation of the change in colour.

F-Group

8,1 *Hec iuxta arabiam*. (FR) In view of the repetition inherent in *pergens in arabiam* (8,1-2) this may be a gloss or a rubric which has been incorporated into the text. In those MSS of this version which show a consistent handling of section division, the first three words of the section are attached to the end of the previous section. MS-P reads *trabiam* in place of *arabiam*, an error which points to descent from a Beneventan exemplar.

8,6 *arietina*. (Ger) Ger shows a preference for adjectival forms when describing animal attributes, and this is a modification of *similia arietum* (FL, FR). It is interesting to note that LM, the other text which is self-consciously aware of style, also uses the adjective *arietina*.

8,7 *vulnerant*. (Ger) This word is used by Ger in place of *percusserint* (FL, FR and P-Group). Gervase seldom moves from the specific to the general, as here, so this may indicate that *percutio* 'to strike through; pierce' was an unfamiliar word to him or one he thought his audience would not be familiar with. The general verb *vulnero* 'to wound' with which he replaced it is less striking and expressive, but universally known.

Isidore's wording agrees in places with that of FL
and at other times with that of FR:

FL:	<u>sentientes ignem fugiunt</u>	<u>sub terra</u>
Isidore:	<u>serpentes</u>	<u>igni fugantur et</u>
FR:	<u>ab</u>	<u>igne</u> <u>se</u>
	<u>se mittunt merito</u>	<u>propter</u> <u>piper ipsum</u>
	<u>Qua</u>	<u>inde ex flamma</u> <u>nigrum piper</u>
	<u>efficiet et sic eligitur veruntamen</u>	
	<u>efficitur</u>	<u>nam</u> <u>natura piperis alba est.</u>
		<u>album</u>

If this similarity is due to borrowing by the F-Group texts from Isidore or a source used by him (or even a derivative based on Isidore), this borrowing must have been made before the independent development of FR and FL had begun to take place. Forms which are more loyal to the source are evenly divided between the two texts, showing that neither is consistently to be preferred as less modified during transmission. There are, however, two other possibilities which must be taken into consideration. The first is that either text, or both, might have been corrected on the basis of Isidore's version, and that the agreement with Isidore would not therefore represent the archetype. The second possibility is that the borrowing was in the other direction; that Isidore, writing at the end of the sixth and the beginning of

Perimunt. (Ger) Ger changes FL's *occident* to *perimunt* both here and in 5,6.

8,10 *propter industria sua.* (FL) This phrase, which is present only in FL among F-Group texts and which caused so much trouble in P-Group, is here quite unambiguously applied to the men who gather the pepper.

8,11 *cum maturum piper comperiunt.* (Ger) The simple statement in FL, *cum maturum fuerit* 'when it is ripe' is elaborated to 'when they discover the pepper to be ripe' by Ger.

8,12 *fugiunt.* (FLCor) The Corrector's change from the future *fugient* to present *fugiunt* 'they flee' agrees with the readings of P-Group texts. Both FR and Ger use forms of the transitive verb *fugo* 'to banish; put to flight'. FR reads *et serpentes ab igne fugantur* 'and the serpents are put to flight away from the fire'. Ger has modified the reading he found in his source to *et sic serpentes igne fugant*, which changes *igne* from the object fled (as in FL) to the agent by which they are put to flight, 'and thus they put the serpents to flight with fire'.

8,12-15 At the end of this passage the readings of FL and FR diverge from those of P-Group and show similarities to the text of Isidore (see Analogues).

seventh centuries, included the *Letter* among his sources.

8,14 *mutato calore nativo*. (Ger) The MSS of Ger show two different readings for this phrase, which replaces the *propter flamma* of FL. *Mutato calore* appears in N and H, the two MSS usually closest to FL in readings and which are assumed to represent the text much as Gervase intended it. This reading is close in sense to that of FL, *propter flamma*, 'because of the flame' being modified to *mutato calore* 'having been changed by the heat'. However, the text itself requires us to consider carefully the alternative reading, *mutato colore* 'the colour having been changed', which appears in MSS of groups IIb and IV and in some MSS of groups I and IIa. The adjective *nativo*, which qualifies *calore/colore* is difficult to translate with the first of these. It is, however, present in all MSS except the late MS Y (Leyden, Voss. Lat. folio 15, written in the seventeenth century). Taken with *colore* the translation presents no problems, 'the natural colour having been changed'. It seems possible that what we have here is two stages of Gervase's thought on the text which have become confused. The MSS which have the *colore* reading are seen in other places to derive from a slightly different archetype, and we know that Gervase

used at least two working copies in compiling his text. The extant readings seem to be a conflation of *mutato calore*, presumably the earlier because it is a paraphrase of his source, and *mutato colore nativo*, an 'improvement', evidently by Gervase himself because of the almost universal occurrence of *nativo*. The two were combined at an early stage to produce *mutato calore nativo*, as found in the most reliable MSS.

8,15 *et sic eligitur*. (FL) 'and thus it is selected' has been inserted into the text of FL at some stage to explain the method of harvesting. Ger does not include it, but this need not imply that it was not present in his copy of FL because he has already omitted another detail in this section which we know to be an early feature, the underground flight of the snakes.

The Derivatives

Liber Monstrorum

8,3 *serpentes esse perhibentur*. The compiler of LM introduces his characteristic note of scepticism with *esse perhibentur* 'there are said to be'.

8,5 *arietina*. As in Ger, the adjective *arietina* is preferred to *similia arietibus*. There is no evidence that Gervase was acquainted with LM, so this agreement should be seen as coincidental,

arising from a concern with style which is manifest in both texts.

8,9 *incenso loco*. The compiler's predilection for ablative constructions is demonstrated several times in this passage. The verb *fugiunt* (8,10) has become *fugientibus* 'when the snakes flee' and the compiler inserts *flammis labentibus* 'when the flames subside' in 8,11.

Historia de Preliis

8,2 *Et exinde amoto exercitu venit in ...* This is one of the formulae regularly used to incorporate accretions into the narrative.

8,3 *mire magnitudinis*. Size is not mentioned in the extant F-Group texts. Exaggeration of this type is a favourite device of HP in order to enhance Alexander's glory.

8,6 *sicut magni arietis*. Again there is no reference to size in the source.

8,7 *feriebant milites Alexandri*. The verb *percusserint* 'they will pierce through', which can be seen to derive from the common source of both groups, has been modified, as in Ger. HP replaced it with *feriebant* 'they were hitting', changing the tense to fit the narrative. The non-specific object of this action in the source, *hominem*, has been changed

to *milites Alexandri* to draw the material into the narrative.

8,7 *statim*. This appears to echo *cito* (EP, LM and the vernacular versions) but it is not found in any other F-Group texts. It is probably inserted here for dramatic effect.

8,8 The gathering of the pepper, which is of no relevance to Alexander's exploits, is not reproduced.

SECTION 9

This section, which forms a link passage between §8 on the snakes and §10 on the cynocephali appears in all P-Group texts but only in FL among the F-Group texts. Although not treated as a separate section in Mir, it is so treated in a majority of those other MSS which show any consistency in section marking. It has not provided material for any of the derivative texts.

Letter of Pharasmanes

From Babylon

(Readings of the two groups for the second name diverge greatly, but all have some feasibility in terms of geography. P-Group texts give the second name as Persia, in various guises. Mir's *persiam* (Persia Major) and EP's *persidem* (Persis, or Persia Minor) both lie about 2000 stadia from Babylon, to the East and South-East respectively, while Pit's *persidam* is from *Persida*, a form used by Isidore (XIV,iii,8; XIV,iii,11-12; XV,i,8) to describe a region in the vicinity of Aracusia, Parthia, Assyria and Media, thus some 3500 stadia to the North-East of Babylon. Sidonia, a suspect reading in FL because it appears as 'from Babylon through (per) Sidonia', with no ultimate destination, lies due West of Babylon, across the Arabian Desert. In view of the presence of *Sidonia* earlier in the text (6,4FL)

it seems probable that FL's difficult *per Sidonia* is a modification made at a time when word division was weak and under the influence of the earlier reference and that it was one of the forms for Persia, probably one with the stem *persid-* which was found at this point in the earliest Latin version.)

to the state of Persia

(P-Group texts link with the previous passage by saying that this is where the pepper grows.)

is a distance of 300 stadia. These places are infertile on account of the snakes.

Significant Readings

P-Group

9,1 *Babilonia*. All versions agree in reading *Babilonia* at this point, although in the preceding section it had been a variant reading found only in Mir and OE. The geographical detail is somewhat confused, in that 8,2 locates the pepper-guarding snakes by the Red Sea, whereas this section seems to place them by the Persian Gulf, on the other side of the Arabian peninsula. It is likely that the presence of *Babilonia* in this section influenced the change from *Arabia* to *Babilonia* in 8,1.

usque persiam civitatem. (Mir) (For a discussion of the various names for Persia see above.)

Civitatem is probably used in the wider sense of 'state' (FL uses *colonia*), but the vernacular translations both render it as city, *oð persiam þa burh* and *iusques a Perse la chite*.

9,1-2 *Et de Babilone ou li poiures naist iusques a Perse la chite.* (OFr) The order of the phrases is reversed in OFr, which effectively removes the pepper forests from Persia to Babylon. This was presumably changed with the intention of removing the contradiction inherent in the double localisation for the pepper, but unless one of the names is changed (as seems to have been attempted in Mir) little improvement can be made.

9,2 *dccc.* (Mir) The numerals in this passage have suffered extensive corruption and it is impossible to assess the original reading with any certainty. Neither *dccc* stadia (about 90 miles) nor *ccc* stadia (as in Pit and FL, about 35 miles) comes anywhere near the real distances between any of the places named. The agreement between Pit and FL may be coincidental, or it may indicate that *ccc* was present in a common ancestor. Even if the latter were the case, this was not the reading on which the conversion to leagues in the common source of Mir and OFr was based. Using the formula adopted for this conversion, *ccc* stadia gives *cc* leagues,

as in 3,5-6. The figure given in 9,3 for the leagues ranges between 74 (OFr) and $623\frac{1}{2}$ (Mir) and obviously derives from a more complex calculation than two-thirds of 300. Neither of the figures for leagues works back to either of the stadia figures given; Mir's *dcxxiii½* gives *dccccxxv* stadia, OFr's *lxxiv* is way off target and gives *cxv* stadia. It seems likely that Mir's *dccc* stadia was the figure on which the calculations were based, for two-thirds of 800 is 533.33. Fractions other than halves are generally rounded to halves in these texts, so this would give *dcxxiii½*, which differs from Mir's *dcxxiii½* by only one letter.

Mir-B miscopied the figure for leagues and in so doing provided proof of its direct descent from T, for the reason for the omission is evident in the earlier MS. The grey frame of the adjacent illustration has been painted over the last three minims of *dcxxiii* in T (f.79^V), making them barely visible. Probably when the paint was fresh it would have obscured them completely, for it has flaked a little with age. B omits the numbers thus obliterated, reading only *dcxx*. This evidence is fully supported by less striking indications of direct descent at other points in the text.

9,4 *Loca illa sterilia sunt.* (Mir) This expression, which evidently was found in the archetype as it appears in FL as well as in all P-Group texts, seems to be repeating the description of the terrain which in 8,2 was described as *inculto* (although frequently corrupted in P-Group texts). EP's reading *hostilia* in place of *sterilia* is probably the result of straightforward misreading, but there is a possibility that it arose from a feeling that the text as received was unduly repetitive. It is interesting to note that this modification has been made only in EP, the sole P-Group text to preserve *inculta* in 8,2.

F-Group

9,1 *per Sidonia colonia.* (FL) The difficulties in interpreting a distance which is given simply as 'from Babylon through Sidonia', without any final destination, were apparent to the Corrector of FL, who changed the text to *per Sidoniam ad coloniam* 'through Sidonia to the colony'. There are two possible explanations for this problematic reading. The first, which seems the more convincing, is that the P-Group texts which give the name *persidam* (Pit) or *persidem* (EP) best represent the ancestral text, and that it is a reading such as this, giving one of the names for Persia as the ultimate destination, which underlies FL's *per Sidonia*. This would be

quite possible in an early MS with weak word division, and the presence of the name *Sidonia* earlier in the work would have provided a model for a scribe who found the second and third syllables of a word like *persidem* apparently standing alone. This explanation seems to me to be reasonably convincing because so many details of the texts in both groups combine to support it. The second possibility is that the writer did not intend to provide an ultimate destination, that he was not describing the distance between two places but was locating something a certain number of stadia along the road from Babylon which passes through Sidonia. There are a few other instances in FL of distances which are open to interpretation in this way, notably those using present participle forms (often seen by their use in P-Group to be ancestral features of the text) such as *pergentibus* in 6,1-2FL: *A Seleucia autem Babyloniam pergentibus stadia sunt lx.* This could be interpreted '60 stadia from Babylon on the way to Seleucia', although FR chose to take it as the distance between the places named. However, attractive as this explanation might be to those seeking geographical realism in the text, instances of this type are very few. They are restricted to F-Group and none is unambiguous.

SECTION 10

This section on dog-headed men or cynocephali is present in all versions of the *Letter*. Passages based on this description are found in *Liber Monstrorum*, II,14 (under the alternative name given in some P-Group texts, *De conopenis*) and in *Historia de Preliis* J², chapter 119. At the end of this section I have followed the section division of Pit and FR and have allocated the line which in Mir and OFr forms the end of this section to the beginning of §11. The way in which this resolves a crux at that point will be discussed in the commentary on §11.

Letter of Pharasmanes

(F-Group texts begin by telling us that there are neighbouring parts (*vicinales divisiones*) of Seleucia on the right-hand side for those going to the Red Sea.)

In that place are born the cynocephali

(Most P-Group texts add 'which we know as conopoenas'.)

which have the manes of horses. Their teeth are (variously described as 'like those of boars' in P-Group and 'very strong and immense' in F-Group.)

They have heads like dogs

(This is specified only in P-Group, but must have

formed part of the original description, as it is the one essential characteristic of these creatures.)

and they breathe out fire. This state (F-Group 'is closely connected with neighbouring regions' (*vicinali divisione*, see also 10,2); P-Group says that the neighbouring state is rich (*vicina dives*) and is full of all good things.

Analogues

The cynocephali were among the best-known of the marvellous races of the East, and references to them are found in writings as early as the fifth century B.C. (Ctesias and Megasthenes, see Bohlen, *Das Alte Indien*, I,69). Later accounts are very common. In the more scientific writings the name *cynocephali* is applied to baboons or dog-faced monkeys, and it is in this sense that it is used by Pliny (*Natural History*, VI,29 (35) 184 and VIII,54 (80) 216). The idea of the dog-headed man also survived, and gained great currency with the belief that St. Christopher was a cynocephalus, (see P. Saintyves, 'St. Christophe Successeur d'Anubis, d'Hermès, et d'Héraclès', *Revue Anthropologique*, 45, 1935). *Liber Monstrorum* gives two descriptions of the cynocephali, one in II,14 under the name *conopenis* which is based on the description in the *Letter* and

one in I,16 which is similar to the account in Isidore XI,iii,15.

The name *conopoenas*, which the P-Group texts give as an alternative, is first recorded in Tertullian (*Apologia*, VIII, see G. Rauschen, *Florilegium Patrioticum*, fasc. IV, p.33) in the form *cynopennae*.

Two features characterise the description of the cynocephali given in the *Letter*, the horses' manes and the fiery breath, and although these appear in several writings which post-date the *Letter* I have not found any classical sources with these details. Jacobus de Vitriaco (who died in 1240) follows the tradition of the *Letter* in *Historia Orientalis*, 88 (Douai, 1597, p. 185):

*sunt praeterea Cynocephali, cervicem equinam cum
immensis corporibus habentes, flammis, quas ex
ore aspirant, homines perimentes.*

besides, there are the Cynocephali, who have equine necks together with huge bodies. They destroy men with flames which they breathe out of their mouths.

The reference to great size and the omission of the dog-like heads indicate that this derives from an F-Group text.

Significant Readings

P-Group

10,1-2 *canis cenonulli homines vel bestiae quaedam vel verius homines mixti.* (EP) This very long gloss, which in EP replaces both of the names for the creatures, indicates that the glossator, at whatever stage in the transmission of the text he may have been working, was very uncertain of the nature of these monsters. It means roughly 'dog-like men, or some sort of wild animals, or really hybrid men', and the strange word *cenonulli* seems to echo *cenocephali*, which it replaces.

10,1 *cenophale.* (OFr) This form of the OFr *cynocephale* is not attested elsewhere and may derive from a Latin version which had already lost *-ce-*. (Compare *cenonulli* above, and the variation between the names *lertices* and *celestices* in §17.)

10,2 *quos nos conopenas appellamus.* (Mir) The provision of a second name is better justified in Pit, where the retention of the epistolary framework allows the first name to be that used by the writer and the second that which will be better known to the recipient (*quos Conopenras appellatis*). Mir's *appellamus* seems to be a modification made after the removal of the epistolary context - the superfluous

pronoun *nos* was probably added at the same time.
OE gives a straightforward passive construction,
þa syndon hatene conopenas, thus sidestepping the
issue, and OFr omits the second name altogether.

10,3 *habentes iubas equorum*. (Mir, EP) Pit
replaces *iubas* 'mane' with *comas* 'hair', the precise
word chosen by Gervase for his interlinear gloss.
This detail, together with the tusks, is omitted in
OFr.

10,4 *eoferes tuxas*. (OE) Here, as in 22,3, *aprorum
dentes* is translated as 'tusks', not 'teeth'.
This detail is omitted in OFr and EP, and is not
included in the description in LM.

10,3-4 *quorum capita canina sunt*. (EP) It is
odd that EP, which has already described the
homines mixti as *cum capitibus canum* (10,3) should
have taken such care to clarify the statement *canina
capita* which appears in the other texts. *Quorum*
may be a partial echo of *equorum*, which it follows.
There is a similar construction in 15,3EP, where
EP has added *sunt* to read *quorum capita sunt leonum*.
Quorum in that instance is a corruption of an earlier
equorum.

10,5 7 *heora orod̃ bið swylce fyres leg*. (OE) This
represents Mir's *ignem et flammam flantes* 'blowing
fire and flame', and is very freely translated. EP's

ignium flammās 'flames of fire', on the other hand, seems to correspond directly to the OE rendering. It is most unlikely that this reading was in Mir at the time of the translation, as Mir agrees with Pit. OFr also needed to modify the text to produce a good reading, and has transformed the verb *flantes* into the noun *alainnes*: *et ont alainnes de flamme*.

10,6-7 The last section of this description is lacking in Pit as it is in FR.

10,7 *omnibus bonis plena*. (Mir) This phrase, which has already been used in 6,4P, probably was found in this form in the archetype. Mir is the only text to preserve it in uncorrupted state at this point. EP's *hominum plena bonis* 'filled with the good things of men' is similar to the corruption found in that text in 6,4, where the same phrase is rendered as *plena est hominibus bonis* 'is full of good men'. A similar modification has occurred in the text of Ger here.

F-Group

10,1 *de equicenofalis*. (Ger) The mis-spelling in this rubric is not reproduced in the body of the text. It is found in this form in MS Vat. Lat. 933 and a few other MSS, but most have a more accurate reading.

10,3 *quinocophali*. (FL) There is frequent confusion between dog-heads and horse-heads in descriptions of the cynocephali and the spelling of the name given in FL demonstrates how such confusion arose. FR gives the historically correct form, with MC reading *cunocephali* and the three later MSS *cynocephali*. Ger, however, opts for the other interpretation, easy enough when the head is described only as having an equine mane, and calls them *equinocefali*. The same change occurs, presumably independently, in the OFr versions of hP and is discussed below.

10,4 *iubas*. (FLCor) The original reading of FL, *iube*, is untenable because *habentes* requires an accusative. Gervase himself, in MS Vat. Lat. 933 of Ger, added an interlinear gloss *.i. comas* above *iubas*. This gloss agrees with the substitution made in Pit (10,3Pit) and, incidentally, by referring to hair instead of manes, reinforces the impression that these creatures have horses' heads, as implied in the change of name.

10,5 *validissimis*. (FL, FR) This adjective, which originally referred to the teeth (*validissimis et immensis dentibus*) as is shown by the agreement in case, was understood at various times to refer to the cynocephali themselves. Ger has changed

the ending to nominative plural (*validissimi*), leaving only the second adjective to qualify the teeth. FL has a more ambiguous reading, for the adjectives are left unchanged, agreeing with *dentibus*, but the present participle in the following line, which clearly refers to the creatures and not their teeth, *inspirantibus* 'breathing', is in the ablative plural, agreeing with *validissimis*.

10,6 *flammas spirantes*. (FR) FR and Ger agree in using *spirantes* without a prefix, and the Corrector of FL, who does not make any change to the ending of this word (see preceding note) deletes the prefix *in-*, the sense of which is normally intensifying ('to blow' rather than 'to breathe') and not directional, 'to breathe in'.

10,7-8 *Ubi vicinali divisione coheret civitas omnibus plena*. (FL) This final sentence, which appears to mean 'where a city full of everything adjoins the neighbouring region', is difficult both to interpret and to relate to the rest of the passage. Ger made an emendation to *hominibus plena* (a similar change in EP is discussed above) but this is no great help in restoring the sense. *Vicinali divisione*, which so closely echoes *vicinales divisiones* in 10,2F, is probably based on P-Group's *civitas vicina dives*, and may have been rewritten to agree with the earlier

line after some accident had befallen the text. Similarly, *omnibus plena* is best explained as a corrupt form of *omnibus bonis plena*, a phrase which survives intact only in Mir.

FR omits 10,7-8. This is probably an independent development which may be due to the editorial suppression of geographical data which is seen elsewhere in the text. Other possible reasons are the deliberate omission of obscure or confusing passages, or even accidental damage to an exemplar such as may have given rise to the difficulties in FL. The omission is directly paralleled in Pit, but it is difficult to see how common loss could have occurred in two texts which are otherwise so remotely related.

Derivatives 1

Liber Monstrorum

10,1 in *Perside*. The location is taken from 9,1-2, *ad persidem ubi* (EP). 89 is not otherwise drawn on by LM.

fingunt esse. The use of *fingo* 'invent; fabricate' implies absolute disbelief. For the earlier passage on the cynocephali (I,16) LM uses the verb *perhibeo*, which does not introduce the same element of scepticism.

10,3 *sub caninis capitibus*. The Rosanbo MS of LM (now Pierpont Morgan Library MS 906) reads *asinis* in place of *caninis*, providing yet another independent illustration of the confusion between dog and horse in the folklore of the animal-headed men.

10,5 *et ore naribusque*. This detail has been added to the description, presumably on the assumption that *flantes*, changed in LM to *expirant*, contains the idea 'by the mouth and the nose'.

Historia de Preliis

10,1 *Deinde amoto exercitu castra metatus est in loco in quo ...* The passage is set in the narrative by means of one of the standard formulae.

10,3 *kynokephali*. This form of the name, although the spelling is unusual, recognisably belongs to the dog-head group. The Stockholm MS of HP (Hilka, part 2, p.164) gives the ambiguous reading *quinoquephali*, which appears as *quinokefailles* in the OFr translation of HP (Hilka, *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman ...*, Halle, 1920, p.234), and this translation presents an image of horses' heads by changing *cervices similes equorum* (10,4, where *cervices* appears to be a gloss on *iubas*) to *testes samblables a cheval*.

10,5 *et corpora maxima*. The source may, like Ger, have attributed great strength to the cynocephali or possibly, like FL, it appeared to do so (see the note to 10,5 above) but the emphasis on their size is probably an innovation in HP. This text frequently exaggerates the size and strength of the foes of Alexander in order to enhance his achievement in overcoming them.

10,6 *ex ore aspirantes*. HP, like LM, has chosen to specify the orifice from which the flames appear, but, unlike LM, has restricted them to the mouth.

SECTION 11

This passage on the ichthiophagoi is present in all versions of the *Letter*. LM has two passages dealing with this topic, I,18 (*De Barbosis Hominibus*) which is drawn from this section of the *Letter* and I,15 (*De Hominibus Setosis*) which follows the *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle* (see Analogues).

The section division followed in this edition is that of F-Group texts and Pit. A full discussion of this is given in the notes to 11,1-2 below.

Letter of Pharasmanes

Heading to the right towards Egypt the traveller
encounters an island

(P-Group texts no longer read *insula*; the evidence that this was present in P-Group at an earlier stage is discussed in the note to 11,2.)

where men are born whose height is

(In F-Group they are simply described as *longi*. The heights given in P-Group texts vary, with Mir reading *vi* and EP, Pit and OFr reading *ii*.)

Their beards grow down to their knees

(An innovation in Mir and OE, probably under the influence of the picture cycle, gives them shoulder-length hair.)

Their name is

(Variants of *homodubii* in P-Group, glossed in EP and OFr as 'dwarfs', *homunculi* and *hommales*. The F-Group names derive from the historically correct name for a race of fish-eaters and are variants of *ichthiophagi*.)

They eat raw fish.

Analogues

The Ichthiophagi are one of the well-established races of wild men. Isidore, whose description is based on two references by Solinus (54,3 and 56,9), depicts them in *Etymologiae* IX,ii,131 as:

Ichthyophagi quod venando in mari valeant, et piscibus tantum alantur. Hi post Indos montanas regiones tenent, quos subactos Alexander Magnus piscibus vesci prohibuit.

Ichthiophagi, because they excel at hunting in the sea and they live on nothing but fish. They occupy the mountainous regions beyond India; after Alexander the Great had conquered them he prohibited the eating of fish.

The Vulgate *Epistola Alexandri* (ed. Kübler, p.207, l.1ff.) provided another version, also used by the compiler of LM. An examination of the handling of these two passages in LM provides an interesting glimpse of the compiler at work. There is no evident connection between the two; no link, such as *Iterum* which is used to introduce the second passage on the Scylla (I,12B in the Rosanbo MS).

However, the compiler certainly did associate the two, for in four of the five MSS the passage from the *Letter* ends with a line from *Epistola Alexandri*, retaining its proper ending only in MS BL Royal 15 Bxix.

Epistola Alexandri

Primo deinde aurore diluculo in alias indiae prefecti sumus regiones. Nam in campo patienti mulieres virosque pilosos in modum ferarum toto corpore vidimus pedum alteriores octo sine veste nudos. Hos indi ictifanos appellant. Hii magis assueti fluminibus nec non stagno quam terris erant crudo pisce tantummodo & aquarum haustu viventes. Quos cum videre vellemus, vicinis Ebimaridis fluminis vivise mersere verticibus.

Then at first light we found ourselves in command over other regions of India. For in the open plain

(emending *patienti*, 'suffering, enduring' which qualifies *campo* or *nos* to *patienti* 'accessible, visible'.)

we saw men and women, their whole bodies hairy like animals, taller than eight feet, naked, with no clothing. The Indians call them *ictifanos*. They were more accustomed to rivers or even to stagnant water than to dry land, for they live on nothing but raw fish and a draught of water. When we wanted to see them, they submerged themselves alive into the neighbouring rivers of Ebimaridis up to their heads.

The OE translation of this passage (Rypins, p.33; f.115
1.2-5) includes details which have been adopted by Mir:

*7 wæpned men wæron hie swa ruw 7 cwa gehæte swa
wildeor wæron hie nigon fota uplonge 7 hie wæron þa
men nacod 7 hie næniges hrægles ne gimdon.*

and armed men, they were as rough and as hairy as
wild animals, they were nine feet tall and the men
were naked and they did not bother with any clothes.

Liber Monstrorum, I,15

Et in india iuxta oceanum

*pilosum toto corpore quoddam genus hominum didicimus,
qui in naturali nuditate setis tantum more ferino
contecti, crudis cum aqua piscitus ita vivere
dicuntur. Quos Indi ictiferos appellant. Qui
non terris tantum, sed fluminibus ac stagnis, et
iuxta amnem Epigmaridem maxime demorantur.*

And in India, by the ocean, we rumour that there
is a certain race of men whose whole bodies are
covered in hair. They, with their natural nakedness
hidden by hair in the manner of wild animals, are
said to live on raw fish and water. The Indians
call them *ictiferos*.

(Thus MS Wolfenbüttel Gud. Lat. 148, the readings
of the other MSS diverge)

They spend their time not only on land but in
rivers and stagnant waters and mostly near the
river Epigmaris.

Significant Readings

P-Group

11,1 *dexteriore parte ducitur illa terra ab aegypto.*

(Mir) There are several difficulties in the way of accepting the position accorded to this line in Mir and OE, where it comes at the end of the preceding passage. *In aliqua* (11,2) is separated from the only possible antecedent in the text as it stands (a separation which probably caused the emendation from *qua* as in Pit to *aliqua*) and the realignment offers no solution to either of the problems in this line, the absence of a subject for *ducitur* and the precise direction in relation to Egypt. (See below for full discussion of both these points.) Mir-T gives a reading which was found unsatisfactory by both the translator and the scribe of Mir-B. The former sidestepped the difficulties, reading simply *þæt is suð healfe ægiptna landes* (OE-T, 'which is the southern half of the land of Egypt'). OE-V varies this slightly, with *þæt is on þa suð healfe egyptana landes*, 'which is on the southern side of the land of Egypt'. It seems clear that, whatever the problems of the text, those MSS which treat this localisation as the lead-in to a new section are following the practice of the *Letter* more closely than those which treat it as the conclusion of

the previous paragraph.

sud (OE) The OE translation regularly uses *sud* 'south' to translate *dexter*. *Dexter*, in referring to mediaeval maps with their orientation to the east, does in fact mean 'south', for the south then appears on the right-hand side of the map. The *Letter*, however, seems to have been visualised in terms of the traveller on the ground facing a particular direction, in which case *dexter* and *sinister* mean simply 'right' and 'left', not necessarily 'south' and 'north'. This is one of the instances where this interpretation fits the geographical facts rather better than the map-based interpretation. The previous sections have taken us along a route which leads roughly north-south from Babylon to Persia. To continue to the south brings us to the Arabian peninsula or the Arabian Sea by modern Pakistan. Turning right from this hypothetical route, however, we travel due west, and eventually reach Egypt, the location of the next wonder.

ducitur. (Mir) The three texts which preserve this line, Mir, Pit and FL, all have a form of the verb *duco*, apparently lacking a subject. Pit and FL read *ducent*, corrected in the latter to *ducens*.

Interpretations have been made of this line based on the assumption that *ducent* requires an animate subject,

and the association, in some texts at least, with the previous section have caused one editor (Gibb, pp.142-143) to suggest that it was originally the cynocephali which made their way to Egypt. However, *duco* has already been used in a directional sense in 8,3FL (*Arabia ... ducens ad Mare rubrum*) and the reading in 11,1 is probably another example of this directional use, this time without a named subject. Such a use of *duco*, although by no means uncommon, obviously presented difficulties of interpretation. In the earlier passage, 8,2P implies, by the addition of *hi* (Mir) and by the omission of one line in Pit, that the subject of *ducunt* is the animate *onagri* of 7,7. In 11,1 probably not too much significance should be attached to the apparent use of the future form *ducent* in both Pit and FL, as it may well arise from an abbreviated ending wrongly expanded. The passive form *ducitur* in Mir can probably be attributed to a similar cause. It has been explained (Gibb, p.142) as an example of the unusual use of *duco* in the sense 'to think, to reckon'. The advantage of this interpretation is that the OE translation, which otherwise appears to be free handling of a difficult passage, can be seen as a very slightly modified rendering of the Latin, 'is said to be' changed to 'is'. The disadvantage of this interpretation is that, while it may indeed be how the OE translator

understood the Latin text, the use of *duco* in this sense in Classical Latin normally requires an accusative and infinitive construction, that 'to be' is not contained within the sense of the verb.

ab aegypto. (Mir) The direction in which 'it leads' presents a further difficulty. Pit (*in Aegyptum*) and FL (*ad aegyptum*), 'into/towards Egypt' contradict Mir's *ab aegypto*. The geographical facts (discussed earlier in the commentary on this section) together with the normal practice, especially in works presented in the style of itineraries, of following a natural progression from one place to the next indicate that *ab* is likely to be a corruption in Mir.

11,2 *In aliqua.* (Mir) These words mark the beginning of the ninth section in the texts of Mir. (In Mir-T I has been masked by the repair made to the edge of the page, but the tip of the green rubricated letter is visible from the verso.) *Aliqua* is an emendation, a change made to *qua* (as in Pit) after the loss of its antecedent. Although Mir in 11,1 reads *illa terra*, which seems a likely antecedent for *qua*, there is strong evidence that the original antecedent was *insula*. Although this word does not occur in any of the P-Group texts at this point, all the texts of F-Group read *hinc ad insulam in qua* ... Furthermore, at the beginning of the following section (12,1) both

Pit and OFr refer to an island, in Pit it is even 'the same island', *in eadem insula*.

Both OE and Mir-B have felt the need to emend the peculiar reading, itself an emendation, *In aliqua*.

OE seems to accept the suggestion that *illa terra* provides the antecedent, and reads *On sumon lande*.

Mir-B probably based its emended reading on that of OE, for there is ample evidence that its solutions to cruces are based on those of the translation. For *lande* it reads *regione*; *In alia regione*.

11,2 *statura pedum vi*. (Mir) Mir and OE are the only texts which give the height of these men as six feet. The other P-Group texts all describe them as long-bearded dwarfs, a mere two-feet high. Confusion between *ii* and *vi* is common; a numeral followed by a word made up of minims (such as *in*, which follows the expanded numeral *binorum* in EP) would be particularly susceptible to such rewriting.

The reading of Mir and OE is supported, on the face of it, by both the picture cycle and the reading *homines longi* in FL and FR 11,2-3. The illustrations in the English MSS show the ichthiophagos as a well-built man of normal proportions (see plate 3).

This corresponds to the height as given in Mir. If this were to represent the ancestral reading of the P-Group texts, there would be significant implications

for the stemma, because it would indicate that Mir and OE represented a textual tradition which branched off from the main P-Group tradition before this corruption from *vi* to *ii* arose. However, support from the picture cycle is not to be relied upon; later in this very section (11,5) Mir and OE include a detail (*comas usque ad talos*, 'hair down to their ankles') which, while corresponding exactly to the picture cycle in T, is totally unsupported by the other texts. There are other such details of colour and physical description throughout the text of Mir which have every appearance of being added to Mir on the basis of the illustrations.

The support, or apparent support, from the readings of FL and FR must also be treated with caution.

In these texts there is no numeral, simply the phrase *homines longi*. This phrase could mean 'tall men', which would support Mir. It could equally be what is left after a numeral expressing their height was omitted in a common ancestor, and whether that numeral expressed an abnormally short height (as in the other P-Group texts) or an above-average height (as in Mir) cannot now be assessed. A third possibility is suggested by the emendation made in FL by the Corrector - he emended *longi* to *longas*, qualifying *barbas*. The agreement between FL and FR in reading

longi makes this unlikely. In all, the apparent support for the reading of Mir turns out to be too insubstantial to outweigh the evidence on the stemma which can be deduced from other points in the text. *vi* must be seen, therefore, as a late modification in Mir, which developed in conjunction with the picture cycle.

11,4 *barbas*. (Mir) The texts usually closer to the original version of the *Letter* use the plural *barbas* (Mir, Pit, EP, FL and the earlier MSS of FR). This is in agreement with the practice adopted by writers such as Solinus (30,8: *Cynomolgos aiunt habere caninos rictus* ('dog-like open mouths', acc. pl.) *et prominula ora* ('prominent mouths' acc. pl.)). The later copies of the text, and those editors who were concerned with imposing their own style on the material they handled (FR, MSS M and P, LM and Ger) all follow the practice adopted in modern French of using the singular for an item of which each person has only one, hence *barbam*. The Old French translation uses a plural, *et leur pendent leur barbes*.

11,5 *comas usque ad talos*. (Mir) This detail, which is found only in Mir and OE, derives almost certainly from the picture cycle, which depicts these creatures as having exceptionally long hair. This long hair, which in the illustration covers the man's nakedness,

and the abnormal height attributed to these men in Mir (but nowhere else) both agree with the description given in the *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle*, particularly in the version used for the Old English translation of that *Letter* which follows *Wonders* in the Vitellius MS. 11,6 *homodubii*. (Mir) Two different words are used in the OE versions to render *homodubii*. OE-V uses a literal translation, *twimen*, not known elsewhere. (*Twi-* and *twy-* has sometimes been seen by editors as the numeral 'two', meaning 'double' (cf. Gibb, p.144) but it derives from *tweo*, 'doubt'.) OE-T uses *twyllice*, the word used to translate *homodubii* in both MSS in 25,4. This latter word is used by other writers to express a similar concept (e.g. by Ælfric in *Grammar*, 6,6, where *dubii generis* is glossed *twyllices cynnes*). EP gives two forms of the name. The first is *cenodubii*, which appears to be comprised of the first element of *canis cenonulli* (the only name given in EP for the cynocephali) and the second element of *homodubii*, the form found in Mir. The second name given in EP is in the form of a gloss, *id est homunculi*. *Homunculus* 'dwarf' does not mean the same as *homodubii*, but it does provide an accurate description of the men depicted in this version of the text. It was probably a Latin word such as this which lay before the OFr translator, who calls them *hommeles*.

Homines Durci (Pit) seems to have been corrected by a grammatically conscious scribe from *homo* to *homines*, to correspond with the plural verb and adjective.

11,7 *manducant*. (Mir; Pit) A post-classical derivative of *mando* 'to devour', *manduco* has overtones of gluttony which are inappropriate to the restricted diet described here.

hy lifiað 7 þa etap. (OE) The use of two words to translate one is not, in this instance, an example of the translator's favoured device of pairing synonyms, for the words have distinct meanings. The translator seems rather to be trying to express two aspects of what he saw to be the meaning of *manduco* in an attempt to achieve a satisfactory translation.

11,8 *lesquels il prenent en le riviere de Caves*.

(OFr) This line has been transferred to this section from the beginning of the following section, either by the OFr translator or an earlier scribe copying the Latin text, in an attempt to resolve a difficulty in 12,1.

F-Group

11,1 *ducent*. (FL) In this passage, the verb with no named subject which caused so many difficulties in P-Group (see above) has been subjected to modification both in Ger and by the corrector of FL. The latter

made a simple, but effective, emendation to the present participle *ducens*, whereas the former rewrote completely as *descenditur*.

11,3 *homines longi*. (FL, FR) Comparison with P-Group, where the height of this race of men is specified in all texts except LM, indicates that this reading is probably a fairly loyal representation of the archetype. FLCor made a wrong, but understandable, emendation to *longas*, assuming that *longi* was intended to qualify *barbas*. The phrase is omitted altogether in Ger.

11,4 *barbas*. (FL; FR- MC & C) The divergence between use of the singular *barbam* (as in FR-M & P and Ger) and the plural *barbas* for a physical characteristic of which many people each possess one has been discussed above in the note to 11,4P.

11,5 *idtofagi*. (FL) The texts show many variants of *ichthiophagi*, including the very close reading *iethiophagi* in FR-P, which probably owes its accuracy to late correction. The word is readily available in encyclopaedic works (e.g. Solinus, 54,3; 56,9; Isidore, IX,ii,131). FR-MC's *indiophagi* could easily have developed from a form similar to FL's *idtofagi*; it would need only a nasal stroke (possibly developing from a punctuation mark such as appears to be present under the damp stain in the MS of FL), misreading of

t as *i* and substitution of *ph* for *f* (or *vice versa*, the graphs are interchangeable in words of Greek origin). It could, on the other hand, almost as easily have arisen from a near-correct reading, as in FR-P. This would require confusion of *th* with *nd*, which is less likely palaeographically but not impossible. The other MSS of FR both read *th*. FR-M shows a contracted form, *ithiogi*, while FR-C has confusion of *g* with *li* (a likely error in a hand using a Beneventan ligature for *li* which links the base of the *l* to the top of a long-*i*) producing *ithiophalii*. Ger's *idrofagi* might be a straightforward script confusion of *t* and *r* (the form in the MS of FL looks very like this but in fact reads *idtofagi*). Alternatively, it could be due to (or influenced by) the explanation his text gives for the name, *quia pisces comedunt* 'because they eat fish'. The Greek ὕδρο- (*hydr-* or *idr-*) 'water' provides a connection with the fish.

11,6 *vescuntur*. (FL; FR) *Vescor* 'to feed on' normally takes the ablative (as in LM's *crudis piscibus vescuntur*) rather than the accusative as in FL and FR's *pisces enim crudos vescuntur*.

The Derivatives

Liber Monstrorum

11,1;3 *in cuiusdam eremi vasta latitudine*. Editors of LM have accepted the reading *vasta solitudine*, which is found only in MS R. The desert (*eremi*) refers back to the *inculta loca* of 8,2, restated as *loca sterilia* in 9,4. (Neither of these phrases appears in LM at these points.) It is perhaps the compiler's choice of *heremi* 'desert' in preference to the many synonyms (*loca deserta*; even *solitudo* and *vastitas* can be used with the meaning 'desert') which influenced the emendation. *Latitudine*, although a modification of the wording found in P-Group texts has changed the sense almost beyond recognition, can be shown, by comparison with the other texts, to be the reading closest to that received. All texts, except Ger and the emendation made by FLCor, agree in mentioning the height of this race, between a localisation (present in LM as *in oriente*, 11,1) and the information that their beards are knee-length (LM *barbam usque ad genua pertingentem habent*, 11,4) and that their diet consists of fish (LM *et crudis piscibus vescuntur*, 11,7) It is in this position, where all other texts either specify height or read *longi* that LM reads *latitudine*. It is possible that during transmission the idea of height (*homines ...*

vasta longitudine?) became clouded and *longitudine* was changed to *latitudine*. (This very change has taken place in LM I,15, where four MSS read *latitudinis* against MS B *longitudinis*.) Once this change had been made the dimension would easily have been transferred from the men (for whom it was now no longer appropriate) to the object mentioned immediately before this word, *eremi* 'the desert'. Subsequent emendation to *solitudine* needed no more than a scribe for whom the word *eremi* conveyed less the idea of sandy wastes than of a home for hermits (*eremita*). The concept most closely linked with hermits is not vast breadth but isolation, *solitudine*.

11,3 *ut perhibent*. The degree of scepticism expressed here is not as strong as in other places, but the compiler of LM is prepared to take no responsibility for the information which he passes on as hearsay, 'as they say'.

11,6 LM does not give any name for these creatures, which probably means that there was no satisfactory name in the version of the *Letter* which provided his source, for, as one would expect of a work of that kind, LM gives names for the creatures described wherever possible.

11,7 *vescuntur*. The agreement with FL and FR must be coincidental. On the ablative construction see note on 11,6F above.

SECTION 12

This long passage on the gold-digging ants and the stratagem by which they are deprived of their gold is present in all versions of the *Letter*. A brief reference is made to these ants in a very disparaging manner in LM II,16, in which the story is totally discredited. The account given in the *Letter* is borrowed at length by *Historia de Preliis*, J² chapter 119. Thomas of Cantimpré gives a full description of them in IX,23; he cites Isidore, Adelinus and Pliny as his sources.

Letter of Pharasmanes

In the same island (*in eadem insula*)

(Although the P-Group texts lack the earlier mention of an island, Pit and OFr *en chele isle* agree with F-Group in this reading and LM also inherited a reference to an island, *in quadam ... insula*.)

there is a river named Gargarus.

(Mir and OFr are complicated by the presence of an alternative name for the river, *Capi* or *Cabes* - which may be an early feature because it resembles the name *Campilinus* given to this river by Aelian, *Nat. Anim.*, III,4. In OFr this superfluous name has been moved back to the end of the previous section.)

Ants live there.

(F-Group names them *myrmidones*.)

They are the size of dogs

(P-Group texts read *statura canum* and a comparison with dogs is frequent in the analogues. F-Group texts say that they are as big as cats (*magnitudine catulorum*.)

with six feet

(which F-Group texts describe as 'centrally placed', *centrios* (a post-classical word glossed by Ger) or *cintras*.)

like lobsters (*locustae marinae*)

(F-Group texts also give them teeth like those of dogs.)

They are black

(Mir adds 'and red', a late addition based on the colours used for the picture cycle.)

and they dig up gold (*aurum fodiunt*) by night.

(The next detail appears only in the F-Group texts. As it ends with an almost identical phrase to that just given, the loss of this passage in P-Group texts is probably due to haplography in the common source. It is likely to have been in the earliest version of the *Letter* because the ferocity of these ants is a frequently described characteristic in other accounts and because it is this ferocity which explains the need for such an elaborate, and costly, stratagem.)

When they sight a man or animal they devour it to

the bone and they are so fleet of foot (*velocissima
in cursu*) that they seem to be flying (*ut putes eas
volare*). They are underground and dig up the gold
(P-Group texts pick up the story again at this point)
until the fifth hour of the day.

Men who seek to take away their gold do it in the
following way. They take some camels, both males
and some females with calves, and tie the calves
up on the far bank of the river.

(The next step appears only in F-Group)

The men cross the river with the adult camels
and when they reach the place

(P-Group texts pick up the story again at this point)
they load the gold onto the female camels and these
hurry back to their young (*ille ... ad pullos/filios
festinantes*)

(This is the point at which the account has suffered
greatest confusion. The female camels, which are the
men's means of escape after stealing the gold, have
already, apparently, been sent back. This confusion
must have arisen early, because it is present in all
texts. The earliest *Letter* may have given the
ability of the females to rush back to their young as
a justification for loading the gold onto them and
not onto the males, but by the time of the split into
two groups occurred this future intention was

stated as accomplished fact. The different versions coped with this contradiction in several ways:

F-Group: When the men see the column of ants in pursuit, they abandon the male camels and flee to the river, which they cross as if flying (*volanter*) with the female camels.

P-Group: (Mir) the male camels stay behind there.

(EP, OFr) the men stay there with the male camels.

(All texts continue)

The ants discover the male camels and devour them.

(The conclusions vary slightly)

P-Group: This allows the men and the female camels to cross the river. They are so fast that they appear to be flying (*ut putes eos volare*).

F-Group: This renders the ants incapable of crossing the river. That is how gold comes to us from that province.

Analogues

The legend of the gold-digging ants is an ancient one, found in Herodotus (III, 102-105) (fifth century B.C.). Strabo (XV, 1, 44) drew the story from Nearchus and Megasthenes. The legend was a popular one, and accounts are frequent. Later Christian writers provided allegorical interpretations, equating *formica* 'ant' with 'hard worker' and *aurum* 'gold' with 'faith, eternal life'. These are the interpretations put on

these words by writers such as Melito of Sardis (*Clavis*, ed. J.B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, 2, 1884, repr. 1966, pp. 77 and 104.) The interpretation of the ant story given by Rabanus (*De Universo*, VIII,3) and others is that the ants symbolise those who prepare for the Day of Judgement through virtue or good works. The rest of the story and the fact that the ants lose their gold in the end is conveniently suppressed.

Many different locations are attributed to these ants. Aelian (XVII,42) makes them natives of Babylonia; Isidore in his main entry on them (XII,iii,9) puts them in Ethiopia, but in XVI,xv,7 refers to *India, ubi formicae eruunt aurum*. Solinus (30,23) places them in Ethiopia, *iuxta nigrum fluvium*.

The analogues contain few place names resembling those in the *Letter*. Several accounts include a river as a crucial detail, for once the men have crossed the river they are safe, the ants will not cross it. In Aelian (III,4) this river is named *Campilinus*. The *Gargarus* names are not otherwise linked with the gold-digging ants, and are known only in texts which might have drawn on the *Letter*. *Gargarus* is one of the two names from the *Letter* found in Probus (*Catholica*, ed. Keil, pp. 22, 28, 196); this is examined in detail in the Introduction, under *Date of Composition*. The Gorgades Islands, home

of the Gorgon are frequently referred to as *Gorgones insulae*. (One such example is in the Spanish *Semeianca del Mundo*, ed. W.E. Bull and H.F. Williams, 1959, §137.) *Gorgoneus* is the name given to the river in Mir, and in at least one instance this has been confused with the *Gorgones insulae*. There is a map in the twelfth century MS BL Additional 10049, which follows the text of Jerome's *De nominibus locorum*. In the Red Sea is an island, labelled *Gorgones insula*, on which are two rivers, *Capi fl.* and *Gargala fl.* The first of these names is that given in 12,1Mir; the second is closer to the reading of OFr (*gargalo*) in 12,13 where Mir reads *gargulum*. The MS containing this map was in Tournai at some stage of its history and Miller (K. Miller, *Mappae Mundi*, 1895-98, 3, pp.13-21) suggests, on palaeographic grounds, that it was written in that region.

In describing the physical features of these ants most analogues agree that they are the size of dogs (*ad formam canis maximi*, Solinus, 30,23) and that they use their feet to dig the gold. These feet are described by Solinus as leonine (*pedibus ... quos leoninos habent*). Their ferocity is widely reported, Isidore, following Solinus, tells of the gold nuggets they dig up

quas custodiunt ne quis auferat, captantesque ad necem persequuntur.

which they guard lest anyone should carry it off,
anyone they seize they pursue to a violent death.

The ruse by which the gold can be captured is more commonly described by Greek writers than by Latin ones. (It was probably this which made it possible for Rabanus and others to allegorise the story without reference to the fact that the ants are ultimately cheated out of their gold.) Herodotus explains the use of the foal as an incentive to make the mare hurry back. Aelian (*Nat. Anim.* VI,48) gives another example of this use of newly-foaled mares. Darius took such mares into battle with him and reserved them until his army faced defeat, whereupon he used a mare to effect his escape.

The legend of the gold-digging ants and the camels was known to the Anglo-Saxons, for they appear in a prognostication in Bodleian MS Junius 23, f. 149^v (ed. T.O. Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England*, London, 1866):

... Gyf þy þryddan dæg swiðe scyneað, betweoh earmum
mannum mycel gefeoht byð, and betweoh cynigum and
rycum mannum micel sib. Gyf þy .iiii. dæge swiðe
scyneað, þonne þa oðfenda mycel gold oðberað þan
ætmettum þa þone goldhord healden scolden. Gyf
þy .v. dæge ...

... If the sun shines on the third day (of Christmas) then there shall be a great fight among poor men and abundant peace between kings and powerful men. If the sun shines on the fourth day, then the camels shall bear off much gold from the ants which had to guard the gold-hoard. If on the fifth day ...

Significant Readings

P-Group

12,1 *Capi fluvius in eodem loco appellatur gorgoneus.*

(Mir) The two names apparently given to one and the same river, *Capi* and *Gorgoneus* (or variants) have caused problems to mediaeval and modern editors alike. Pit's *Est ibi* in place of *Capi* (or possibly *Cabi*, OFr *Cabes*) offers a tempting solution. Pit's reading has two attractions; it makes excellent sense, with no need for emendation, and it is very similar to F-Group's *est enim fluvius* and *est autem flumen*. However, the resemblance between *Capi* and Aelian's *Campilinus* is too close for it to be likely that *Capi* is the product of accidental change. Furthermore, it is not easy to see why so simple a phrase as *Est ibi* should have become corrupted in this way, unless it formed part of an elaborate illuminated initial or derived from a damaged text. It is conceivable that an illuminated *E* for *est* could be read as *C*, and it is interesting to note that the OFr MS has only one illustration for the whole text - an illuminated initial

at the very beginning which depicts the harvesting of pepper by burning the trees (§8) and the camels taking gold from the ants (§12). These illustrations are in the upper and lower registers respectively of a large historiated capital H.

EP offers no information on the reading here, because, as so often, it omits the beginning of the section.

The changed section division in OFr, whereby the river *Cabes* becomes the place where the *hommeles* of §11 catch the fish they eat, is a clever response, probably by the translator, to the problem of fish with no source followed by one river with two names.

in eodem loco. (Mir) Pit's *in eadem insula* is shown, by the identical reading in F-Group, to represent the ancestral reading. It thus proves that *In qua* (11,2) should refer back to an earlier mention of an island, present in F-Group but lacking in the common source of the P-Group texts. All the P-Group texts, except Mir (which reads *loco*) and EP, which omits the opening sentence, refer to an island at this point, Pit and OFr (*En chele isle*) referring back to a non-existent earlier reference. The change in Mir, which was made before the OE translation was written, was probably an emendation made deliberately to avoid the difficulty presented by *eadem*.

12,2 *gorgoneus*. (Mir) Pit's reading is close enough to that of F-Group to confirm that the reading inherited from the archetypal *Letter* was either *Gargarus* (FR) or *Gurgarus* (Pit). Mir's reading shows modification of two letters; *a* or *u* has been changed to *o*, and *r* to *n*. Both are easy to explain on palaeographic grounds. Once the word had, by the alteration of one or two letters, become close enough to the familiar word *gorgoneus*, the adjective derived from *Gorgo*, for the reader to make the association, the process of change would have been speeded up by analogy. This development might have been encouraged by the fact that *gorgoneus*, an adjective, offers one solution to the problem presented by the existence of two names for a single river. In Anglo-Saxon England, as in continental Europe, people were often known by two names, their given name and an attributive name (not always a patronymic) which distinguished them from all the other individuals with the same given name. To a reader used to this system the double name for a river, a combination of a proper name and an adjective, would probably be acceptable, whereas the presence of two distinct proper names might require explanation.

wælkýrging. (OE) The OE translator uses a patronymic based on *wælcyrge*, a noun frequently used in OE to

gloss the name of a Gorgon or Fury. The use of a patronymic rather than an ordinary adjective-forming ending such as *-iso* indicates that the translator saw *gorgoneus* as an attributive to identify the thing named, and the most common form of attributive in his experience was the patronymic.

The OFr translator appears to have overcompensated for the difficulties. Not only has he removed the first name to the end of the previous section, but the second name is omitted at this point (although appearing as *gargalo* in 12,13).

12,3 *statura canum*. (Mir) Isidore's description, which follows that of Solinus and other writers, agrees at this point with the reading of P-Group.

Ad formam canis (Isidore, XII,iii,9) represents the main stream of classical tradition; F-Group's comparison with cats is without support elsewhere.

Pit reads *staturam* in place of *statura*. This is due to the modified punctuation in Pit, by which the descriptive phrase *statura canum* 'with the build/size of dogs' has become the first object of the verb *habentes*, which also governs *pedes* in this text as in all others.

12,4 *senos*. (EP; Pit) This numeral is omitted only in Mir/OE. It is otherwise reproduced faithfully as *vi* or *senos* in all texts. Thomas of Cantimpré,

in a detail drawn from LM has transposed *vi* to produce *iv* (*De Natura Rerum*, IX, 23).

12,4 *habentes pedes senos. Qui pedes.* (Pit) The common source of the P-Group must have read *formicae* ... *habentes pedes senos quasi locustae marinae*, a reading which is very close to that of the F-Group texts. The emendation in Pit shows remarkable concern in elucidating an ambiguity which is more grammatical than real, in making it clear that it is the feet and not the ants which are like lobsters. This difficulty does not seem to have caused any concern to the other versions of the text. The construction introduced by Pit at this point is not unlike that introduced in 8,8 in the same text, where the subjects *serpentes* and *homines* have been emphasised by use of the pronoun *hi*. In both cases more has been added than would have been necessary to remove the ambiguity.

12,5 *quasi locustae.* (Mir) Mir and OE are the only texts to lack the qualifying *marinae*, reading 'locusts' (*græshoppan*) instead of 'lobsters' as in all the other texts. OFr *laoustes*, although emended to *lacustes* by other editors, is an attested Picard form.

12,6 *rubro colore nigroque.* (Mir) Mir and OE are the only texts to describe these ants as 'red' as well as 'black'. It is remotely possible that *rubro* represents a corruption of *marinae*, but it would be a difficult corruption to explain on palaeographic grounds.

There is, however, an explanation for the modification to hand in the very MSS in which the reading *rubro* appears. The illustrations in T depict the ants as red, with the detail picked out in black. The ants in V are different, but also conform to the description; of the six ants illustrated, one is red, two black and one piebald red and black. The remaining two ants are not coloured. Were it not for the frequency of instances where a variant reading unique to Mir corresponds to a detail in the illustrations, one might see the illustrations here as a derivation from the modified text. Were this the case, the new reading could be explained as an amplification based on personal observation. Just as the text in 4,4 was changed in Mir to specify the actual colour of hens, so the text here specifies the actual colours of ants - they are normally black or red.

12,7 *Quae formicae*. (Pit) Pit again uses a pronoun to emphasise the subject of the sentence.

12,7-9 *et quod per noctem fodiunt sub terra, profertur foras usque diei horam quintam*. (Mir) The detail that the ants dig by night is found only in Mir and HP (*tota nocte* 12,14). The rest of P-Group imply it, but state simply 'until the fifth hour'. F-Group, with the exception of HP, does not have them working by night at all, but 'from sunrise' (*sole oriente*). The OE translation specifies the timing more closely

than the Latin, reading *fram foran nihte*, 'from before night; from the evening'.

12,9 *horam quintam*. (Mir) This figure is supported by all texts except EP, which reads *quartam*.

12,10-11 *Homines autem qui audaces sunt illud tollere sic tollunt*. (Mir) This rather strained construction differs in places from the readings of both Pit and EP, but the instance of agreement between the three indicates that Mir's reading is likely to be closest to the archetype. *Audaces sunt* is supported by EP, although simplified in Pit to *audent*. Pit, although using *aurum* in the singular in 12,7, reads *illa tollere* in place of *illud tollere*. In EP this phrase has been replaced by another, (*audaces sunt*) *ab illis aurum*. The OFr translation, *qui ont hardieche de chel or prendre*, corresponds exactly to the text as in Mir and Pit.

12,11 *Aput camelos*. (Mir-T) The reading *Ducunt apud se camelos* (Pit, EP) indicates that Mir-T has probably omitted the verb *ducunt* at this point. *Aput* is a graphic variant of *apud* (although treated by Mir-B as an abbreviation for *accipiunt*). The juxtaposition of two verbs with very similar meanings, *tollent* and *ducunt*, surviving only in Pit, caused problems in EP, where the verb *ducunt* is used for both the gold and the camels. *Ducunt* may have been

the reading of Mir when the OE translation was made, for the older OE MS, V, reads *lædað*, whereas T gives the usual gloss for *ducere*, *nimað*. The reflexive pronoun *se* (*apud se*, Pit) may also have been present in the copy of Mir on which the translation was based, for it is rendered *mid him*. After this stage the text of Mir was corrupted, producing an almost incomprehensible passage by the time that the emendations found in Mir-B were introduced. The emendation of *aput* to *accipiunt* in Mir-B resolves the crux by providing the missing verb and is an intelligent answer to the problem, although not historically correct.

12,12 *masculos et feminas illas que habent foetas*.

(Mir) The agreement between Mir and Pit at this point indicates that this was the reading of the ancestral text. EP's reading is reduced beyond the point of comprehension, to *masculos et feminarum fetus*. It omits to mention that they are camels (this first appears in EP in 12,15, when the men load the female camels (*camelis feminis*) with gold). It also omits to mention that the females, mothers of the calves, are also taken, although the reading in 12,15 shows that they must be. In view of the contradictions and ambiguities produced by these omissions in EP, it seems likely that this is the result of accidental

loss rather than editorial policy.

12,13 *foetas autem*. (Mir) This repetition of the word *foetas*, essential to the sense of the narrative, is found only in Mir, OE and OFr in P-Group. In Pit and in EP, which both omit it, it appears that all the camels are tied up and not just the young ones. The sentence structure in Mir is almost identical to that of F-Group, where FL reads *cum pulletris suis, quos polletros* ... This indicates that the repetition, although clumsy, is not an innovation to improve the sense but a feature of the ancestral text. Its loss in the other P-Group texts is almost certainly due to haplography. It is just one contributory factor to the blurring of the sequence of events in the P-Group texts.

12,13 *gargulum*. (Mir) This second appearance of the second name for the river (earlier called *Capi* ... *apellatur gorgoneus* 12,1-2Mir) confirms that the earlier reference was not an attributive, as it appears to be in Mir, nor was it a name for the island. The name is lacking in OE and Mir-B at this point, presumably because of the difficulties presented by the different readings, for the name in Mir-T is far removed in form from the earlier *gorgoneus*. OFr and EP, both of which lacked the earlier reference, retain a version of the name here.

The following forms of the name appear in the P-Group texts:

Mir	<i>gorgoneus</i> (12,2)	<i>gargulum</i> (12,13)
Pit	<i>Gurgarus</i> (12,2)	<i>Gorgarium</i> (12,13)
EP		<i>gallalim</i> (12,13)
OFr		<i>gargalo</i> (12,13)

The form given by the F-Group texts, where it appears only in 12,3, is *gargarus/gargerum*. This indicates that the form found in the ancestor of the P-Group texts was probably a mixture of Pit's *Gurgarus* and the *gar-* forms as represented by Mir's *gargulum* and the OFr *gargalo*.

12,15 *Et metent les meres outre le riviere en le terre ou li ors est.* (OFr) Although this corresponds in outline to the account in F-Group (12,23-25), where it is obviously inherited from earlier versions, in OFr this detail is almost certainly not an ancestral feature. The F-Group texts specify that all the adult camels, male and female, are taken across the river. The translator of OFr (or whoever made the addition), finding that the next stage of the story required that the females should be on the same side of the river as the ants, but unaware that later events would require that the males should be there also, added this report that the females, but not the males, were taken to the other side of the river.

12,15 7 *hy sylfe onsittad*. (OE) The translator has inserted a detail which he felt to be necessary to the sequence of events. It does, however, contradict later details which the translator found in his source. In the earliest versions of the legend the female camels transport the men as well as the gold out of the reach of the ants, while the male camels are sacrificed to delay the ants and to enable the men to escape. However, this sequence is not clear in any of the Latin texts of the *Letter*. The F-Group texts state, and the P-Group texts imply that the female camels are sent home with the gold. The OE translator, by the insertion here and the omission of 12,16 (see below), restores the sequence of the original account.

12,16 *Ille autem pietate ad suos pullos festinantes*. (Mir) This problematic line, implying that the female camels are sent back riderless, has been omitted by the translator in support of the addition made in 12,15 (discussed above). OFr, which earlier inserted the necessary detail that the female camels are taken across the river to reach the gold (12,15) adds the corresponding detail that they cross the river again, a detail given in the Latin texts and repeated in OFr in 12,20-21.

12,17 *ibi masculi remanent*. (Mir) This reading in Mir, 'the males remain there' is quite satisfactory, corresponding as it does to F-Group's *relinquunt camelos masculos* (12,29FR). The OE translation has modified the reading slightly, making the men the unstated subject of a transitive verb, 7 þa stedan þær forlætad, 'and they leave the males there', a reading which is almost a direct translation of the reading of FR cited above, although it must derive from that of Mir. The other P-Group texts show corruptions which appear out of all proportion to the difficulty of the text at this point. Pit omits the line altogether. EP has the young camels remain with the male camels (*ad suos pullos ... ubi cum masculis remanent*). In OFr the male camels stay not in the land of the ants but with the men, after the departure of the females (*Et eles ... passent le riviére ... et li camel masle demeurent avoec les hommes*). A key feature in this problematic narrative is distorted by these corruptions and the sequence of events destroyed. Mir's text, although not without ambiguity, can be interpreted (as it was by the translator) in a correct narrative order: the men load the female camels with gold. These hurry back to their young and the males are left behind. When the ants discover these ... (etc.).

12,18 *Donne ꝥa æmettan hy onfindað̃*. (OE) Both the vernacular translations omit the detail, present in all P-Group Latin texts, that it is while in pursuit of the female camels that the ants discover the males. *inveniunt*. (Mir; Pit) Support for this reading from F-Group (*invenerint*, 12,33) indicates that this is probably the inherited reading. EP's *rapiunt* is a modification, presumably made deliberately for dramatic effect.

12,19 *et comedunt eos*. (Mir) This is not translated in OE, and there seems to be no reason for the omission. Pit, which did not specify the object of *inveniunt* (12,18) as the male camels (*machulos* in EP and Mir), reads *eas* in place of *eos* for the object of *comedunt*. As this corruption did not lead to any modification of the following text, in which the female camels escape with the men and the gold (although Pit's text reads as if the female camels have already been eaten), the corruption is probably a late development. Pit retains the correct gender of the pronoun in *circa eos occupate sunt* in the next phrase, where the preoccupation of the ants with their prey is given as the factor which enables the men to escape.

12,20-21 *feminae transeunt flumen cum hominibus*.

(Mir-T; Pit) Mir-B, OE and OFr all include a reference to the gold, the object of this expedition,

in this description of the successful escape. The wording of the vernacular versions does not agree closely enough to indicate the presence of this phrase in a common source. Both have modified the construction so that the men and not the camels are the subject of *transeunt*:

*þonne ða men mid þam merun 7 mid þam golde ofer
ða ea fareð.*

*li homme passent avec les cameus femeles qui
portent lor.*

In view of the other instances where Mir-B has been modified using the OE text as a guide and of the fact that B's descent from T is proven, the amplification in Mir-B to *cum auro et hominibus* is probably based on the OE text.

12,21-22 *tam veloces ut putes eos volare.* (Mir)

This phrase, present in almost identical form in all P-Group texts, is found in F-Group in 12,13, where it is applied to the ants (*sunt enim velocissime in cursu, ut putes eas volare*). The same phrase is used to describe the flight of the fan-eared men in §30.

F-Group

12,4 *formice myrmidones.* (FL, FR) (Ger: *mirmidiones*)

This word derives from the Greek *μυρμηδών* 'ants' nest'. The Ethiopian ants (thus designated to distinguish them

from the other monstrous breed of ants, the φορμικολέων or *formicoleon*, see G.C. Druce, 'An Account of the μυρμηκολέων or Ant Lion', *Antiquaries Journal*, 3, 1923, pp.345-364) are not given a classical name in the passages from Solinus and Isidore cited above.

The name *Myrmidones* is, however, cited by Isidore in IX,ii,75, where it is given the same allegorical interpretation as that accorded to the gold-digging ants in the works of Rhabanus and others. It is the name of a race of men:

Myrmidones fuerunt Achilli socii: Dolopes Pyrrhi. Dicti autem sunt Myrmidones propter astutiam, quasi μύρμηκες, id est formicae.

The Myrmidons were the allies of Achilles: the Dolopes of Pyrrhus. The Myrmidons are so called on account of their astuteness, like μύρμηκες, that is 'ants'.

The race thus named lived in Thessalia Phthiotis.

12,4 *magnitudine catulorum*. This comparison seems to be a departure from the usual description of these creatures which likens them to dogs. It is possible that *canum* (12,6) was dislocated and attached to the description of the teeth (see note to 12,6 below).

12,5 *centrios*. (FL; Ger) Gervase found it necessary to gloss this word *id est medias partes*, thus demonstrating that he did not expect his readership to be familiar with it. FR and HP read *cintras*, a form

which appears to be influenced by *cinctum* (from *cingere*) 'surrounded; girded'. The meanings are sufficiently similar for such confusion to have arisen, especially if, as Ger indicates, *centrios* was not readily understood.

12,6 *dentes canum*. The teeth are not referred to in P-Group. It is possible that they have been included in the description because they lend support to the statement, also not present in P-Group, that the ants, on catching their prey, devour it down to the bone (*usque ad ossa*). Alternatively, the presence of *canum* may be associated with the change of P-Group's *canum* (supported by analogues) to *catulorum* in 12,4. The connection between the two is obscure, but it is possible that the ancestor of F-Group read *canum* at both points and changed the first to *catulorum* to point a contrast (although it is more likely that he would have changed the second, unless he had good reason for retaining it). It is also possible that *canum* became dislocated and the teeth were introduced to justify its presence (cf. 22,9, where OFr, receiving a text with *asinorum* - which had once qualified *dentes* as in EP - standing alone, introduced *oreilles* as a likely characteristic of the ass not already described).

12,11 *que cum hominem aut animal viderint.* (FLCor)

The original version of FL (which read *qui* and *animalem* in this line) seems unclear about the gender of *formicae*. The scribe may have regarded *mirmidones* (12,4) as the antecedent of *qui*. He continues to use the masculine in place of the feminine in referring to the ants: *velocissimi* (FLCor: *velocissime*) and *eos* (uncorrected), both in 12,13. After this, FL reverts to the use of a feminine pronoun, *he*, for the ants.

12,12 *viderint.* (FL) It is noteworthy that all four F-Group texts use a different verb at this point. FL's rather colourless *viderint* may preserve the reading of the original *Letter*, or it may be a simplification of a more complex word. FR's *conspexerint* could equally well represent the inherited form; there is no external support for either reading as the whole sentence is lacking in the P-Group texts. Both *attigerint* (Ger) and *invenerunt* (HP) are likely to be innovations by their respective editors.

12,12 *devorant usque ad ossa.* (FL; FR) This detail, not included in the P-Group descriptions, is a common feature of classical accounts of these ants. It is possible that the description of the teeth (12,6F,

dentes canum) was influenced by this reference, for *usque ad ossa* could mean either 'down to the bone' or 'including the bone', and the dentition of dogs enables them to gnaw bones.

12,13 *sunt enim velocissime in cursu, ut putes eas volare.* (FR; HP; FL with wrong gender) In P-Group this phrase is found in 12,21, where it is applied to the female camels. The use of the masculine pronouns and adjectives for *formice* has been discussed above (12,11).

12,16 *et proferunt de subterraneo ad lucem.* (FL)
This phrase is repeated only in FL. It is found in all versions in 12,10. There is no indication from the other texts that this phrase was originally present at this point in the *Letter*, and the likeliest explanation is that it has been added here in FL by way of explanation.

Ger's *et exinde in lucem producunt* is a result of editing to retain the sense while removing the repetitious phrasing.

12,17-19 *ex ingenio ab ipsius confinitatis hominibus ita ingeniose aufertur.* (FL) The tautology of *ex ingenio ... ingeniose* is found only in FL. *Ex ingenio* is supported by the reading of FR. The ponderous phrase *ab ipsius confinitatis hominibus* has been paraphrased in FR as *hominum qui ibidem sunt confines*. It seems probable that the change was

made from the complex to the simple, rather than as deliberate increasing of complexity. The introduction of complicated, flowery phrases is found in LM and Ger but is not a characteristic of FL. In Ger the majority of the phrase has been simplified to *ab artificibus*. *Ingeniose*, which was presumably present in his source, is retained.

12,20 *pulletris*. (FL) The variation between *pulletris* (FL; later MSS of FR) and *pullis* (FR-MC; Ger) is interesting but probably not significant.

12,21-23 *et cum ad ripam transeundi fluminis*. (Ger) Ger has gone to pains to make each step of the action clear and amplifies FL's *quos pulletros super ripam fluminis relinquit et ipsi transeunt in flumine* ('they leave the young tied up on the bank and themselves cross the river'), by no means a confusing statement of events, to: *et cum ad ripam transeundi fluminis pervenerint ad riparios cespites pullos alligant et transito itaque flumine* ('and when they come to the bank of the river for the purpose of crossing it they tie up the young at the grassy sward of the banks, and, the river having been crossed ...')

12,25 *camelis feminis*. (FL; FR) Ger omits *feminis*, retaining only *camelis*, which is non-specific in terms of gender. In MS Vat. Lat. 933, the

hand thought to be that of Gervase himself has attempted to rectify this by correcting to *camelabus*.

12,26 *onuste et amore*. (Ger) Ger attributes to the female camels worthy human motives which are not present in his source. FL simply explains their urgency as *adlacte*, the compulsion brought on by lactation.

12,28 *homines vero dum viderint*. (FL; FR) This simple sequential statement has been polished in Ger to *comperientes igitur*. The use of participles is much favoured by Gervase.

All three texts of F-Group appear to have a duplication in the narrative at this point. The female camels crossed the river (12,27) *before* we learn that the men are chased by the column of ants (12,28) and that they sacrifice the male camels (12,29-30) to make possible their own flight to the river (12,30-32). This duplication was evidently present in the common ancestor of the F-Group texts, and may have been introduced in an attempt to iron out confusion of a different type.

12,31 *ad devorandum expositis*. (Ger) Although his source said no more than that the male camels were abandoned (*relinquentes*, 12,29FL), Ger clearly

specifies that they have been left deliberately for the ants to eat.

12,31 *et cum camelas feminas.* (FL) The obvious grammatical error here has been partially corrected by FLCor, to *cum camelas feminis.*

12,35 *et ad aquam pervenerint transire non possunt.* (FL) The inability of the ants to cross the river, which derives from classical sources, is unexplained in FL and FR, the two texts in which it occurs. Ger omits this detail.

12,37 *obrizum.* (Ger) Ger introduces the adjective *obrizum*, which refers to gold of the highest quality, to qualify *aurum* here and again in 32,29. Isidore (*Etymologiae*, XVI,xviii,2) explains the adjective thus:

Obryzum aurum dictum quod obradiet splendore; est enim coloris optimi, quod Hebraei 'ophaz' Graeci κρρὸν dicunt ...

Gold which radiates with lustre is called *obryzum*, for it is of the best colour, which the Hebrews call *ophaz*, the Greeks κρρὸν.

Derivatives

Liber Monstrorum

inter ipsa..inania. The compiler of LM is totally sceptical about the legend of the gold-digging ants,

a fact which is of particular interest in connection with the debate on the origin of the *Letter* and of LM as a source for those seeking allegorical interpretations for use in sermons, for both works have been claimed to have been written with this as a primary aim.

(This is discussed at length in the introduction, where full references are given). One of the very few creatures from either work which consistently appears in encyclopaediae and sermons with an allegorical interpretation is the gold-digging ant. Not only is the interpretation given at variance with the version of the legend found in the *Letter* (for the gold, which symbolises their eternal reward, is stolen by men) but the brief reference in LM is entirely sceptical, referring to the legend as *ipsa inania*, 'those vain, or empty, things'.

in quadam esse insula. The reference to an island confirms the readings of Pit and OFr.

quod (aurum) ipsae (formicae) servant sua industria. The phrase *servant sua industria* does not appear in any of the descriptions of the ants in the *Letter*. It appears to have been drawn from 8,8, where the majority of texts apply it to the snakes which guard the pepper forests.

Historia de Preliis

12,1-3 *Et exinde amoto exercitu venit ad quendam fluvium et transmeans illum castra metatus est ibi.*

Subito exierunt desubtus terra ... As with all the interpolations from the *Letter*, this is introduced by a formula to blend it into the narrative. In this instance the subterranean habitat of the ants evidently interested the interpolator, and he has incorporated this passage more thoughtfully than many others.

12,7-9 *Tunc in exitu desub terra interfecerunt multitudinem ex animalibus de ipso exercitu.* The superiority of Alexander against such creatures is stressed, as always. It is interesting that the gold is mentioned only in passing, and that the opportunity to show Alexander as clever and resourceful by attributing the capture of the gold to him (with or without the use of camels) has not been taken and the description of the ants ends, as do so many later Latin accounts, with their mining of the gold.

12,14 *tota nocte.* By replacing *sola oriente* with *tota nocte* and further modification in 12,16 (which describes the activity of the ants from the fifth hour until sunset) HP divides the whole 24 hours into two periods, one spent below ground digging for gold and the second spent in daytime activity above ground.

SECTION 13

This section, which deals with the Rivers Nile and Brixo, is present in all texts of both groups, although in a truncated form in EP. In LM it is included in II,32 in the description of the *celestices* taken from S17 and the reference to elephants is added as a further location to the description of the elephant in II,3.

Letter of Pharasmanes

This passage is a problematic one, for the two groups show a wide degree of divergence together with considerable verbal similarity. However, a careful comparison of all the texts reveals that the two versions are intrinsically the same. Certain texts have omitted parts of the description and one item appears in a different position in the two groups.

There is a colony between these two ways (*vias*)

(The reference *has vias* is not clear, for 'two ways' have not been described. *Vias* probably derives from an earlier stage of the text where the itinerary content was more significant, as do other occasional references in the text to trade routes. Mir and EP have changed *vias* to 'rivers' (*amnes* and *aquas*). The reasoning was probably the same in both cases. EP makes it quite clear by transposing the river

names (*idest nilum et brixontem*, 13,3) to this point from later in the sentence. OFr, while retaining *voies*, gives *isles* as an alternative reading.) (P-Group texts name the colony as *Locotheo*.)

It is placed between the rivers Nile and Brixo (FR's *Inter Brisonem fluvium et nilum* corresponds directly to P-Group's *inter nilum et brixontem posita est*. FL omits this detail, passing instead straight to the question of which river flows into which. In FR this latter detail is omitted. This leads one to suspect that the common source of FR and FL had both these details, but worded in a way which seemed highly repetitive. Each text has selected a different solution to what may have been seen as dittography.)

The sources of both Nile and Brixo are unknown (Only stated in Pit, OFr and LM at this point.)

One river is a tributary of the other (The version given in Pit and OFr, that the Brixo flows into the Nile, must surely represent the archetype. FL and Ger read the opposite; this is probably a product of the accident or editing which caused the loss of one of the phrases referring to the two rivers. The phrase which is lacking in FL is *Inter ... brisonem*, in which *brisonem* is in the accusative as it is in the inaccurate *Nilus enim*

Brisonem implet. The reversal of the flow of the rivers is unlikely to be a deliberate modification, for the form of the mouth of the Nile was widely known and the Nile Delta frequently described (e.g. Solinus 32,1).

The Nile flows through Egypt
(Mir's reference to the Nile as *capud fluviorum* seems to be a description of the Nile Delta.
At this point the F-Group texts refer to the irrigation of Egypt by the Nile, FL and Ger specifically mentioning the inundations.)

The Egyptians call it Archoboleta, which means
'Big Water'.

FL has a corrupt reading here, with *partem vicinam* in place of the name. The name is also lacking in FR, which has modified *Maram aquam* (which appears in P-Group as *aqua magna*) to *mesopotamiam*, an intelligent emendation in the context.)

The sources of both Nile and Brixo (*Brisonis*)
will be discovered

(This statement, only in FL at this point, corresponds to that in 13,4P, except that the tense has been changed to a future to cover the loss of a negative.
hoc (13,8FL) does not fit in the context and is clearly a corruption of *nec*, the P-Group reading.)

Many elephants live in this area.

Analogues

The facts given in this section are a curious mixture of common knowledge (mainly on the Nile's inundations and its Delta) and of material totally unsupported by independent sources. The Brixo cannot be linked satisfactorily with any known river or any legendary tributary of the Nile. Such other instances of the name as are known probably derive from the *Letter*. The earliest of these is the citation of *Brixo/Brixonis* in Probus, *Catholica*, I,21, discussed at length in the Introduction to this edition because of its bearing on the date of the *Letter*. The name also appears in some later maps; the Ebstorf Map (early sixteenth century) places a *Prixon fluvius* in India) but this constitutes no more than evidence for the wide circulation of the *Letter* and its derivatives.

Significant Readings

P-Group

13,1 *amnes*. (Mir) The two variants offered for the historically correct *vias*, *amnes* (Mir) and *aquas* (EP), although the same in meaning, are probably independent developments. Mir has left the rest of the sentence as it stands and EP has rearranged the sentence to justify the change.

13,2 *locothea*. (Mir) This colony is named only in P-Group texts and each text has a different reading. Mir's *locothea* appears to be a hybrid formed from Latin *loco* 'in the place' and Greek *thea* 'goddess'. After translation the word had been split in OE, with *heo* taken as the feminine third person pronoun, referring back to *londbun's* (13,1), for it is written as two distinct words in OE-T, *locot heo hatte*. This was presumably not the translator's intention, and it is given as one word in this edition. EP's *locota* is close enough to the reading of Mir to be regarded as support for that reading, although lacking the *h* present in all other forms. OFr evidently had difficulty deciphering the name, for alternative readings are given, *lothee v iothee*. (Earlier editors have read *lochee v iochee*; either could be derived from the form in Mir and *c* and *t* are very difficult to distinguish in these hands.) Pit is alone in reading *Liconthea*, but not altogether without support, for several of the *Beatus* maps connect the name *Licaonia* with the Nile. It is usually represented as an island in the Nile. (K. Miller, *Mappae Mundi; die ältesten Weltkarten*, Stuttgart, 1895-98, 4, p.21.)

13,6 *capud fluviorum*. (Mir) This reference to the Nile as 'the source of rivers' is surely a description of the Nile Delta. The OE translation, which has given trouble to editors, reads *ealdor fallicra ea* in V and *ealdor fullicra ea* in T. In both cases, *capud* 'source' has been taken in the alternative meaning of 'chief; prince'. Sisam ('Compilation, p.81) suggested an emendation to *eallicra*, which he would translate 'of all'. *Eallic* is, however, known only in contexts where the meaning required is not 'all' in the sense of a collection of individual items but rather 'whole; catholic; universal'. *Fallicra* is unattested elsewhere. *Fullicra* could have two meanings, depending on the length of the stem vowel. *Fūllic* means 'foul', and, as Gibb has pointed out (p.149), this agrees with the picture of the Nile found in many mediaeval writers. *Fǔllic*, on the other hand, means 'full', as an adverb it means 'in full; in abundance'. There is almost a suggestion of superfluity, which may point to another well-hidden reference to the inundations of the Nile. Either reading of *fullicra* is acceptable enough for no emendation to be necessary.

13,7 *Archoboleta*. (Mir) As with Brixi, support for this name has been sought in vain in independent writings. The readings in the P-Group texts are

unusually close. LM and Mir have identical readings and the variation in Pit and OFr is no more than a question of orthography. EP lacks the sentence altogether.

13,10 *ylpenda*. (OE-T) The error in OE-V, where *elephantorum* is glossed *olfenda* 'camels' in place of *ylpenda* 'elephants' is an easy mistake in palaeographic terms, based as it is on the confusion of *f* and *p*. In this particular context it would be encouraged by the predominance given to camels in the preceding section. The presence of the correct reading in OE-T need not point to independent transmission, for an error which was so easy to make would be very easy to reverse, especially with the Latin text so readily available.

F-Group

13,2 *ex irrigatione nili fertilis facta*. (Ger)

The F-Group texts lack the name *Locothea* (13,2P) and therefore have no evident reason for referring to the *colonia* of 13,1, for FL and FR tell us nothing about it. (FR has indeed omitted *colonia*, presumably for this very reason.) Ger calls on his knowledge of the Nile to fill the gap here - the colony by the Nile must be fertile because of the flooding. He calls on similar knowledge again in 13,6 to replace a corrupt passage.

13,7 *Hic Aegypti partem vicinam vocant.* (FL)

P-Group texts confirm that a name, said to be of Egyptian origin, was present in the ancestral text at this point. *Partem vicinam* may be an inherited feature, that 'the Egyptians called the neighbouring part x....', or it may be a corrupted form of the name *Archoboleta* (13,7P). There is sufficient similarity between the words, particularly at the beginning (*partem vicinam*; *archoboleta*) for this to be within the bounds of possibility.

13,8 *Maram aquam.* (FL) This is not as simple an interpretation as the *aqua magna* of P-Group.

It may point to the earliest reading, for *Marea* was the name of a lake in Lower Egypt. FR's *mesopotamia* is an intelligent guess at a difficult reading, indicating a source which was at least as difficult to interpret as FL. Throughout this passage the text has focused on two rivers, and FR here introduced the name of a place which, above all other, is associated with two rivers.

SECTION 14

This passage which is based on the legend of the stork is found in all texts of both groups. It has been drawn on by the compiler of LM for I,20 and the interpolator of *Historia de Preliis*, J² for chapter 119.

Letter of Pharasmanes

There is a considerable degree of accord between the descriptions of these men found in the various texts although there are variations in detail.

Men are born there

(F-Group texts inform us that they have long legs)

they are very tall, 12 (xii) or 15 (xv) feet.

(F-Group, LM and EP agree in reading xii, while EP and Mir read xv. Pit's x is unsupported by other texts. The agreement between texts of different groups must incline us to consider xii as marginally more likely to represent the reading of the *Letter*, although variation between v and ii, caused as it is by minim confusion, is very common.

They are white

(In P-Group texts this is the whole body, whereas F-Group texts specify that the arms up to the shoulders are white. The illustrations in the MSS of Mir and OE support the P-Group reading, on which

they were probably based. T portrays the men as very pale flesh colour, while in V the body is not tinted at all.)

 Their faces are divided

(This detail is only in P-Group texts. F-Group texts here describe them as having black thighs (*nigre sure*) but it is almost certain that the archetype described their shoulders (*scapulas*) as black, and that the F-Group reading at this point is a corruption of this.)

 they have reddish feet

(P-Group texts, with the exception of Mir, have lost *rubra*. In Mir the feet are not mentioned, simply the knees (*rubra genua*), represented in the illustration in T by a red spot on the right knee. In V, modesty has decreed that a kirtle should be worn, and this is coloured pink and white. Pit retains the vestiges of *rubra* in the meaningless *sub ea* (which appears to say that the knees are below the face). This can probably be traced back not to *rubra*, as in Mir, but to *rubea*, the neuter plural (to agree with *genua*) of *rubeus* which appears in F-Group in the masculine plural (*pedes rubei*).

Many details in this description correspond closely to the actual appearance of the stork, and bright red legs and feet are one of its distinctive features.)

The head is round

(Although this detail is found only in F-Group it is probably an early feature of the description. The stork's head is strikingly round compared with that of the heron or other birds of similar build.)

They have long noses and black shoulders

(*Scapulas nigras* 'black shoulders' is found only in a few P-Group texts, but corresponds to the actual appearance of the stork. The black flight feathers of the white stork are not unlike shoulders and upper arms in appearance. It was probably a reading such as this which gave rise to F-Group's *nigre sure* a few lines earlier, in a complicated passage in which the arms are described as 'white as far as the shoulders/upper arm' (*candida brachia usque ad humeros*). Mir is alone in reading *capillis* 'hair' in place of *scapulas* 'shoulders'. The illustrations in the MSS of Mir and OE again agree with the reading of the text and may have influenced it.)

At a certain time they transform themselves into
birds

(FL's *in avibus caeli ... quos ciconias appellatis* is clearly an accurately preserved text. In P-Group only Pit retains *avibus*. EP, OFr and OE-V show a text transformed by the slightest and easiest of modifications, *in navibus (on scipum)*. The text has

suffered a further stage of corruption in Mir, which took place after the OE translation was added, producing the obscure reading *suis manibus*.)

As birds they breed in the area known to the recipient of the *Letter*.

(This location, which is given in FL and Ger, is obviously correct because it accords with the facts of the migration of the stork from Africa to Europe where it breeds. Of the P-Group texts, only Mir retains the reference to breeding. The location given, India, is probably a late addition; scribes appear to have regarded India as a likely location for all things strange. The reading is supported only by OFr, where it has become a river, and as Mir and OFr are known to have shared an ancestor at a fairly late stage in the transmission of the text India could be an addition made at about that stage.)

They are called storks

(Although only in FL in this section, where it is the recipient of the *Letter* who is said to call them storks (*quos ciconias appellatis*) the vestiges of this explanation appear in the introduction to the next section (on the hippopotamus) in Mir and OFr. *Item Liconia in gallia*, which appears in OE-V as *Ciconia in gallia* obviously has nothing to do with 815. It appears to be an explanation that these

creatures appear as storks (*ciconia*) in Gaul. *Item*, which gives this phrase the appearance of a rubric and probably encouraged its removal to the beginning of the following section, most likely derives from *id est* or a similar expression used to introduce an explanation.)

Analogues

No classical analogues to this account have been traced. It is, however, a widely circulated folktale, of which several examples are listed by S. Thompson (*Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, Copenhagen, 1956, Vol.2, D624.1 and D155.1). One of the fullest of these is the story recounted by Heinrich Bebel (*Facetien*, ed. G. Bebermeyer, Leipzig, 1931, Book 3, Tale 117 (p.145)), of a traveller who met a man who claimed to know him and, on being questioned, claimed to have lived as a stork on the roof of the man's parental home:

*Verno mihi tempore, inquit, dum insula nostra
frigoribus riget, transfiguramur in ciconias et
in partes Europae tunc calescere incipientes
avolamus.*

In springtime, he said, while our Island is still frozen solid, we transform ourselves into storks and fly away to parts of Europe which by then are beginning to thaw.

Significant Readings

P-Group

14,4 *duas in una habentes facies*. (Mir) This has the appearance of a gloss. The other P-Group texts have a variety of readings, indicating that the reading of the archetype gave difficulty. The description of the face, which is lacking in F-Group and in EP, indicates that it is divided in some way - *bipertita* (LM), *partikes* (OFr). The gloss in Mir interprets this as a double face, and this is *what* is translated in OE (*twa neb on anum heafde*, 'two faces on one head'). The illustrator also conceived this as a Janus-like figure, with one face looking forward, the other back. Once more; it is possible that Mir, and hence the OE text, were influenced in their interpretation by the picture accompanying the text. Pit has a reading which is somewhat different in meaning, although similar in spelling, *parthica* 'Parthian'. There is a tenuous link between this and the illustrations, although it is probably a product of coincidence. One of the faces attributed to this man in the MSS of Mir and OE is looking back over his shoulder. The single best known characteristic of the Parthians and that by which they are still remembered in common parlance was the 'Parthian shot', the technique of shooting a final volley of arrows

over their shoulders at a pursuing army. It would be over-imaginative to see more than a chance connection here, for the original *Letter* almost certainly focussed on two distinguishing features of the heads of these men, their rotundity (*caput rotundum*, 14,7F) which echoes that of the stork, and their division, in some way or other, into two (*bipertita*, 14,4LM). This latter feature is reminiscent of the stork's bill, which so sharply and vividly divides the round head.

14,5 *rubra genua*. (Mir) Pit and EP both refer to feet and knees (*pedes et genua*), although they do not describe them. OE-V shows that Mir also read *pedes et* at the time when the OE translation was made, for it reads *fet 7 cneowu swyðe reade*. OE-T has been modified to accord with the corrupt reading of Mir; *fet 7* has been replaced by *bið þæt*. Both parts of the body are mentioned in OFr.

Rubra (Mir) is not found in the other Latin texts of P-Group, although convincingly supported by the reading *rubei* (14,7) in all F-Group texts. EP has no description of the feet and knees, and Pit appears to state that they are below the head (*facie parthica, pedes et genua sub ea*) - hardly a distinguishing characteristic. *Sub ea* is certainly a misreading of *rubea*, which appears in F-Group as the masculine

plural *rubei*. Confusion between *s* and *r* points to an insular script, although not necessarily an English MS.

tous nus (OFr) is probably a change made during the transmission of the OFr text, as the words are closer phonologically in French than in Latin.

14,6 *capillis*. (Mir) The introduction of hair (OE *fear*) in place of *scapulas* as in EP and Pit is probably due to the imagination of the illustrator.

14,8 *immorantur*. (EP) This verb, which replaces *transferuntur* (Mir; Pit) has the appearance of a wild guess made to replace an impossible or a damaged reading.

in avibus. (Pit) F-Group and the folktale analogues show that Pit here retains the ancestral reading. *in navibus* (EP and translated in OE-V and OFr) shows a simple corruption, based probably on the retention of a nasal stroke in a position where it had already been expanded as *n*. *suis manibus* (Mir), which appears in a slightly different position in the sentence, is a further development in Mir. The presence of *on scipum* in OE-V shows that Mir passed through the *in navibus* stage; *manibus* could equally well have arisen from *inavibus*, and is the result of minim confusion. *Suis* may represent an adjective which was earlier attached to *tempus*, as in Pit's *In*

tempore suo.

14,8 *in indiam*. (Mir) Only Mir associates the storkmen with India, although a similar name must have been present in the source of OFr, where it has been changed into a river name, *vn flueue qui a non ydeec*. There is no support for India from any of the other texts, and it may well have been a late addition in the common ancestor of Mir and OFr. However, Mir does preserve archaic features at this point, notably the reference to breeding which is not found in any of the other P-Group texts, and it is possible that *in indiam* is another such feature. If it does represent the reading of the original *Letter* it must be in a modified form. It would have been *from* India and not *to* India that the storks travel, for their breeding ground is in Europe, as FL and Ger recognise. Isidore (XII,vii, 17) describes their winter migration to Asia.

selonc leur coustume. (OFr) OFr lacks the reference to breeding, but has replaced it with this phrase which corresponds to nothing in the Latin texts. It is possibly an elaboration to cover the problems of a reading made incomplete by corruption during transmission. EP's *immorantur* appears to fulfil a similar function, and this fact, together with the general omission of the reference to breeding in all P-Group texts except Mir, may point to damage in a common ancestor.

F-Group

14,3 *senum pedum*. (FR) The reading in FL is *pedes xii* which, as it agrees with two of the P-Group texts, is likely to represent the archetype. The corruption to 'six' in FR is more likely to have been based on a Roman numeral than on a number written out in full.

14,6 *nigre sure*. (FL; FR) This expression posed problems for copyists. It is itself almost certainly a corruption of *scapulas nigras* (14,6Pit; EP), which accords far better with the reality of the stork. The scribe of FL wrote *nigres aure*, which was emended by the Corrector to *nigre^s aures* (*nigre sunt aures*). Ger added a gloss *.i. crura* in the margin of MS Vat. Lat. 933, which is present in a few other MSS.

14,7 *nasus procerus*. (Ger) A typical improvement, made by Gervase in the process of editing the text. His source probably read *nares longi* as in FL.

14,9 *apud vos*. (FL) This is a reminder to the reader that the *Letter* purports to be from a writer in the East to a recipient in the West. Ger changed this to *apud nos*. This change, together with his reduction of FL's *in avibus caeli quos ciconias appellatis* to the simple *in ciconias*, demonstrates Ger's familiarity with the habits of storks and his ready acceptance of this legend. FR, which omits most

details which connect the monstrous and marvellous with the known world, omits this touch of realism.

Derivatives

Liber Monstrorum

14,1 *Brixonti Niloque fluminibus vicini*. This precise location has been drawn from B13, for the texts of the *Letter* read simply *ibi*.

14,2 *.xii. pedum altitudinem*. Only LM and OFr read *xii*, which is supported by FR.

14,6 *macilenti corpore describuntur*. This phrase appears in place of the black shoulders (*scapulas nigras*) of Pit and EP. It appears to be an oblique reference to the physical shape of the stork, although the problematic final lines which, in the earliest versions, dealt with the transformation into storks to breed in Europe have been omitted entirely in LM.

Historia de Preliis

14,1 *Et exinde ambulantes invenerunt homines*. The formula used to introduce the wonder into the narrative is here reduced to its barest minimum.

14,3 *pedum sex*. This agrees in meaning with FR's *pedum senum*. The variation may be due to different expansions of a numeral or to a change from an unusual word (*senum*) to a common one (*sex*) or the reverse.

14,5 *usque ad femora*. All the other F-Group texts read *usque ad humeros*, so this reading was presumably the one found by the interpolator. The change from 'upper arms' to 'upper legs' is probably intended to cover the gap between this detail and the description of the legs which follows.

14,6 *coxae et crura*. The word *sure*, which posed problems elsewhere, has been replaced by two words, 'hip' and 'shin', only the latter of which refers to the same part of the leg as *sura*, 'calf'.

14,7 *caput rotundum et magnum*. The size is referred to only in HP. Exaggeration of size is one of the naive methods used by the interpolator to glorify Alexander by increasing the power of his adversaries. In this instance, no conflict is described.

SECTION 15

This section on the hippopotamus, which reads so strangely to those used to seeing the animal in zoos, is found in all versions of both groups. Passages deriving from the *Letter* are found in LM II,18 and in *Historia de Preliis* ², 5119.

Letter of Pharasmanes

In the same place (*ibi*)

(Mir has a reference to *Liconia* or *Ciconia* in *Gallia*, vestiges of which are present in OFr. This reference belongs properly with the subject matter of the preceding section.)

are born creatures

(*bestiae* in F-Group, *animalia* in EP. The remaining P-Group texts either do not have a noun or, in the case of Mir, have modified it considerably.)

which are tripartite

(or quadrupeds (Pit). This reading, which is in P-Group only, has been subject to reinterpretation in all P-Group texts except Pit, and the adjective has been attached to the following noun, *colore*.)

and the colour of horses

(Agreement between Pit and F-Group show this to be the reading which represents the *Letter*, although the comparison seems to be without significance, for horses are found in such a wide range of colours.

There are, of course, areas (and the region from which the *Letter* is said to have come is one of them) in which a particular breed of horse so predominated that 'horse-colour' would be meaningful - Arab horses from the Near and Middle East are an example of this. The other P-Group texts and Ger have both moved away from this reading. In P-Group the move may have been a gradual process of realignment, combined with the confusion caused by *tripartito* which precedes it and a problem with the following words as well. In Ger it is quite obviously an editorial emendation, for he offers not one but two alternatives to *colore similes equorum - celeres ad instar equorum* and *colla equina.*)

with lion's feet

(Agreement between F-Group and Pit again indicates that this was the reading of the *Letter*. The remaining P-Group texts have changed this to *capita*, possibly because *pedum* or *pedibus* occurs in the next phrase, a dimension.)

Its dimensions are given

(In F-Group, FR, Ger and HP make them 30 feet long and 12 feet in girth (*grossitudine*). Haplography in FL has caused the loss of the first numeral. In P-Group only the length is given, with figures varying between 14 and 20 feet.)

They are of large build (*edificio amplo*)

(This appears only in FL and Ger, and seems to amplify the previous description of the dimensions. It may not be part of the original *Letter*. One MS of Ger (Brussels Bib. Roy. 1136) and the text printed by Leibnitz read *orificio amplo* 'with a very large mouth', a reading temptingly close to the description of the mouth which follows in P-Group texts but not elsewhere. There is, unfortunately, no justification for seeing this as a correctly retained reading, for the MS in question is not one which most closely approaches the readings of FL.)

They have mouths as large as winnowing-fans

(This comparison, which is used also to describe the ears of the men in §30, is made here only in P-Group.)

If they see a man

(P-Group excluding Pit)

or if anyone pursues these beasts

(Pursuit is present in both groups, therefore probably inherited from the archetype. P-Group has references to timidity which are very close in wording to those in §30, and may therefore be an interpolation in this section on the hippopotamus.)

they flee a long way

(P-Group only)

and sweat (*sudant*) blood

(F-Group texts read *sugit* 'suck', a corruption on which a variety of interpretations have been based, with the fuller reading in FL telling us that anyone wishing to hunt them must suck blood (from whatever source, *a quolibet*) to protect himself against them. FR has a simplified reading which states that men are nourished (*aluntur*) by their blood. The Analogues demonstrate that the blood sweating, odd though it may seem, is inherited from classical accounts of the hippopotamus and it was thus this version which would have been found in the *Letter*.)

They are called hippopotami.

(No text retains this precise form of the name, and the shorter *hyppotami* (EP) may have been used for the earliest Latin versions of the *Letter*. In Pit, the first element has been construed as a pronoun and we find *hos potamos*. Mir completes a process of anthropomorphisation by rewriting *potamos* as a verb and producing *hi putantur homines fuisse*. F-Group texts give these creatures the name *ypophagi* or *ypofogi* (*hippophagi* 'eaters of horse flesh'). This name is given in P-Group to the headless men of §18, for whom it is just as inappropriate as here. In F-Group texts §18 follows this section, for §§16 and 17 are unique to P-Group.)

Analogues

The hippopotami of the Nile were known to the Romans; Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* VIII,26(40)) records that they were first brought to Rome by Marcus Scaurus. There were, however, some strange legends concerning their behaviour, beliefs which are to be found in the writings of Pliny as elsewhere. Solinus based his description of the hippopotamus largely on Pliny's, with the addition of a few details from other sources. It begins (32,30) with a recognisable description of the animal. The second paragraph (32,31) continues:

idem cum distenditur nimia satietate, harundines recens caesus petit, per quas tamdiu obversatur, quoad stirpium acuta pedes vulnerent, ut profluvio sanguinis levetur sagina: plagam deinde caeno oblinit, usquedum vulnus conducatur in cicatricem.

Likewise, when it is distended by too great a sufficiency, it seeks freshly cut reeds against which it is rubbed until the points of the shoots injure its feet, so that the bloated animal is eased by the flowing of blood; then it smears the gash with mud, so that the wound can be healed up in a scar.

The literal meaning of the Greek ἰπποπόταμος 'river-horse' has led to a connection with the horse which takes different forms in different accounts. In the *Letter* it is the colour which is said to be equine. Isidore compares them with horses in another way (XII,vi,21):

*Hippopotamus vocatur, quod sit equo similis dorso,
iuba et hinnitu, rostro resupinato, aprinis dentibus,
cauda tortuosa.*

The hippopotamus is so called because it is like the horse in its back, its mane and its neighing, with its snout thrown back, with tusks like a boar and a twisted tail.

In the *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle* (ed. S. Rypins, p.90) there is a passage which may have provided the source for the readings in Mir, EP and OFr (15,3) which differ from the *Letter* as represented by the agreement of Pit and F-Group. (Mir, EP and OFr are the texts which contain the Alexander references in §§22 and 23 which are almost certainly a late addition to the text.) The readings in 15,3 which are unique to these texts are the tripartite nature (*tripartito*) and the leonine heads (*capita leonum*). Both these features could have been drawn from the *Letter of Alexander*:

*belua novi generis prosiluit serrato tergo duo
capita habens alterum leoni simile vel ypocami
corcodrilli alterum simillimum duris munitum
dentibus.*

a monster of a new kind sprang forward, with a serrated back; it had two heads, one of which was like that of a lion or a hippopotamus, the other most like that of a crocodile, armed with savage teeth.

Although the animal described has only two heads, they resemble those of three different animals, hence, possibly, *tripartito*. The equation made between the head of a hippopotamus and that of a lion is so unlikely that it can hardly have been an independent development in two separate texts.

Significant Readings

P-Group

15,1 *Item liconia in gallia*. (Mir) The connection between this phrase and the subject of §14 has already been considered. The reading *ciconia* in OE-V confirms *liconia* to be a late development. A *tierra de Liconia* appears in *Semeianca del Mundo*, 56, where it is a country near Troy (*Ilion*).

hatte þæt land and OFr *une region qui a non galle* are both innovations by the translators, probably arising from the difficulties in interpreting the laconic (in this instance, corrupt) phrasing of the Latin. Their similarity need not point to the availability of additional wording of this type in the Latin exemplars used by the translators, for it is the only explanation of this name which presents itself.

15,2 *homines*. (Mir) The absence of a noun in all P-Group texts except EP, which reads *animalia*, indicates

that the introduction of *homines*, and with it the process of anthropomorphisation in Mir, was caused by a need to fill a conceptual gap rather than any deliberate editorial policy. There is, throughout these texts but most especially in Mir, where it is enhanced by the illustrations, a general tendency for the monsters to take on the characteristics of men. This tendency probably operated at a subconscious level, for a monstrous man is more terrifying than any quadruped.

15,2 *tripartito*. (Mir) This adjective, which may have been drawn from the description in the *Letter of Alexander* and intended to convey triple nature, has, in the texts which give this reading (Mir, EP, LM and OFr) become irrevocably linked with *colore*. The illustrations in T portray a man with a golden-brown maned head, greyish-pink upper trunk and paler and less grey lower regions. Of the OE versions, V's *on drys heowes* is ungrammatical, for a dative plural is required (*on ðrym heowum*). Various editorial emendations have been suggested, including an interpretation which allows the case to stand. E.V. Gordon, *Year's Work in English Studies*, 1924, p.70, suggests that *on* should be construed with *pær* (15,1), giving *pær beoð men acende on* 'in which men are born'. This does not read easily, and the use of the ablative

in the Latin may have influenced a corrector or an editor who had doubts about *preosellices hiwes* (the reading of T and a direct translation of Mir). It was Sisam ('Compilation ... *loc.cit.*) who first suggested that V's reading appeared to be an attempt to simplify the reading found in T. In support of V and of Gordon's argument, however, is the fact that 'in colour' (*colore*) is always represented in this text by the genitive *heowes* or *hiwes*.

15,3 *colore. quorum capita.* (Mir) Pit, which aligns the sentence as in F-Group, shows conclusively that the ancestral P-Group text did not read *tripartito colore* (as in Mir) but *colore equorum* 'the colour of horses'. Variation between *quorum* and *equorum* is frequent, and there are other examples to be found within this group of texts. In two MSS of *Historia de Preliis J²* (ed. A. Hilka, 1977, p.170) the reading *capita quorum* has been changed to *capita equorum quorum*. In the *Letter* itself, in 10,3EP *quorum* has been inserted after *equorum*.

15,3 *quorum capita capita leonum.* (Mir) The changes made to the text at this point during transmission left an ancestor of Mir with the awkward reading *quorum capita leonum* 'whose heads of lions', with no verb. Various solutions to this problem have been devised in the different texts, confirming that

the problem itself was a fairly late development. Mir has duplicated *capita*, leaving the verb *sunt* understood, 'whose heads (are) lions heads'. In EP the verb has been added (*quorum capita sunt leonum*). In the OE translation, the description has been amplified, probably on the basis of the illustrations, for the man in T is magnificently maned (see Plate 1) as well as echoing the lion in his golden colouring. OE reads *þara heafdu beoð gemonu swa leona heafdu* 'their heads are maned like lions' heads' - although the man in V is quite ordinary in appearance and exceptional only in stature.

15,4 *pedibus xx.* (Mir-T) Mir-B has added *longi*. EP, Mir and OFr all give different lengths for these creatures, none of which agrees with either of the dimensions given in F-Group. No reading can be given priority. Pit omits the length, presumably because the copyist's eye passed from *pedes leonum* (which survives only in that text) to the phrase following the next expression with *pedes*.

15,5 *il i porroit bien vn van.* (OFr) On the face of it a verb appears to have been omitted here. However, *vn van* is accusative, so the original version of the translation may have been more complex. In 30,4-5 *tamquam vannum* has been rendered by *ossi grans quest vns vans*.

15,6-7 *homines cum viderint si eos aliquis inaequatur, longe fugiunt.* (EP) Two parts of this sentence are not supported by the reading of F-Group. The sighting of men (*homines cum viderint*) is referred to only in EP, Mir (with similar, but not identical, wording) and OFr. The flight (*longe fugiunt*) is found in all P-Group texts. The wording in EP is particularly close to the phrasing of 30,9-11, where the timid fan-eared men are described. Mir tells us *homines cum viderint tollunt sibi aures et longe fugiunt quasi putes eos volare.* This close similarity would appear to suggest that these details may have been inserted in §15 as an echo, possibly unintentional, of the later passage. (Scribes did not always tackle their texts in the sequence in which they were to be read, but worked sometimes on one gathering at a time, not necessarily in order. It would therefore be quite possible for a scribe to encounter §30 before §15 even if he did not read the whole text through before starting work.)

15,8 *Hi putantur homines fuisse.* (Mir) The process by which EP's *Hyppotami appellantur* was transformed into 'they are thought to be men' has been outlined above. It is of especial interest as it points to the picture cycle as it stands being a fairly late addition, post-dating the development of

this anthropomorphic monster from the hippopotamus.

F-Group

15,1 *In eisdem Brisonis fluuii partibus.* (Ger)

The critical awareness which Gervase brought to the text is exemplified by editorial modifications such as this. The preceding section left us in Europe with the storks. FL reads *Item que* and makes no attempt to localise this new wonder. It may have been this reading which Gervase found in his source, or it may have been *Ibique* as in FR (in which text we have not moved away from the home of the stork-men). Whichever he found, Gervase realised that he needed to clarify the location at which this monster was to be found, and to do so he referred back to 13,9-10, the last specific localisation.

15,2 *colore similes equorum.* (FL; FR) This comparison presented problems to editors of the F-Group texts, just as it did in P-Group, probably for the reason already suggested. Ger rejects this reading but is uncertain of how to emend it. He offers two interpretations, both requiring slight alteration in *colore*: *celeres ad instar equorum* 'as fast as horses' and *colla equina* 'with an equine neck'.

15,4 *latitudinem*. (FR) Variation between *latitudinem* and *altitudinem* occurs in the MSS of both FR and HP.

15,4-6 *longitudinem pedum tricenorum vastitatem pedum duodena*. (Ger) The extant text of FL has a clear instance of haplography here, with a leap from the first *pedum* to the second, omitting *tricenorum vastitatem pedum*. The corruption had not occurred in the MS used by Ger, for his text agrees in substance with the description in FR and gives two dimensions.

15,6 *edificio amplo*. (FL; Ger) The reading *orificio amplo*, found in one MS of Ger, has already been discussed. Its apparent agreement with the P-Group reading is coincidental.

15,8 *sanguinem suum a quolibet se sequi adimens*. (FL) *se sequi* in this clause is difficult to parse. Ger's *seseque* gives a far happier reading 'taking away blood from anyone and from himself'. The change to *se sequi* may have been made under the influence of *persequi* in the preceding line. In the MS it falls almost directly above *se sequi*.

15,9 *sugit*. (FL) The idea that anyone wishing to hunt these animals should first suck someone's blood has been demonstrated above to have arisen through textual corruption. It was not tolerated by FR and

Ger, whose editors sought to exercise control over their material. FR omits the reference to hunting, just as it omits all details which appear to suggest that the reader might care to try something for himself. In FR the whole sentence is replaced by the assertion, for which no support can be found in the analogues, that men feed on the blood of these creatures (*harum sanguine aluntur homines*). Ger leaves *adimens* 'taking away' to stand alone with *sanguinem* and reads *fugit* 'he flees' in place of *sugit*. This presents an altogether less vampire-like picture.

15,10. *yppofogi*. (FL; Ger) The Analogues demonstrate conclusively that these animals are hippopotami, and thus that the name given in the P-Group texts is the correct one. The *hippophagoi* 'eaters of horse flesh' are a tribe mentioned by ancient geographers. The name is wrongly given to the headless men of §18 in the P-Group texts. In F-Group, §18 follows §15 directly (P-Group has interpolated two sections at this point) so it is highly probable that the *Letter* gave the name *hippophagoi* to the headless men and that this name became displaced in the F-Group texts. The reading *rippo phagino* in FR-M is interesting evidence that that MS is descended from a Beneventan exemplar and that that exemplar was not one of the

two extant Beneventan MSS of this text. This is considered in detail in the analysis of the provenance of this MS given in the Introduction to this edition (Section 4).

Derivatives

Liber Monstrorum

15,1 *cum his incredibilibus fingunt execrandae formae hippopotamos*. The compiler makes quite clear his disbelief in these monsters: 'among these incredible things they have invented hippopotami of accursed form'. There are no such expressions of incredulity in his earlier passage on the hippopotamus (II,10) which described the creature as larger than an elephant and living in rivers *aquae inpotabilis* 'of undrinkable water'.

15,3 *triplicem habere coloris*. This indication that LM derived from a text influenced by the Alexander legend (see above) is interesting, because by its very nature LM omits all the other Alexander references which have been added to the P-Group texts.

Historia de Preliis

15,1 *Deinde ambulantes per ipsam silvam invenerunt*. The monsters are introduced into the narrative in the most cursory way. Despite the information in the source on the interaction between men and these

creatures (and some degree of interaction is present, even in the reduced text of FR which may well have lain before the interpolator) they are introduced into HP merely as something met in the wood. They are unnamed.

SECTION 16

This section on black anthropophagi named *Hostes* is found only in the P-Group texts, where it is present in all versions. LM uses this material in I,33 (*De his qui manducant homines*).

Letter of Pharasmanes

This section did not form part of the original Letter. Not only is it found only in texts of one group, but the name used for these creatures is Latin, not Greek, a clear indication of a late interpolation.

To the east of the River Brixo are born men who are tall and well-built, with thighs and calves measuring 12 feet

(All texts, except Pit, which has suffered some damage here, and LM, which treats the dimensions differently, agree on this figure.)

sides and breast together measure 6 feet

(Thus EP and also, by implication, LM which has produced an overall height of 18 feet, the sum of 12 and 6. The readings of the other texts could all be derived from 6 with a slight amount of distortion.)

They are black in colour and are called *Hostes*.

They eat anyone they catch.

Analogues

Specific classical analogues to this description are unknown. The conventional accounts of the Anthropophagi agree in broad outline but lack the distinctive features of this description. Solinus refers to the Anthropophagi in four places (15,4; 15,13; 30,8 and 50,1) but nowhere does he deal with them at any length. His account, which is typical, is restricted to expressions of horror at their diet:

Anthropophagi, quibus execrandi cibi sunt humana viscera. (15,4)

The Anthropophagi, whose accursed food is human entrails.

The resemblance between this creature and Grendel has been observed (see in particular R.L. Reynolds, 'A Note on *Beowulf*'s Date and Economic-social History', *Studi in Onore di Armando Saponi*, Milan, 1957, pp.175-178). Grendel is known as *Feond* (e.g. *Beowulf* 725) and *feond* is a gloss for *hostis* 'enemy'. Grendel devours men and drinks their blood (*Beowulf* 740-745). That is, however, as far as the comparison goes. As with the Anthropophagi, the similarity is generic, not specific. To suggest, as Reynolds does, that Grendel is based on this little passage in the *Letter* is to ignore a vast body of material on the haunters of grave-mounds and similar places whose relationship

to Grendel is far closer than that of *Hostis*. It is more possible that *Hostis* is descended from Grendel's kindred. He bears one of Grendel's names (Grendel is given many names) and some of his characteristics, but lacks the association with night (except perhaps in his colouring) and the single clearly depicted physical characteristic of Grendel, the strange light which shone from his eyes (*him of eagum stod ligge gelicost leoht unfæger. Beowulf 726-727*). There is, however, no real evidence of direct descent; no certain link with Grendel which would localise the archetype of the P-Group texts in England.

Significant Readings

16,1 *Est in brixontem flumen ad orientem.* (Pit)
There need be no break in the text here, for it reads almost exactly as the other Latin texts. Pitra's transcript, however, indicates some confusion, for he inserts (...) after *flumen* and numbers as a new section. On the evidence of Pitra's handling of the small section of FR which he printed, this might simply be an indication that he found the text (or his own handwriting) unsatisfactory, for he inserts gaps and queries in his transcript of the Cava MS of FR at points where the MS itself is perfectly clear.

16,1 *ad orientem*. The use of points of the compass is a further indication of late interpolation. The earliest version of the *Letter* appears to have been quite consistent in referring to direction in terms of left and right.

dont nous auons parle. (OFr) The only previous references to the river Brixo (*Brixont*) in this text were in §13.

16,2 *macri femora*. (Pit) The presence of the Greek word for 'long' at this point is most puzzling, the more so since this is one of the few parts of the text which is unlikely to have had a Greek source. It may be simply an orthographic corruption based on *magni* (Mir and EP). *Macri* as a Latin word means 'lean; poor', and is thus quite inappropriate to this description of ferocious giants. As always, it is possible that the error of transcription crept in at a very late stage in this text, for Pitra's accuracy is not unquestioned.

16,2-3 *fet 7 sconcan*. (OE) The translator follows the sense of the Latin here rather than the precise wording which specifies shins and thighs.

16,3 *subta*. (Pit) This misreading of *suras* 'calves' is further evidence of some difficulty either in transcribing the unknown MS or in making sense of the

transcript.

16,4 .vii. *pedum*. (Mir) It seems likely that .vi., the numeral given in EP, is the correct measurement for the upper trunk of these giants. Mir's .vii. shows addition of a single minim, a frequent occurrence. OFr reads .iii., which has been taken as the width because of *latera* in the source, and this numeral also can easily be traced back to .vi., this time caused by minim confusion. Pit gives one single numeral, and appears to have lost the first measurement by haplography. The presence of (...) immediately before *pedes n.iv.* may point to deliberate omission or illegible text. The numeral .iv. is again easy to trace back to .vi.; it would be produced by reversal.

16,5 *Hostes*. The reason for the name is self-evident, even if possible links with Grendel are disregarded. If there is anything in the Grendel theory, it was apparently unknown to the OE translator or to the scribe who went on to copy the first 1,939 lines of *Beowulf* after transcribing the OE *Wonders*. While the Old French translator provided a gloss, *chest adire Anemis*, OE gives no indication that *Hostes* has any significance except as the name of these creatures.

Derivatives

Liber Monstrorum

The order of the details in this section has been rearranged in LM, for no apparent reason and achieving no stylistic improvement.

16,2-3 *inmensis corporibus ... et .xviii. pedes altitudinis*. Whereas its source almost certainly divided the body into two separate sections for which independent measurements were given, LM emphasises size by referring to a 'huge body' and adding the two figures together. The total arrived at is the sum of the measurements in EP.

16,6 *crudos*. The manner in which men are devoured does not concern the writer of the *Letter*. LM, on the other hand, seems anxious to stress that these creatures are not only anthropophagous, they are also uncivilised.

SECTION 17

The mysterious *lertices* are also found only in the P-Group texts, and are not present in EP. LM describes them in II,32; the editor who compiled LM was obviously puzzled by this account of creatures totally unknown from other sources, for he explains that they are *prope omnibus nationibus ignotae* 'unknown to nearly all nations'.

Letter of Pharasmanes

This section did not form part of the original *Letter*. There is no trace of it in any of the F-Group texts, and it follows a section which is also an interpolation in P-Group. However, the name *celestices/lertices/lerueis* is so corrupt that it cannot be traced to either a Greek or a Latin source. The *-es* nominative plural ending could belong to a noun of the 3rd declension in either language.

The presence of this passage in Pit as well as in Mir and the vernacular translations indicates that it was present in the archetype of the P-Group texts. If this was the case, the passage would have been present in an ancestor of EP but subsequently omitted.

There are small beasts (*bestiole*) in (or near)
the river Erlixo. They are called

(Each text gives a different version of the name. There are two distinct groupings, the *lertices/lerueis* (Mir/Pit) agreement and the forms beginning with *ce-* (*celestices* OFr/LM). Agreement between Mir and Pit usually points to a reading correctly preserved from the common source (as in the preservation of *aprorum dentes* in 10,4 where the other P-Group texts have no mention of teeth, a reading confirmed, by its presence in the F-Group descriptions, to have been a feature of the earliest account). For this reason the balance of the evidence seems inclined in favour of seeing the ancestral text as reading *ler-*. The other texts would, following that argument, have an intrusive initial *ce-* and, probably, a change from *-r-* to *-s-*. (Confusion between *r* and *s* is a feature of insular hands; it is found in 33,3 where Mir-T writes *nascentes*, using an insular final *-s* rarely employed in the Latin text and which has been copied in Mir-B as *nascenter*.) There is a slight possibility that the initial *ce-* was found at some stage in Mir. OE-V (f.102^r) reads *lertices*; the word appears at the beginning of the line and there is a gap large enough for two letters at the end of the previous line. The gap is, however, filled by a hole, which was probably already there when the MS was written, and there is no sign of any letters.)

with asses' ears, sheep's wool and birds' foot

(This physical description of the animals appears only in Mir. While there is no conclusive evidence to prove whether this is an inherited feature or a late interpolation based on the illustrator's concept of these creatures, the frequency of instances in Mir where the text has been amplified in accordance with the illustrations, together with the total absence of any physical details of these animals in the other P-Group texts must support the latter theory.)

Significant Readings

17,1 *bestiole*. (Mir) This word, which is faithfully reproduced in OFr *besteletes* and paraphrased in LM *bestiae quaedam non magnae* is lacking in Pit. OE *wildeor* does not contain the concept of small size.

17,4 *pedibus ovum*. (Mir-T) This is not supported either by OE *fugles fet* or by the illustrations. Mir-B reads *avium*, thus agreeing with both. The reading in Mir-B is almost certainly not evidence of independent transmission but an example of restoration on the basis of the OE and/or the illustrations. There are several instances in Mir-B in which the text of Mir-T has been modified to bring it into closer agreement with the OE.

Derivatives

Liber Monstrorum

- 17,1 *bestiae quaedam non magnae*. The concept of small size present in Mir and OFr is found here also, although the wording has, uncharacteristically, been simplified.
- 17,2 *sed prope omnibus nationibus ignotae*. By the use of this phrase 'but unknown to almost all nations' the compiler seems to be covering himself against the accusation that there are no references to these creatures in other sources.
- 17,3 *perhibentur*. Characteristically, the compiler refuses to take responsibility for the information he is passing on. *perhibentur* 'they are said to be' is one of the expressions he uses to convey doubt.

SECTION 18

This section on headless men, the classical name for which is *Blemmyae*, is found in all P-Group texts except Pit and in all F-Group texts. LM I,24 and *Historia de Preliis* J^2 , chapter 119 both derive from this description.

Letter of Pharasmanes

There is another island in the river Brixo (F-Group texts read *Briso* as in S13, the only previous passage in this group to mention the river.) (Mir and OFr say that it is towards the south (*ad meridiem*). This is almost certainly a later addition. The *Letter* did not, in any of the passages which can be proved to have formed part of the earliest versions, use this means of expressing direction, preferring rather to state it in terms of left and right. Mir and OFr form a sub-group of texts which inherited additional details from a common ancestor (notably the conversion from stadia to leagues) and any feature which is unique to this sub-group of texts is likely to be an accretion.)

where men are born without heads. They have
eyes and mouths in their chests. They are
tall

(The height is given variously as 12 feet (F-Group); 9 feet (EP); 8 feet (Mir); 7 feet (LM) and 4 feet (OFr). *xii* and *vii* are liable to confusion.)

and broad

(Again the texts differ in the dimension given.

F-Group texts read 7; Mir and EP, 8; OFr 4. LM does not give the second dimension.)

(At this point the two texts diverge. F-Group continues

they are gold in colour

P-Group texts make no mention of colour (which may have arisen as a corruption of *ora* 'mouths' to *auro* 'golden').

The illustrations in the MSS of Mir do not portray them as being of an unusual colour; T shows them as flesh-coloured with brown pubic hair, while in V they are not coloured and detail has been added in pink.)

(In place of the colour, P-Group texts give their name:)

they are called *epifagos*.

(Only three texts give the name; EP-*epifagos*; LM-*epifugos*; OFr-*epiphongos*. This name derives from Greek *ἑπιφάγος* and is therefore the same as that given to the hippopotamus in F-Group S15.)

Analogues

These headless men are among the best-known of classical monsters and belief in them lingered on for a long time.

They are celebrated by Shakespeare in *Othello*, Act 1,

Scene 3:

And of the Cannibals that each other eat,
The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders.

According to traditions which went back to classical times, mediaeval authorities believed in two varieties of these men. Solinus described them in two separate passages, 31,5:

Blemyas credunt truncos nasci parte qua caput est, os tamen et oculos habere in pectore.

They believe that the Blemyae are born without that part in which the head is, but they have their mouth and eyes in their chests.

and 52,32 (where no name is given):

sunt qui cervicibus carent et in umeris habent oculos.

There are those who lack necks and have their eyes in their shoulders.

Isidore combined the two types in a single section (XI,iii,17), while recognising their separate identities:

Blemmyas in Libya credunt truncos sine capite nasci, et os et oculos habere in pectore.

Alios sine cervicibus gigni, oculos habentes in humeris.

They believe the Blemmyae in Libya to be born without heads, and to have their mouth and eyes in their chest. Others are said to be born without necks, having their eyes in their shoulders.

It is the Blemmyae proper who are described in the *Letter*. The second type has found its way into

the LM description, in the form of an afterthought:

nisi quod oculos in humeris habere videntur.

unless they seem to have eyes in their
shoulders.

Given the way in which LM at this point in Book I is drawing material alternately from the *Letter* and from St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XVI, it seems probable that this extra detail has been drawn from Augustine XVI,8, where he talks of:

*quosdam sine cervice oculos habentes in
umeris*

some without necks who have eyes in their
shoulders.

Thomas of Cantimpré in *De Natura Rerum* III,v,37 repeats the entry from LM, identified as such by the name *epiphagos*. A little earlier, in III,v,15 he had already described a different version of the Blemmyae, drawn from Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago Mundi*, I,12, a hairy-bodied version:

*quibus sunt oculi in humeris, pro
naso et ore duo foramina in pectore; setas
habent ut bestiae. (Imago Mundi, I,12)*

whose eyes are in their shoulders; in the
place of nose and mouth they have two
openings in their chest; they have coarse
hair like wild animals.

Gervase, whose description of the headless men in *Decisio* III follows that of FL, also describes these

hairy Blemmyae, again drawing directly from Honorius, whose *Imago Mundi* formed one of the major sources of *Decisio II* of *Otia Imperialia*.

*Sunt et alii absque capite, quibus oculi
sunt in humeris; pro naso duo in ore foramina.
In pectore setas gerunt ut pecudes. Otia*

*Imperialia, Vat. Lat. 933,
f.18^v, col.2.)*

And there are others without heads, whose eyes are in their shoulders; in place of a nose they have two holes in their mouth/face (*sic*). On their chest they bear coarse hair like cattle.

It is evident that Gervase used a MS of Honorius which was not satisfactory at this point - despite the evident polishing (*gerunt* and *pecudes*) the contradiction, whether *ora* is taken as 'mouths' or 'faces' has not been tackled.

The *Letter of Alexander to Olympias* in Julius Valerius (ed. Kübler, p.159) includes the Blemmyae among the visitors to Alexander's camp:

*Multa enim hominum genera et inuisitata sunt
nobis cognita, quorum vel maxima nobis
admirationi fuit videntibus homines absque
capitibus corporatos. Namque his hominibus
oculi pectoribus inherentes, atque os omne
ceterque oris in illa parte corporis situm
plurimum mirabamur.*

For many strange kinds of men are known to us, of which the biggest wonder for us was seeing men with headless bodies. For eyes are fixed in the chests of these men and the mouth and all the rest of the face in the same part of the body, we were amazed at many sitings.

Significant Readings

P-Group

18,4 *alti sunt pedum .viii.* (Mir) All texts differ in the number given. F-Group's *xii* is orthographically closest to LM's *vii*, but the instability of numerals is such that without a more definite pattern of agreement we cannot establish the likeliest reading of the *Letter*.

13,6 *et ressanlent as ypotames.* (OFr) There is nothing in any of the P-Group Latin texts which could have given rise to this connection between the headless *epiphongos* and the hippopotami of §15. The link is especially interesting, in that it is certainly intuitive, based on the slight similarity in the name, and that there is a real link, evident only to the textual historian, in that the hippopotami in F-Group are given the name which in P-Group is given to the headless men.

F-Group

18,7 *colore et pectore auro similes.* (FR) FR reads *pectore* where FL reads *corpora*. It is this juxtaposition of *pectore* and *auro* which makes it seem possible that the colour referred to in these texts arose by miscopying of the phrase in *pectore ora*. It is not known elsewhere, despite the frequency with which the Blemmyae appear in classical and mediaeval texts.

Derivatives

Liber Monstrorum

18,3 *et tota in pectore capitis officia gerunt.*

It is typical of the editorial style of LM that the simple phrase *oculos et os* of the source has been transformed into so elaborate a construction.

18,3-7 The order of the details in this description has been changed from 1) position of mouth etc., 2) height, 3) name to 1) name, 2) height, 3) position of mouth etc. A possible reason for this was to facilitate the addition of the alternative placing of the mouth etc., which appears at the end of the passage (18,8).

18,7 *epifugos Graeci vocant.* The name is recognised by the compiler as Greek in origin. The change of Greek *inno* to *epi* is found in LM I,7, where

hippocentauri appears in some MSS as *epocentauri* and in others as *ypocentauri*. In place of *epifugos* some MSS of LM read *epistigos*, which has traditionally been accepted by editors of LM. Comparison with the P-Group texts, so closely related to the text which acted as source for the material LM drew from the *Letter*, demonstrates that the received form of the name must have been *epifugos*. Change from *-fu-* to *-sti-* is a symptom of a merovingian script. The two MSS which read *-sti-* (Wolfenbüttel MS 148 Gud. Lat., probably written at Wissembourg, and St. Gallen MS 237, written at St. Gallen) both come from an area in which a merovingian script was current.

18,8 *nisi quod oculos in humeris habere videntur*. This alternative description, to accomodate which the phrasing of the passage has been rearranged, is probably from Augustine. It is interesting in this connection to note that LM does not use his habitual expressions of doubt in this passage. Possibly the authority of Augustine was sufficient to dispel his natural incredulity.

Historia de Preliis

18,1 *Deinde amoto exercitu venit ad quendam fluvium*.

As usual, a formulaic introduction is employed to incorporate the description into the narrative. HP in no case refers to the river by name.

SECTION 19

The enormous dragons which are the subject matter of this section are described in all texts of both groups but none of the derivatives have made use of this material.

Letter of Pharasmanes

In the same place are born dragons 150 feet long, with the girth of a very thick column.

P-Group texts then continue:

No-one is able to cross that river easily,
on account of the number of dragons.

(FL is the only F-Group text to contain a further reference to the river):

which were able (*potuerunt*) to be born in the
Eriso and the Nile.

(The presence of *potuerunt*, which so closely resembles P-Group's *potest*, combined with duplication of *nascor* (*nascuntur*, 19,1; *nasci*, 19,5) seems slightly suspicious. The wording of the last phrase in FL (19,5) is awkward, and it may well be that this final phrase is descended from a line similar to that which ends the section in P-Group, where the ability in question is not that of the dragons to be born but that of men to cross the river.)

Analogues

This passage on the dragon is quite remarkable for the paucity of its description. Descriptions of dragons abound, in writers on natural history, in fables (Phaedrus, *Fabulae Aesopiae*, ed. N. Perotti, Oxford, 1919, IV, 21, presents an interesting example of a gold-hoarding, cave-dwelling dragon), and in vernacular literature. I have, however, found none which agree with this passage in the *Letter*, either in the absence of traditional characteristics of the dragon or in the dimensions, which accord with those given to some serpents (see 86, Analogues).

Significant Readings

P-Group

19,2 *longipedes n.C.* (Pit) The other texts all agree in reading *cl.* It is errors of this sort which warn us to handle Pit with care, for it is capable of containing corruptions of a simple nature and a large number of misreadings although many of its readings are uniquely well preserved.

19,3 *Propter multitudinem draconum.* (Mir-T) For no apparent reason, this has been amplified in Mir-B to *Propter multitudinem vero draconum illorum.* Unlike most cases of modification in Mir-B, there is at this point no corruption in Mir-T and the reading of OE does not conflict with the Latin. It is possible that an intermediary MS between Mir-T and Mir-B presented problems.

19,5 *trans flumen*. (Mir) Pit and EP agree in reading *super illud (hoo) flumen*, which therefore probably represents the inherited text. Either reading makes adequate sense. In EP and OFr this final phrase has been removed to the beginning of the following section, thus changing the river from the limit of human exploration to a simple location. The OE translator chose to paraphrase the wording he found in Mir, translating *trans flumen* by *on þæt land*.

F-Group

19,3-4 *crassi latitudine columnarum maximarum*. (FL)

Both FR and Ger use the late Latin word *grossi* (Ger: *grossisies*) in place of classical Latin *crassi* 'thick'. Ger evidently found the phrasing of FL too laconic, for he has amplified it to *latitudo et grossisies ad quantitatem maximarum columnarum*.

19,5 *qui in Erisone et Nilum nasci potuerunt*. (FL)

As I have already suggested, this line should be seen not as straightforward repetition of an earlier idea (*ibi nascuntur dracones*) but an attempt to make sense of a corrupt passage which originally probably expressed very much the same idea as 20,4-5 in P-Group. Two concepts are retained; *illud flumen*, which has been clarified in FL as *in Erisone et Nilum* (the mixture of cases indicates confusion over the function of *in*), and *potest* (FL *potuerunt*).

SECTION 20

Almost all versions lack some details from this section, a coincidence which may point to some difficulty in transmission at an early stage. There is considerable repetition in the subject matter, which raises the possibility that the omissions may be due to editorial suppression rather than mechanical errors such as haplography, or outside forces such as damage to a MS. The whole section is present only in FL. Of the other F-Group texts, Ger (who certainly edited this passage) has only the latter half, and FR (in which editorial interference is probable) retains only a small snatch as a lead-in to §21. The reason behind these omissions was undoubtedly the number of difficult and repetitive readings in FL, which is uncharacteristically corrupt at points in this section and has some cruces which can be explained only by comparison with P-Group texts. None of the P-Group texts has anything which corresponds to 20,5-8 in FL and Ger. Otherwise, EP omits the initial localisation (20,1-2); Pit omits the first instance of *maximus et altissimus* (20,3) while EP and OFr omit the second (20,6). In OFr this may be due to haplography, as the intervening reference to Media and Armenia is also omitted. Pit is the only text to refer to a nation inhabiting the first mountain (20,4). Pit alone omits the final reference to pearls (20,9).

There are two passages in the Derivatives which are based on this section. LM II,31 draws on this section in conjunction with 521. Ger II (*Otia Imperialia, Decisio II*) also draws on it (MS Vat. Lat. 933, f.20^v, col.2, ll.18-22).

Letter of Pharasmanes

(In view of the confused state of the textual tradition I have broken with the normal practice of this edition and list after each detail all texts in which that detail is to be found.)

There is another kingdom in the land of
Babylonia (Mir; Pit)

(FL's *Inter babilonya*, which is unsatisfactory and requires emendation such as the addition of a second place name, almost certainly derived from a reading such as Pit's *in terra babiloniae*.)

There is a mountain (P-Group; FL)
very big and very high (P-Group excluding Pit)
in which there is a race of men (FL; Pit)
who are tyrants (Pit)

(FL reads *quasi leonum*, which is close enough to Pit's *tyrannorum* orthographically for the two to be descended from the same ancestral reading. Pit's reading is more likely to represent that original, not just because it makes better sense (although not necessarily in the context of this catalogue of monstrous beings)

but because *quasi leonum* is itself an emendation made by the thirteenth-century corrector in the MS of FL to the earlier reading *si leonum*. This earlier reading made even worse sense than the correction, and without the intrusive initial syllable is even closer in reading to *tyrannorum*.)

Between Media and Armenia (P-Group excluding Pit)
or In Middle Armenia (FL)

(There seems no way of establishing the earlier reading in this instance, as the mountain whose position is specified in this way is not named. The variation depends on taking *Media* as a place-name or as an adjective. Both readings are satisfactory grammatically; there are in fact mountains both in the middle of Armenia and on the border between Media and Armenia.)

There is a mountain (Mir; Pit; FL)

very big and very high (Mir; Pit)

(This is the second instance of the phrase *maximus et altissimus* in Mir, and one is inclined to suspect accidental duplication. However, FL quite clearly intends to refer to two distinct mountains, for the second is specified as *alius mons*. Mir and Pit are the only P-Group texts to repeat the noun *mons* (20,2 and 20,6). The two mountains are given different locations, but this is done casually and it not made

clear that two separate mountains are under consideration. The P-Group text, as presented in Mir and Pit, looks muddled, and it is quite possible that EP and OFr edited out the second mountain, if it was not eliminated by haplography.)

There are men there who are very (P-Group; FL)

rich (*locupletes*) (FL)

distinguished (*honesti*) (P-Group)

(The next passage is found only in F-Group; its omission in P-Group may be due to haplography as this passage repeats the phrase *homines locupletes*.)

To the right, for those going towards the

Red Sea, there are two cities, Phenix and

Ioraba, where there are many wealthy (*locupletes*)

men, from whom there are trade routes

(*collationes*) with India and Arabia. (FL; Ger)

The final details are present in some form in all texts)

They hold sway over the Red Sea (P-Group, FL; Ger)

and very precious pearls grow there (P-Group excluding

Pit; FL; Ger)

Analogues

The nature of the subject matter of this section, which consists almost entirely of geographical data, makes it likely that the information was gathered piecemeal, from geographical writings and possibly from first-person accounts. No single source for the whole

section is known to exist.

Significant Readings

P-Group

20,1 *Super hoc flumen.* (EP) This phrase, which occurs at this point also in OFr, belongs properly with 19,5. It has become detached from the end of the previous section, and is discussed in the notes on that passage.

20,3-6 *seo mæste dun betwih media dune 7 armænia.*
Seo is ealra duna mæst 7 hyhst. (OE) The OE translator decided to eliminate the ambiguity he found in Mir concerning the number of mountains. He reworded his source as much as was necessary to make it clear that there was one mountain, the highest of all, which lay between two mountain ranges, not two countries, as in Mir.

20,5 *inter Moeniam et Arimeniam.* (Pit) Pit has substituted the last two syllables of *armeniam* (as in Mir and EP) for *mediam* to produce *Moeniam*. *Moenia* is not known as a place-name, but is a common noun, 'walls or fortifications of a city', and as such could have been seen as the name of a fortified city although hardly of a country.

20,7-8 *þær syndon gedefelice menn þa habbað him.*
(OE-T) These words are lacking in OE-V. They accurately represent the Latin text, and were certainly

part of the translator's original intention. The omission must be seen in conjunction with two other weaknesses in OE-V in this section, the reversal of *7 to anwealde* and *þa readan sæ*, which breaks up the word-pair *to kynedome 7 to anwealde*, and the mistranslation of *margaritae* (20,9) as *carogimmae*. This passage is one of four passages in V which have suffered damage or rewriting for some reason. The four, which are considered in detail in the introductory note on the manuscript, all appear at the same distance from the bottom of the page in T, in four consecutive columns, pointing clearly, as I have argued earlier, to damage such as an ink or water stain which affected part of the text on facing pages.

20,8 *et habitant usque ad mare rubrum*. (EP) Mir and Pit both agree with F-Group texts in expressing the dominion of these people over the Red Sea with the verb *tenere* (or a compound based on it) and the noun *imperium*. The reading in EP, which has no undertones of supremacy, was probably intended as a gloss on this expression, although as such it is unsatisfactory.

20,8 *en le partie par desous*. (OFr) Mir and Pit both read *imperi-* (*imperio* and *imperium*). The text which lay before the OFr translator must have read *inferio*, which has been rendered *par desous*.

Confusion between *p* and *f* is a possibility in many Carolingian hands.

20,8 *to kynedome 7 to anwealde*. (OE-T) Word-pairing is a stylistic feature of the OE translation, one of the very few ways in which the translator tried to impose his own literary standards on the received material. In OE-V, as has already been mentioned, the pair has been separated, thus reducing the impact.

20,9 *gimmas*. (OE-T) *margaritae* 'pearls' appears correctly translated as *meregrota* in 33,3 in OE-T, although even there it is paired with *gymmas*, which is not represented in Mir. The translator seems to have been uncertain of precisely what a pearl was. OE-V, which was forced, probably by damage to the MS which provided the copy for V or an ancestor of V, to retranslate, offers the totally inappropriate reading *sarogimmas* (gems wrought by the skill of the craftsman).

F-Group

20,2 *natio quasi leonum*. (FLCor) The reading of FL before correction, *natio si leonum*, is close enough to Pit's *natio tyrannorum* to be a corrupt version of it. There is a wide gap between the readings, even so, but similar or identical letters fall in the same

position in both phrases frequently enough for there to be some link. The degree of corruption is such that no hypothesis on the sequence of events or the scripts involved can be put forward.

20,5 *A parte vero dextra euntibus ad Mare rubrum.*

(FL) *dextra* here almost certainly means 'right-hand side of the road', not 'south' (right-hand side of a mediaeval map). Whether we take the starting point as the middle of Armenia (as in FL) or the border between Media and Armenia (as in P-Group), a line drawn between that starting point and the Red Sea has the wealthy cities of Palestine to its right (if one is going towards the Red Sea) and Arabia Deserta to its left.

20,7 *valde homines locupletes sunt.* (FL) Although the repetition of *valde locupletes* looks like a duplication of the description in 20,4 (where it has some support from the P-Group readings) this second occurrence of the phrase is followed by an explanation of the wealth of these men which has a ring of authenticity. The *collationes* 'links' with India and Arabia referred to in the following line are trade routes, the major source of affluence in the mediaeval period.

20,8 *directiones*. (Ger) Gervase did not perceive the significance of these *collationes*, for he emended to *directiones*, a statement of geographical position not of economic influence.

20,8 *Circa Indiam et arabiam regio est*. (FR) This brief phrase is all that FR retains of §20. FR has been edited at several points in such a way as to remove any geographic verisimilitude, and a passage such as this one, which concentrates on realistic geographic information, suffers severely from the editor's censorship. This phrase has been left as an introduction to the next wonder described, the bearded women of §21.

20,10 *margaritae ingentes et maxime forme*. (FL)

In FL the unique merit of these pearls is their great size. Ger is subtler in his assessment; an emendation to *margaritae et maxime et optime forme* indicates that they are to be valued for their quality as well as their bulk.

Derivatives

Liber Monstrorum

20,5-6 *in vicino Armeniae montis loco*. LM is so selective in its use of material from this section that it is not possible to tell whether the source drawn on

told of two mountains or one. The location given here, which has no reference to Media, may derive from a reading such as Pit's, in which Media has become *Moenia*, or even such as that in FL, where the place name Media has become the adjective *media*.

20,9 *ubi margaritae nasci perhibentur*. The characteristic expression of doubt, *perhibentur* 'are said to', is attached to the only feature in this section which in any way taxes the credulity of the reader. As in EP and OFr, the pearls are not further qualified.

SECTION 21

This section on the bearded women who are such formidable hunters is found in all texts of both groups. The material was drawn on by LM in two places, I,22 which features the women themselves and II,31 where it is linked with material from §20 to provide a brief passage on the various kinds of wild animals which abound in the Armenian mountains. Gervase also drew on the P-Group version in *Otia Imperialia, Decisio* II (GerII) in a passage appearing in MS Vat. Lat. 933 on f.20^v, col. 2, where it follows the detail drawn from §20. *Historia de Preliis* J², chapter 94 describes these women, drawn from the F-Group version.

Letter of Pharasmanes

Around (*circa*) that place

(Only FR gives the place a name; by transference from §20 it is *circa Indiam et arabiam*.)

there is a mountain

(The common ancestor of Mir and OFr read *locum* instead of *montem*. This was presumably a deliberate change, made to reduce the superfluity of mountains.)

where women are born

(F-Group texts tell us that they are of horrid appearance.)

they have boards which hang down to their
breasts

(F-Group texts say that they also have flat heads.)

they dress in animal skins

(Mir, presumably misplacing the *equoo* / *equao* which occurs later in EP and Pit, tells us that they wear horse-hide. The illustration in T shows this very clearly; the woman, who is breastless, is wearing a skin wrapped round her hips and the ears and tail on the skin are clearly represented. The woman in V is shown wearing normal drapery.)

They have horses

(This detail, which is in Pit and GerII and was probably also in an ancestor of Mir is likely to be an inherited feature, both because of the instances of its occurrence and because it makes sense - with such fast 'hounds' the huntresses would need to travel fast themselves.)

They are huntresses; Instead of dogs they
breed wild animals

(F-Group texts clarify that these are to help in the hunting.)

which are ... leopards

(Here the groups diverge. In P-Group they are tigers and leopards, while F-Group makes them as large and of the same colour as leopards. The illustrations

do not depict them as particularly like either. They are uncoloured in V, while T shows two beasts, one of which is reddish-brown, the other pale pinkish-brown.)

(The conclusion is found only in P-Group:)

and they hunt all the species of wild animals which live in that mountain.

(Thus Mir, Pit and GerII. The other P-Group texts, LM and OFr, have attached a reference to 'other kinds of animals' (*et autres bestes*) to the list of those used for hunting, thus eliminating the reference to prey.)

Analogues

Although wild women are a frequent theme in teratological literature, the only accounts which correspond closely to these are those which are likely to be related to the *Letter*. There is one such passage in Jacques of Vitry *Historia Orientalis*, chapter 91 (Douai, 1597, p.214):

In quibusdam vero silvis Indie habitant mulieres barbas usque ad mamillas habentes, pellibus animalium indute, nec vivunt nisi de venatione ...

Women who have beards down to their breasts live in certain woods in India; they are clad in the skins of animals and live only by hunting.

Isidore in *Etymologiae* XII,ii,28 casts an interesting side-light on the use of wild animals in hunting:

*Solent et Indi feminas canes noctu in
silvis alligatas admitti ad tigres bestias,
a quibus insiliri, et nasci ex eodem foetu
canes adeo acerrimos et fortes ut in
complexu leones prosternant.*

And the Indians are said to tie up bitches in the woods by night, so that tigers can reach them and mate with them. And from that litter dogs are born which are so very quick and strong that they can overthrow lions in combat.

The Corruptions in OE-V

In this passage OE-V has strangely corrupt readings at two points:

21,7 Mir *leopardos* OE-T *leopardos* OE-V *leon ? loxas*

21,9 Mir *cum illis* OE-T *omits* OE-V *mid heora
scin(lac)e*

Commentators have put forward various explanations for this, just as they have for the later passage where the two OE texts diverge even more widely (32,4-9). Most of these hypotheses depend on V representing an earlier stage of the text, possibly based on a more corrupt version of Mir than that found in Mir-T, with the text of OE-T corrected on the basis of Mir-T. (Sisam argues this in 'Compilation of the *Beowulf* MS', *Studies in the History of Old English*

Literature, Oxford, 1953, pp.80-81.) The converse theory, put forward by Gibb (*op.cit.* pp.166-167) is that OE-V had access to a corrupt version of Mir, on the basis of which sections of the text were, for some reason or another, rewritten or edited. This theory, insofar as it sees OE-T as representing the translator's original intention and OE-V as a later modification in these few strange readings, is closer to the truth. However, it does not indicate how these lacunae arose, nor is the explanation of how they were filled in accordance with the facts.

The corruptions in OE-V are in isolated pockets, while the remainder of the text is not littered with mistranslations. These pockets were caused by damage. Conclusive evidence of this is found in 32,4-9 and will be examined there. That passage is closely connected with this one, for in the two-column bilingual text of T the one passage backs directly onto the other. The damage which can be proved to have occurred in an ancestor of V in the later passage (which, with the rearrangement of the text in Mir, appears earlier in the MS) must have affected the other side of the vellum as well, although less extensively. Two further passages in adjoining

columns show damage at the same height on the page. This points to a seeping stain, such as an ink-blot, rather than total loss of the bottom of the page. The copyist, whose Latin proved to be negligible, was forced to refer back to the text of Mir to fill the lacunae thus created. His suggestions, particularly the separation of *leopardos* into its constituent parts, read as if he had no Latin at all but asked a colleague to gloss words at random.

Significant Readings

P-Group

21,1 *locum*. (Mir) The inherited reading was *montem*, which appears to have been changed to *locum* in a common ancestor of Mir and OFr, which reads *region*. The most likely reason for this is that it was a deliberate modification made to reduce the superfluity of mountains in §§20 and 21.

21,4 *pelliculas equorum ad vestimentum habentes*.

(Mir) None of the other texts specify horses' hides. This almost certainly derives from the reading in Pit and GerII, where the women 'wear skins and have horses'. Another, less attractive explanation is that this arose from another instance of *quorum/aquorum* confusion (as already encountered in 15,3). If this were the case, Mir's *oxorum* would represent the earlier

reading and *equos /equas* the derivative. There are problems in accepting this, both in its implications for the stemma (corruptions common to EP and Pit which are not present in Mir are unlikely) and because *quorum* would have to be part of an earlier **bestiae quarum pelliculas*. If *quorum* were to have an antecedent, perhaps the wild animals of 21,6-8, extensive rearrangement of the sentence would be required. The close agreement between texts of both groups in the order of this part of the description seems to exclude this possibility.

21,5 *venatrices maximae sunt*. (EP) The grammatical function of *maxime* varies between the P-Group texts. In Mir, the MS reads *he venatrices. maxime pro canibus tigres et leopardos nutriunt* 'they are huntresses; they breed tigers and leopards especially instead of hounds'. In Pit, *maxima* has been associated with *in forma* which has replaced *pro*, thus it is 'very big', in an adjectival function, but dissociated from the women. EP reads *venatrices maximae sunt* 'they are great huntresses', a reading paralleled, perhaps accidentally, by HP's *sunt namque venatrices optime*. It is this last interpretation which has been adopted by the OE translator, which raises the possibility that the realignment caused by the punctuation in Mir took place after the translation was made. OFr omits

maxime altogether.

21,5 *huntigystan*. (OE-T) This form in OE-T is an accurate gloss for *venatrices*, formed on *hunta* with the feminine suffix *-estre*. OE-V, possibly because of the damage which affected an antecedent MS in patches over the next few lines, reads *hundiegean*, the root of which is *hund* 'dog'. *Hundum* is omitted from the text of OE-V in the following line, which may account in some way for its presence here. As with the other puzzling readings in this passage in OE-V, the likeliest explanation is that several lacunae were dealt with individually by a scribe with little Latin who did not always refer to the correct part of the Latin text in his attempt to restore the readings.

21,6 *fore hundum*. (OE-T) Again, OE-V has problems with the text, omitting *hundum* altogether and reading *from* in place of *fore*, so that this line reads *from tigras 7 leon 7 lozas*, which is quite nonsensical. Damage to the exemplar would again provide the explanation.

in forma canis. (Pit) *Pro canibus* 'instead of dogs' has been modified in Pit, evidently by a scribe who did not fully understand it, to *in forma canis* 'in the shape of dogs'. *Maxima* has become associated with

this phrase, producing a reading which could be paraphrased 'they breed tigers and leopards to look like very big dogs'. Legends such as that quoted above from Isidore, together with incidental details such as the use of the name *Tigris* for one of Actaeon's hounds (Ovid, *Met.*, ed. R. Ehwald, Leipzig, 1928, 3,217) may have aided this emendation.

21,7 *leon ⁊ loxas*. (OE-V) The copyist, who was confronted by a lacuna and a Latin text reading *leopardos* (possibly written as if it were two words) has divided *leopardos* into its constituent parts, *leones* and *pardos*.

21,8 *et autres bestes*. (OFr) At some stage during transmission (it is impossible to tell whether it was before or after translation) the final detail which specifies *omnia genera bestiarum* as the prey of these huntresses has been omitted. OFr adds these animals to the list of those used as hounds, and they are similarly treated in LM.

21,8 *þæt syndon þa cenestan deor*. (OE) This phrase looks like an explanation for the choice of these animals to serve as hounds which has been added in the translation, since there is nothing in Mir to correspond to it. However, a similar phrase is found in LM (*et rapida ferarum genera*, 21,8). LM is not

normally as close to Mir in its readings as it is to EP, but this coincidence raises the remote possibility that this wording was present in the text of Mir at the time of the translation. On the possibility that LM borrowed the phrase from a different source, see below.

21,9 *mid heora scin(...)*e. (OE-V) OE-T does not translate *cum illis*, which is such a simple expression that one would expect it to be restored easily if obliterated. OE-V's reading here appears to be translating *cum illusio*, for whether the illegible letters were (*lac*) as suggested by Sisam (*op. cit.* p.81) or not, the stem *scin* implies witchcraft or magic. As before, the most probable explanation is that a lacuna had to be filled by a scribe whose Latin was such that he referred even this simple phrase to a colleague, perhaps mispronouncing it as he did so.

F-Group

21,2 *Circa Indiam et arabiam*. (FR) The phrase *India et arabia* is found in FL 20,8, where it is not the name of the place under discussion but the destination of trade routes from that place. The abridgement of FR, which appears to have removed intentionally all recognisable geographical information

has caused this distortion of the inherited text.

21,4 *barbate*. (Ger) Gervase's preference for a participle in place of a verbal construction with a noun object is shown in his repeated replacement of such phrases as *habentes barbas* (FL, FR 21,4) by forms such as *barbate*.

21,6 *venariaces*. (FL) The attentions of the Corrector end towards the bottom of f94, and this obvious and simple misreading escaped his notice.

21,7 *pro canes*. (FL) The grammatical error in the use of accusative instead of ablative after *pro* has not been corrected.

21,8 *ad instar*. (Ger) Gervase has introduced *ad instar* twice in this text. Here his source lacked any word of comparison, and in the other instance (*celeres ad instar equorum*, 15,2) he was uncertain of the interpretation to be adopted.

21,9 *leonibus*. (FR) The universal use of *leopardos* in the other texts demonstrates this to be a corruption. It probably derives from unclear word division, which made it possible for *leopardos* to be seen as its constituent parts. In this instance only the first part has been retained and absorbed grammatically into the sentence.

Derivatives

Liber Monstrorum

This passage has provided LM with material in two different sections.

21,1 *ut ferunt*. The Compiler makes his typical disclaimer or expression of doubt for anything which seems at all outlandish. In II,31 it is the pearls from §20 and not the animals from §21 which attract this disclaimer; the expression used there is *perhibentur*.

21,8 *et rapida ferarum genera*. It seems possible that LM used a source which, as in OFr, lacked the final words which make *omnia genera bestiarum* the prey and not the hounds. *Rapida* (which replaces *omnia*) may have been found in the source, as it appears to have some support from OE *þa cenestan deor*. There is, on the other hand, some evidence to suggest that this phrase was drawn from the *Epistola Alexandri*, where it appears as *rabida ferarum beluarumque genera*, with *rapida* in place of *rabida* in several MSS

(Rypins, *Three Old English Prose Texts*, London, 1924, E.E.T.S. o.s. 161, p.82, l.17 and footnote 9).

LM certainly introduced a phrase from the *Epistola Alexandri* in I,18 (see Ann Knock, 'The *Liber Monstrorum*; an Unpublished MS and some Reconsiderations', *Scriptorium*,

32, 1978, p.26). If this phrase was drawn from an outside source such as the *Epistola* it would be of no value in assessing any relationship with OE (and therefore Mir). In the later passage in LM which uses the same material a similar phrase is found. Here, however, it is *et cuncta ferarum genera* 'and all kinds of wild animals', wording which is more likely to be an adaptation of *omnia genera bestiarum* as found in Mir, Pit and GerII.

Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, *Decisio* II.

21,5 *equos habent*. Several readings in this passage indicate that GerII is closely related to Pit.

These two are the only texts to attribute the possession of horses (as opposed to horse-hide, as in Mir) to these huntresses.

21,5 *venatrices sunt. tigrides pro canibus habent*.

In MS Vat. Lat. 933 (f.20^v, col.2) these words are entered in the margin in the hand presumed to be that of Gervase himself. They are marked •/ to show the point at which they are to be inserted into the body of the text. The division of the sentence is similar to that of EP. *Tigrides* is the same form of the plural as that used by Pit, but *pro canibus* does not show the modification to *in forma canis* as in Pit.

Historia de Preliis

21,1 *Alio namque die amoto exercitu cepit ire per ipsas silvas Indie.* As usual the passage has been edited, without the exercise of any great imagination, to fit the narrative context. The reference to *silvas Indie* may indicate a closer link with FR (*circa Indiam et arabiam*). *Silvas* refers back to the previous passage in HP, and it is possible that the reference to India encouraged the interpolator to insert it at this particular point in the text.

21,3 *habentes corpora magna.* As frequently in these interpolations, size has been exaggerated so that victory over these creatures reflects to the greater glory of Alexander.

21,4 *caput planum.* The Old French Prose Alexander (ed. A. Hilka, 1920, §94, p.177) has made these women still more monstrous by translating *caput planum* 'a flat head' as *qui avoient grans cornes es chies* 'who had large horns on their brows'.

21,8-9 *Tunc Macedones insequentes illas apprehenderunt ex eis aliquantulas.* This sentence replaces the comparison with leopards or lions which was found in the source. It is similar to the phrase introduced in the following chapter in HP to accompany the material drawn from §22 of the *Letter*. The only

difference between this line and 22,14 is in the word order and the use of *quasin* place of *illas*. This similarity indicates that both lines were the work of the interpolator.

SECTION 22

This section on the monstrous women, which in HP are given the name *lamie*, the classical name for a type of witch-vampire, is found in all texts of both groups. It forms the final section of Pit.

Passages deriving from the description in the *Letter* are found in LM I,28, Gervase, *Otia Imperialia*, *Decisio* II, (MS Vat. Lat. 933, f.19^r, col.2, ll.9-13) and in *Historia de Preliis*, J², chapter 95.

In F-Group all versions except FL and HP finish at 22,7.

Letter of Pharasmanes

(It is not absolutely certain how much of the material found in HP, which provides a fuller account than any of the other texts, is taken from the *Letter* or whether any of it was drawn from other sources. The points in question and their implications for the stemma will be considered in detail as they arise.)

In the same place

(F-Group texts read 'in woods in the same mountains' EP and LM are alone in relating this to the Red Sea, last mentioned in §20, a fact which may indicate an especially close relationship between them.)

there are women with boars' tusks,

hair down to their ankles and a

tall behind like a bull's. They
are tall

(The specific heights vary. FR and LM agree,
probably coincidentally, in reading 12 feet; EP
reads 13; Mir, 14; FL and Ger 7. Pit and GerII
do not specify height in feet.)

(At this point the texts diverge. In F-Group it is
stated that:)

the rest of their body is hairy (*pilosum*)
like an ostrich.

(*Struthiocamelus* 'ostrich' is not present in that
form in any of the extant texts, for it has been
broken down into its elements (cf. *leopardos* §21)
to give *strutio* 'sparrow-like' and *camelus* 'camel'.)
(In P-Group they are described as:)

having beautiful bodies (*specioso*)
like white marble, and they have camel's
feet. Their teeth are like asses'

(EP and OE-V agree on asses, Mir and OE-T read boars,
as at the beginning of the description. The change
between the two words is very simple in Old English,
from *eoseles* to *eoferes*. Asses almost certainly
represents the inherited reading. OFr, probably
because of the earlier reference to boars teeth, has
changed *dentes asinorum* to *oreilles dasne*, drawing on
a more celebrated attribute of the ass.)

(HP alone goes on at this point to describe a second group of women, the *lamie*, who, like the women described earlier in all texts:)

have hair down to their ankles.

They are 7 feet tall

(The same height was given in FL and Ger for the earlier women at a point where HP agreed with FR and LM in reading 12)

they are very beautiful and have

hooves like horses.

(Both these characteristics have already been found in P-Group texts, although the cloven feet are there said to resemble those of camels. The P-Group passage has traditionally been considered a corruption based on the F-Group reading; *specioso corpore quasi marmore candido, pedes habentes camelinos* (Mir) was believed to have developed from *reliquum corpus pilosum quasi structio et camelus* (FL). This treatment in HP, showing all these characteristics attributed to two distinct groups of women forces us to reconsider this conclusion.

The passage in question was certainly added to HP at about the same time as the passage which is certainly drawn from F-Group; both passages are present in the J^2 version of HP but not J^1 . It is conceivable that the *lamie* were drawn from another

source. Both passages were given separate introductions by the interpolator, which suggests that he found them as two self-contained units and not as a single complicated description (as in the surviving P-Group texts) which he tried to untangle. No source apart from the *Letter* has been traced for this passage, and until a more likely source is found the few phrases in P-Group would appear to be the closest relative. This suggests that this description, like the earlier one, was taken from a version of the *Letter*.

Accepting that a version of the *Letter* was probably the source, we must now examine which version this could have been. The vestiges of this passage are found only in P-Group, but there is no other evidence of the use of any P-Group text or derivative of P-Group by the interpolator of HP. We do know that he made heavy use of a text closely resembling that of FR, and the part of the text to which he added passages borrowed from FR is the part in which this passage is found. Indeed, it follows a passage which is taken from a text very close to FR in certain readings. It is easier to postulate the existence in the archetypal *Letter* of two sections on monstrous women which, because there was some overlap in subject matter, were subjected to editing during the course of transmission. HP would then be

seen to have drawn its interpolations from an early stage of the F-Group text, before the suppression of this apparently superfluous passage in the common ancestor of FL and FR. The material was retained in P-Group, but conflated with the preceding passage to produce a single, contradictory description which has worried translators and editors alike, so that there is continual evidence of attempts to make it more self-consistent.

There is another possible explanation, but one which does not seem to me to stand up as convincingly to examination. A group of texts within P-Group, from which Pit is excluded, have been infiltrated by a small number of references from an Alexander text. The Alexander references include three involving the name of Alexander (one of which is found in 22,11-12, later in this passage) and at least one instance of recasting a description to agree with details in the *Epistola Alexandri* (the three-coloured body and leonine head of the hippopotamus in §15). It is possible that the extra details in the P-Group texts have been introduced from an Alexander text. However, this section is an interpolation which first appeared in J2, the second interpolated version of the *Historia de Preliis*, and the P-Group text of the *Letter* was

in circulation at least 300 years before the compilation of \mathcal{P} during the twelfth century. A further argument against counting these details with the other material introduced from an Alexander text is that whereas none of the other such borrowings appears in Pit this does, in exactly the same form as in the other texts.

In conclusion, the evidence seems to suggest that one of the hypotheses considered is more probable than any others; the theory that F-Group originally contained two separate sections on different types of women, which are now preserved only in HP. The second section was early eliminated in F-Group, possibly because of the extent to which the material seemed to be repeated, and in P-Group it was merged with the earlier section for the same reason, with unsatisfactory results.)

(The final detail in this passage appears in P-Group texts except the derivatives GerII and LM. It is also present in FL, with a modified version in HP. The versions differ widely.)

The writer desired to capture some
(Thus FL, which best preserves the pretence that this is a real letter.)

to look at them

(Pit; the intention in FL is to take them to Rome alive.)

some were killed

(The number ranges between 1 in FL and many.)

by three of our comrades

(Both FL and Pit have a phrase to this effect, although in Pit 3 is the number of the slain, not the slayers. EP, Mir and OFr introduce Alexander, as if he were in charge of the army in which they themselves belonged. This may be an overspill from the earlier *socii nostri* of Pit, which has given rise to *nos gens* in OFr beside an Alexander reference.)

because they could not capture them

alive

(FL says that they were able to escape and fought for a long time.)

(Mir concludes with a moralising reason for the killing of 'many':)

because of their obscenity and

because they are wanton and dishonourable

with their bodies.

Analogues

There are no conclusive classical analogues to this passage, although monstrous women are found in several texts. Jacques of Vitry (*Historia Orientalis*,

Douai, 1597, chapter 91, p.215) has what appears to be a watered-down version of these creatures:

Sunt ibi quaedam mulieres in flumine speciose valde, excepto quod dentes habent caninos, albe autem sunt veluti nix.

There are certain women in the river who are very beautiful except that they have teeth like dogs, they are white as snow.

This description resembles the version in the *Letter* in three points, the beauty, the ugly teeth and the whiteness.

Significant Readings

22,2 *Rubro mari proximae*. (EP) EP, and LM which may be closely related to it, refer back to the last place mentioned, the Red Sea, referred to in 20,8.

22,6 *altae pedum xiii*. (Mir) Several different numbers are given for the height of these women, although they differ by single minims. The reading 12 in LM is the only P-Group reading to coincide with that of an F-Group text, in this instance FR.

22,7 *specioso corpore*. (Mir, EP, GerII) Pit is alone in reading *speciosae* to refer to the women as a whole, while the rest of the P-Group texts say clearly that they have beautiful bodies. The implication in these texts is that they have beautiful bodies despite the ugliness of their faces and certain

other aspects, and Pit's reading is certainly the later of the two.

22,9 *aprinos*. (Mir-T) The reading *aprinos* is a late corruption which took place after the OE translation had been made. OE-V reads *eoseles teð*, which corresponds exactly to *dentes asinorum* in EP. There are several factors which may have influenced the change in Mir. Thanks to the conflation of two separate descriptions, teeth have already been described as *dentes aprorum* in 22,3. OE-V dealt with this problem quite easily by translating that phrase as *eoferes tuzas* and the later one as *eoseles teð*, thus giving the women both teeth and tusks. However, this is not represented in the illustrations. The picture in T shows the tusks clearly, but not the teeth, while that in V shows neither teeth nor tusks. The change in reading probably took place first in the OE, for the difference between *eoseles* and *eoferes* is very slight in an insular hand. Perhaps we have some indication of the recent nature of the change in Mir-T in the difficulty the scribe had with *aprinos*, which he wrote as *ap'nos*, omitting *dentes*. Mir-B, faced with an unusual Latin abbreviation and a reading in OE which seemed to duplicate an earlier one, omitted *aprinos* altogether. In OFr the problem of apparent duplication has been

dealt with differently. *Asinorum* has been retained but *dentes* has been replaced by a different characteristic of the ass, its ears, *oreilles dasne*.

22,10 *micelnesse*. (OE) The reading *micelnesse* which appears in both copies of OE has been correctly emended by Gordon (*Year's Work in English Studies*, 1924, pp. 68-69) to *unclennesse*, a satisfactory gloss for *obscenitate*. The corruption is due in part to minim confusion, as Gordon suggests. There is, however, another factor; both OE texts lack any word translating *multe*, and this may somehow have become confused with *micel* and entangled in *micelnesse*.

F-Group

22,3 *aprinos*. (Ger) The use of an adjective instead of a genitive is a stylistic feature favoured by Gervase, which in this instance coincides with the readings of some P-Group texts.

22,5 *bobis*. (FR) The MSS of FR show variation between *bovis* and *bobis*. Only the latest MS reads *bovis*, while another has been corrected to that reading. This confusion has been claimed as a hispanic feature for FR-Ma, but it occurs also in the Italian MSS and is more likely to be a symptom of early date which has been copied from an archetype.

22,8 *quasi strutio et camelus*. (FR) This reading derives from *struthiocamelus* 'ostrich', but the word has been broken down into its constituent parts. In FL *strutio* 'sparrow-like' has degenerated still further into *structio*, which is meaningless. Ger was faced by this meaningless word and a comparison with the hairy-bodied camel, and reduced FL's reading to *pilosum ut camelus*.

Derivatives

Liber Monstrorum

22,2 *ut ferunt, speciosae*. The incongruity of the claim that women with such grotesque features could be beautiful has caused the compiler of LM to express his doubt with *ut ferunt*.

22,2 *Rubro mari cohaerentes*. Agreement with EP here seems to indicate that LM may be more closely related to EP than to the other P-Group texts. When the compiler sought to define the location of the material he drew from §21 on the bearded huntresses it was the Armenian mountains of 20,5 he picked and not the Red Sea, for 21,1 reads *iuxta montem Armeniae*. It is possible that he is following his source in specifying the Red Sea here. However, there are enough readings in LM which are not found in EP for us to be certain that LM is not descended from the text of EP as we have it.

22,4-8 The order has been changed here, and the effect is to make these women appear less monstrous. The reordered description begins with the more attractive details, the white body, the height, the flowing hair and only after this do we learn of the tail and other grotesque features. The tusks are omitted altogether, in both places where they are found in P-Group texts.

22,4 *et crines usque ad talos defluentes*. The elaborate language enhances the beauty of this description, which sounds far more attractive than its prosaic source, *capillos usque ad talos habentes*.

22,5 *caudas boum in lateribus*. The plain language of the source, *in lumbis*, has been modified to the euphemistic *in lateribus* 'in the sides/flanks'. The delicacy is unexpected in someone handling such material.

22,8 The section ends with the camels' feet, omitting the second reference to teeth and the details of the killing, if these were present in the source.

Historia de Preliis

The presence of two separate descriptions in HP, both of which probably derive from an F-Group version of the *Letter* although only one is present in extant F-Group texts has already been discussed at length.

Each of these descriptions begins with a formulaic introduction:

22,1 *Deinde ambulantes invenerunt ...*

22,9 *Deinde amoto excrementu venerunt ad alias silvas Indie et deambulantes per eas invenerunt ...*

These amply demonstrate the extent of the creative imagination employed.

22,5 *et in lumbis caudam bovis habentes.* Some MSS of HP read *et in natibus caudam*, and it is this reading which has passed into the Old French Prose Alexander as *si eurent au nombril coues de buef* 'they had a bull's tail growing from their navels' (ed. Hilka, 1920, 595 and Hilka, 1977, p.60).

22,11 *dicuntur lamie.* The classical *lamie* are vampires who suck children's blood, but there is no suggestion of that here. Isidore describes them in *Etymologiae* VIII,xi,102:

Lamias, quas fabulae tradunt infantes corripere ac laniare solitas, a laniando specialiter dictas.

The *lamie*, who are fabled to be in the habit of seizing children and tearing them to pieces, they are specially named after *laniando* 'tearing'.

22,14-17 The conclusion to the passage differs from the account of the attempted capture and killing which ends the section in FL. Whether this conclusion was

drawn from F-Group, if indeed an F-Group text provided the rest of the material, we have no way of telling. The account of Alexander's amazement when these creatures were brought before him is quite appropriate to the subject matter of this passage.

SECTION 23

This section which deals with several different races of men is found in all the P-Group texts (except Pit, which finished at the end of the previous section) but in F-Group it is present only in FL and Ger. It is omitted entirely from FR, presumably because of the factual and geographical nature of its contents. Only the first described of the races appears in LM, in I,26.

Letter of Pharasmanes

(The readings of the two groups differ widely in this section. There is, however, sufficient agreement in the content for us to be sure that certain characteristics were included in the archetype. Which of the divergent readings more closely represents that ancestor cannot at all points be ascertained.)

Adjacent to that place

(Thus F-Group; the P-Group texts read 'close by the ocean' (*secus oceanum*) which appears to be duplication in anticipation of 23,7, where exactly the same phrase appears, supported by *secundum Oceanum* in FL.)

Is a captive race

(Neither group preserves this reading intact, but it clearly underlies the surviving texts. FL

tells of a 'truly surrounded colony' (*coloniam vero cinctam*) which seems to imply captivity. In EP the race is described as *cativa gens*, a reading very close to the hypothetical *captiva gens* of the archetype of P-Group if not the earliest Latin text of the *Letter*. The reading *catini* had developed from the EP-type reading by the time of the common ancestor of Mir and OFr, and is treated as a proper name in these texts. In Mir it has been further transformed from the name of a race of men into the name of a species of wild animals (*genera bestiarum*). This transformation requires further modification subsequently in the text, with the addition of a race of men to take on the second attribute of *cativa gens*.)

who are beautiful and live on raw meat

and honey

(This form of the description appears only in P-Group. In FL the two basic concepts found in P-Group are both present, the fertility (P-Group 23,3-4, with its implications of a 'land flowing with milk and honey') and the important king (P-Group 23,6-7). These details appear in reverse order in F-Group, and the king is named as Darius.)

where there is a hospitable king

with many tyrants under him.

(In place of this P-Group reading, FL has a historical detail:)

Darius, King of the Persians,
was staying there together with
his men, enjoying all the good
things of life.

(It is impossible to tell whether this reference to Darius was found in the ancestral *Letter*, as there is nothing in P-Group which in any way resembles it. Darius was a well-known historical figure, who could have been added to replace the nameless *rex hospitalis* (EP 23,6). Equally, the P-Group readings could derive from a reference to Darius from which the name has been omitted.)

And close by the ocean there
are many kings.

(The 'many tyrants' of P-Group (23,6-7) and the later 'many kings', which are found only in Mir (23,8) with the vestiges of a reference in OFr which has become a proper name, look like duplication in P-Group. It is the second reference which directly corresponds to that in F-Group and therefore has perhaps a slightly greater claim to be considered part of the inherited text.)
(The texts diverge again, with only a very tenuous link between the two groups in that both refer to

something which can be counted or reckoned in numerical terms.)

The kings are too many to name
or number.

(The reference to naming kings may have some bearing on the question of the name of Darius, but whether it implies that an editor was particularly conscious of names because he had just added one is a matter of pure conjecture.)

(In place of this, P-Group texts read:)

These people live a long time and
are so kind

(It is possible that one feature at least of this P-Group reading is inherited from the archetype, for both groups go on to exemplify the kindness and generosity of these kings.)

that if anyone comes to visit them

they send him away with presents (*remunerati*)

(All the P-Group texts derive from an ancestor in which *remunerati* has become corrupted into *cum mulieribus*. The modification may have been influenced by the accounts of gifts of Amazon warriors to Alexander, for in P-Group this passage is followed directly by one of the interpolated references to Alexander.)

When Alexander came to them he was
amazed at their philanthropy and did
not wish to harm them or torment them
further.

(This reference to Alexander, which appears only in
those P-Group texts which contain the other
Alexander accretions (although we do not have a
reading from Pit, the one P-Group text not to
contain them) is almost certainly a late interpolation
in P-Group.)

Analogues

The gift of equestrian female warriors to Alexander
the Great, which may have influenced the corruption
of *remunerati* to *cum mulieribus* in P-Group is
recorded in Julius Valerius, ed. Kübler, p.155, 1,5:

*quingentas etiam equites destinasse
armatas et strenuas, ut poposcerit,
quae per annos scilicet permutentur.*

Then, as he had proposed, fifty armed
and active horsewomen were allocated
to him, who might be exchanged annually.

Significant Readings

P-Group

23,1 *dencoste le grant mer.* (OFr) Hilka emended
to *dejoste*, but the reading as it stands is a
satisfactory gloss for *secus*, being a compound of

the more commonly found forms *decoste* and *encoste*, which both mean 'beside'.

23,1 *genera bestiarum*. (Mir) Only Mir and OE transform this race of men into a species of wild animal.

23,2 *cativa gens*. (EP) As has been suggested, this reading in EP probably most closely approaches that of the archetypal P-Group text. Mir's *catini* arose by minim misinterpretation and by the addition of a regular masculine plural ending in place of a feminine singular which would be inappropriate in the reworked context. OFr reads *catins* (although the script is such that the reading *catius* would be admissable). The first alternative is more closely linked with the reading of Mir.

23,3 *ubi sunt homines*. (Mir) This addition, which is shown to be late by its absence in OFr, was necessitated by the change of the *catini* from men to beasts. Whoever made the insertion evidently felt that although it was in order to describe beasts as *formosi*, raw meat and honey was a more proper diet for men. It is a diet associated with those who live a life of some asceticism in places of natural fertility - it is a way of living off the land, without taking undue care about providing for yourself. Perhaps the feeling of the scribe who made that

interpolation was that such a diet was unworthy of comment as an animal's diet; only as a man's diet did it become noteworthy.

23,4 *vescentes*. (Mir) Each of the P-Group Latin texts uses a different verb at this point to express 'eat'. Variation between *manduco*, *comedo* and *vescor* appears freely throughout these texts. It appears to have been one of the few ways in which a scribe felt able to impose his own stylistic preferences on the text (with the exception of those editors such as Gervase and the compiler of LM who went to great lengths to improve the Latinity of the received material).

23,5 *in sinistra parte regio est catinorum*. (Mir) This detail, which is present only in Mir and OFr and is freely translated in OE, may be an interpolation attempting to separate geographically the many races who appear to be crowded into a small area. In Mir it serves the function of dividing the animals called *catini* from the honey-eating men. However, this localisation is present in OFr, in which the *catins* and the honey-eaters are still one and the same, so this cannot have been its original function.

23,6 *gæstliþende*. (OE-V) OE-V here gives the correct gloss for Mir's *hospitales*. The corruption in OE-T to *eastliþende* 'eastward-travelling' is a

fairly easy one to explain in orthographic terms, requiring the substitution of *ea* for *gæ*. It also makes tolerable sense in the OE context, although not in terms of the Latin original.

23,6 *under*. (OE-V) Here, and also in 27,2, OE-V leaves *him* to be understood after *under* denoting a relationship of king and subject. In both instances OE-T reads *under him* in full.

23,7 *heora landgemæra*. (OE) Both OE texts read *landgemæra*, 'boundaries' which does not translate the Latin as it stands. *tyrannos confines* 'neighbouring kings' (correctly rendered in OFr as *leur voisin*) was read by the OE translator, or a subsequent editor before the independent development of the two texts took place, as *tyrannos. confinia* 'kings; their boundaries'.

23,9 *benigni*. (Mir) This reading, which refers to the generosity of these men, is probably inherited from the ancestral text. EP reads *hospitale*, which may be a repetition from 23,6.

23,10-11 *il leur baillent conduit et les renvoient sil ont femmes*. (OFr) OFr has misinterpreted the Latin here, perhaps by looking at it with a Christian viewpoint. It tells us that the kings send visitors away with a safe conduct if they are married. This modification may well have arisen from the Latin text exactly as in

the surviving versions, by misinterpretation of the function of *cum mulieribus* and some amplifications of the type which the OFr translator so frequently makes.

23,11 *Alexander macedis*. (Mir) Whereas the other texts with the Alexander references call him *Alexander magnus*, Mir, both here and in 22,12 gives him the title 'Alexander of Macedon'. In 3,8, however, where the Alexander reference is corrupt in all texts, this title is given only in OE (*se micola macedonisca alexsander*) with Mir using the more common *magnus alexander*.

23,14 *nec ultra voluit occidere*. (Mir) The use of *ultra* 'further' here requires a less extreme interpretation of *occidere* than the usual one 'to kill', and both vernacular translations have taken it as 'to harm'. EP reads *nec ulterius accedere* 'and not approach them more closely', which solves the problem of *occidere* but raises further difficulties because it appears to contradict the earlier statement *cum venisset ad eos*.

F-Group

23,1 *Dii, regis Persarum*. (FL) The identity of this king is made clear by *idem Darius rex* in 23,3.

23,1 *In hoc sane confinio*. (Ger) Perhaps in order to avoid this difficult form *Dii* Gervase has rewritten the beginning of the passage. *Sane* 'healthy' is an

embellishment for which there is no support in FL.

23,2 *coloniam vero cinctam*. (FL) The significance of this 'truly encircled colony' is lost to us, but it is almost certainly connected with EP's *cativa gens* and thus inherited, in some way, from the archetype. Ger has replaced it by one of his standard formulae, *colonia optime fertilis*.

23,4 *omnibus bonis fruebatur*. (FL) *Omnibus bonis* is a frequently used expression of affluence and fertility which appears so often in these texts that it can be assumed to have been present in the earliest Latin versions. In this instance Ger has turned it into a far less prosaic expression, *ubi plurima ubertate amenitateque*. The presence of *amoenitatis* in 23,3LM where it refers to the honey-eaters is coincidental.

23,7 *nec numerum nec nomina*. (FL) Fermes tells us that he is unable to record the names or the number of all the minor kings, because there are so many. Ger has modified this, with a degree of honesty which is uncharacteristic and may not be intentional, to tell us that he does not know their name or number.

nomina vel numerum caused difficulty in the MSS of Ger, with gaps left in some, filled in in others and still others (having rearranged wording). This is a significant detail in the establishment of a stemma, and has been examined in full in the Introduction (Section 4, Gervase,

Manuscript Tradition, b) Evidence from the *Fermas* text).

23,9-10 *Ad quos qui forte pervenerint remunerati dimittuntur.* (FL) Ger has turned this simple statement of fact to his own advantage, to counter the effect of *ignoramus* in the preceding sentence. He assures the reader that it is because he himself has seen travellers returning with gifts (and not just gifts but *plurimis ac pretiosis donariis*) that he is able to bear witness to the existence of these kings.

Derivatives

Liber Monstrorum

LM has retained only a small amount of the material from this section.

23,2-3 *formosum genus hominum.* The word *hominum* shows that the source of LM did not have the corruption to *bestiae* as in Mir. Unfortunately, the name of the men, which could have related that source either to the common ancestor of Mir and OFr or to EP, is not given.

23,3 *legimus.* The compiler makes his routine disavowal of responsibility for the subject matter of his work.

23,3 *et hanc causam amoenitatis eorum esse adserunt.* This phrase has been added by the compiler, and it reveals why these men have been considered suitable

for inclusion in a Book of Monsters. His interest is in their strange diet and its unexpected effect on their personality.

23,4 *mel purum*. The importance attached to the diet is again emphasised by the introduction of *purum*.

The rest of the passage, dealing as it does with geographical detail and ordinary people (albeit with strange, but not unknown, notions of hospitality) does not qualify for inclusion in a *Liber Monstrorum*.

SECTION 24

This brief section on the source of precious gems is found in Mir, EP and OFr of the P-Group texts and in FL and Ger in F-Group.

Letter of Pharasmanes

There are

(F-Group reads 'rivers' *et alia flumina*, which is clearly not meant to refer back to any rivers already mentioned. In P-Group, Mir and OFr read 'trees' *arbores* and EP 'serpents' *serpentes*. Of the two P-Group readings, 'trees' is more likely to have been the reading of the P-Group archetype. EP's 'serpents' is a reference to the well-known legend of the *dracontia* or dragon-stone. Aldhelm and Thomas of Cantimpré both wrote on this topic, and their descriptions are included in Appendix 4 under *De Natura Rerum* VIII,16.)

in which precious stones are born and
gems grow.

There is a race of black men there, the
Ethiopians.

(F-Group readings are confused, for the adjective *nigre* has been transferred from the Ethiopians to the gems.)

(FL ends with a reference to Homer's mention of Ethiopians.)

Analogues

There are frequent accounts of rivers which produce precious stones and precious metals. LM II,28 ascribes such properties to the Ganges:

*Fluvius Indiae Ganges, qui aurum cum
lapidibus profert pretiosis*

The river Ganges of India, which
produces gold and precious stones

There are black gemstones produced by rivers, as described by Isidore in *Etymologiae* XVI,xi,1:

De Nigris
*Achates reperta primum in Sicilia iuxta
flumen eisdem nominis, postea plurimis
in terris.*

Black gemstones

Agate was first discovered in Sicily next
to the river of the same name, and
afterwards in many lands.

and by Thomas of Cantimpré (*De Natura Rerum*, XIV,1):

*Achates lapis est, qui unus de duodecim
lapidibus pretiosis est. Hic in Achate
fluvio orientali reperitur. Hic colore
niger est, venis albis intermixtus.*

Agate is a stone which is one of the twelve
precious stones. It is found in the
oriental river Achates. It is black in
colour, interspersed with white veining.

The *dracontia* or dragon-stone is a stone which grows
in a serpent's head; it must be plucked out before
the serpent is killed or it loses its value.

Reference has already been made to the passages on *dracontia* in Appendix 4.

Significant Readings

P-Group

24,2 *et ibi germinabuntur*. (Mir) The use of the imperfect tense is problematic, following as it does the present tense *nascuntur*. It has been ignored by the OE translator, who uses the present tense *growað*, and it has been corrected to a present tense in Mir-B. If it has any significance, it must mean that the gems first germinate and then hatch, as it were. In OFr it has been replaced by an elaborate pun, for *gemmes* can mean buds, as well as gemstones, and the name given to the trees (unique to OFr), *gemmer*, obviously describes their natural as well as their unnatural function. The same pun could be made in Latin, but Mir, the only text to derive the gems from trees, does not use *gemma* but *lapides pretiosi*. *gemma* 'to bud/to glitter with jewels' might underlie Mir's *germinabuntur*, but that would not help to explain the use of the imperfect. *Germinare* 'to hatch, to sprout forth' is satisfactory in terms of meaning.

24,4 In Mir and OE this passage is followed by 33,4.

F-Group

24,1-2 *alia flumina*. (FL) This reference to 'other rivers' when no rivers at all had been mentioned since §19 was seen as an inconsistency by Ger, who emended it to *Iuxta terminos memoratos sunt flumina* 'near the place of which we have been talking there are rivers'.

SECTION 25

This passage on creatures which are evidently onocentaurs although the name given to them in the text is *homodubii* is present only in P-Group, in EP, Mir and OFr.

Letter of Pharasmanes

As with all passages which occur only in one group, it is likely that this section did not form part of the earliest version of the *Letter*. The Latin name given to these creatures indicates that the section was added after translation from Greek.

Going on from this place there is
another kingdom to the right of
the ocean, 323 stadia or 253 leagues
and one mile away. *Homodubii* are
born there; they look like men
down to the navel, with the rest
of their bodies like wild asses.

(Here the texts diverge. EP gives them feet like a horse, a tempting reading but almost certainly a late emendation. Mir says that they have long feet like a bird, and OFr makes them 12 foot long. It is this last reading which provides the clue, combined with its reading *et souef vois comme oisel* where Mir reads *ut aves*. *Lena voce*. Considerable attention has been given to this passage, because

the superficial disagreement between the picture cycle, which shows cloven hooves, and the text of Mir, which talks of bird-like feet, has been seen as one of the most significant features in assessing the stage at which the picture cycle was added to the text. Sisam ('Compilation of the *Beowulf* MS', p.78) argues that the agreement between the illustrations in T and V and the text of EP pointed to modification of the text of Mir after the illustrations were made. To a certain extent he was correct, but Mir never had a reading such as that found in EP. The reading in Mir when the illustrations were made was the present reading, re-punctuated, with a numeral inserted for the height, *reliquo corpore onagro similes, longis pedibus (xii), ut aves lena voce*. The numeral was omitted and the punctuation adjusted between the addition of the picture cycle and the making of the OE translation.

When they see anyone they flee as
far as they can.

Analogues

There are many centaurs, hippocentaurs and onocentaurs in classical literature. They are usually believed to have acquired the horse's lascivious nature along with his nether regions. LM has two passages, neither of which is drawn from the *Letter*. In one of them (I,10 *De Onocentauris*) the dual nature of the beast is the

central theme:

*Onocentauri corpora hominum rationabilia
habere videntur usque ad umbilicum, et
inferior pars corporis in Onagrorum setosa
turpitudine describitur. Quos sic
diversorum generum varia naturaliter
coniungit Natura.*

The onocentaurs seem to have the bodies
of rational men down to the navel and the
lower part is described as having the hairy
deformity of the wild ass. Thus by
natural means changeable Nature marries
those who are of different species.

In the other passage (I,7 *De Hippocentauris*) one
characteristic referred to in the *Letter* is discussed
at length, their speech:

*Hippocentauri equorum et hominum habent
commixtam naturam, et more ferarum sunt
capite setoso, sed ex parte aliqua
humanae normae simillimo, quo possunt
incipere loqui: sed insueta labia
humanae locutioni nullam in verba vocem
distinguunt.*

The nature of the hippocentauri is a
mixture of horse and man; they have
a hairy head, in the manner of animals,
but in other aspects they are most
similar to normal human beings until they
begin to speak; but with lips unaccustomed
to human speech they do not make clear
any words in their talk.

These passages demonstrate that the description in the *Letter* is of an onocentaur, with the voice of a hippocentaur.

Significant Readings

P-Group

25,2 *oceano dexteriore parte stadia*. (Mir) This is a laconic way of expressing the distance on the right-hand side of the ocean, and OE has amplified it to include *þæt is geteald*. Mir-B has followed suit, adding *habens* before *stadia*. EP shows the phrase reduced to a minimal *proxima oceano*, specifying neither direction nor distance, but this text excludes all distances. OE, as usual, translated *dexteriore* as *sud̃*, in accordance with mediaeval cartography. In this particular instance the direction may have been added merely to bring an interpolated passage into line with the rest of the text. It is probably not part of the archetypal *Letter* and therefore less likely to be covering a realistic geographic detail.

25,3 *ccliii*. (OE-V, Mir-B and OFr) There is a high degree of agreement between the MSS on this numeral. Mir-T, however, appears to read *cclui*. This is unlikely, because there are at the most three occasions on which the scribe has written *u* instead of *v* in a numeral, here (f.82^v) and on ff.82 and 86. The scribe of Mir-B

(or of an intermediary MS, for there was at least one) interpreted it as *ccliii*. He did this on the basis of the Latin text, not the OE, for OE-T reads *cc.l.u.* 25,4 *homodubii*. The name given to these centaurs has already been used in P-Group for the ichthiophagi of 811. In that instance only Mir gave the name in this form. The gloss *þæt beoð twylce* which is in OE-T in this line was originally in the text of OE-V also, but was omitted during transmission, leaving only *þæt beoð*. It is possible that this omission was due to a space left for the word to be filled in in red; it would be important enough as the Old English name of the subject of the section. In 11,6 OE-T has the same gloss as here but OE-V has a more direct translation of the Latin, *þæt beoð twimen*. The OFr translation also glosses the name, using the word it used to translate *homodubii* (or whatever variant was in its source) in 11,6. The gloss *chest adire hommelet* was more appropriate to that passage than this, for *hommelet* 'dwarfs, homunculi' hardly fits these creatures who are twelve feet tall.

25,6 *longis pedibus*. (Mir) As has been demonstrated above, a numeral, possibly 12 as in OFr, accompanied these words in the text of Mir when the picture cycle was added. Mir-B, finding the same difficulty which has worried later commentators, turned to the

translation as a guide. This provided the reading *long sceancan*, which Mir-B has retranslated into Latin as *longis cruribus*.

25,8 *on þæm landum*. (OE) For some reason the translator felt inspired to put his mark on the text at this point. He added this minor detail and two alliterative pairings to translate verbs as mundane as *viderint* and *fugiunt*: *ongytað oððe geseoð* and (this latter example is only in OE-T) *feorriað hi ⁊ fleoð*.

SECTION 26

This description of the oracle appears at this point only in F-Group. It is present in FL, FR and Ger. The Greek name *Tritonides* and the Greek mythology which it contains indicate that it formed part of the *Letter* before the translation into Latin. There may be a tenuous connection with the text of Mir in §29, where that text alone describes the hyaenas, whose ability to imitate voices enables them to lure human prey, as *appellatur donestre, quasi divine* (29,3), which is glossed in OE as *swa frihteras* 'like soothsayers'. For the purposes of comparison, this passage is presented opposite the P-Group text of §29 in this edition.

Letter of Pharasmanes

Near the borders of this ocean

(The ocean is that already referred to in 23,5 *secundum Oceanum*. In the F-Group texts only 10 lines separate the two allusions.)

a distance of 280 stadia

(This distance is present only in FL. The combination of a reference to an ocean and a distance in stadia is reminiscent of the beginning of the interpolated §25 in P-Group.

The text of FR, resuming after an omission which included everything since 22,8 (probably a deliberate

exclusion made because the subject matter of the intervening passages is geographical and not teratological) gives an alternative location, *In persarum vero partibus*. Persia has been mentioned in FL in 23,1, in connection with Darius, but there are no earlier references to Persia in the text of FR.)

are born the *soraci*

(The name is given as *orhaci* in FR. The root of both words seems to lie in a link with *oraculum*, which is totally fitting in the light of the powers ascribed to them.)

which are known among you as Tritonians

(*Tritonides* is Greek, and the implication in this reading (which is that of FL) is that the *Letter* was written to a speaker of Greek from one whose native language was something else. This would have been the position in which the historical Hadrian and Pharasmanes found themselves. (Unfortunately, the word offered as the writer's own name for them looks suspiciously like bastard Latin.) FR reverses the position, stating that it is *apud nos* that the Greek name is current.)

as if divine (or soothsayers)

(*Divinus* can carry both meanings. In view of what follows, the latter is more appropriate here.)

If you wish to ask them about any
subject, you will receive an answer.

Analogues

The possible connection between the words *soraci*/
orhaci and *oraculum* has been pointed out above.

The Tritons, from whom the adjective *Tritonides*
is derived, were mermen, belonging to pre-Greek
mythology. They may not be the creatures who come
to mind first when considering Greek methods of
foretelling the future, but one does play the role of
a prophet in an incident in the story of the Argonauts.
After the Argonauts arrived in Africa, according to
the version of the legend recounted by Pindar (*Pythian*
Odes, 4, 11ff.), a Triton appeared before the travellers
in human form and presented them with a clod of earth
to symbolise their future possession of Cyrene.

Significant Readings

26,2 *orhaci*. (FR) FR-Ma and FR-P both read *orbaci*,
a misreading which could occur easily in many different
scripts.

26,3 *apud alios*. (Ger) By changing *vos* into *alios*
'among others', Gervase has removed one of the
surviving traces of epistolary style and at the same
time fitted his text to its readership. To read
vos would be to imply that his readership had

different linguistic habits from himself.

26,5-6 *quos de quacumque res interrogare volueris, responsum accipies.* (FL) This is one of the few instances in which the text of FR retains a reading which appears to suggest that the reader might explore and try something out for himself. The reading in FR is exactly as in FL, with the sole exception that *res* has been replaced by the synonym *causa*. Gervase, on the other hand, has depersonalised this sentence, changing the first clause to *a quibus de omni interrogatione* and changing the second person singular verb of the final clause to a passive, *responsum accipitur*.

SECTION 27

The first three lines of this passage, which deal with the barbarian race of kings, are present only in P-Group (Mir, EP and OFr), although the subject matter is similar to that of §23, where a description, which may be ultimately the same, of many kings is found in both texts in 23,6-8. (The text of 23,6-8F is presented opposite this passage for the purposes of comparison.)

The description of the sun and moon lakes is found, although with widely diverging readings, in both groups of texts. In P-Group it is present in the same texts as the first part of the section, and in F-Group it is found in FL and Ger.

Letter of Pharasmanes

(It is not clear whether the first passage, which is found only in P-Group, properly belongs here or is misplaced at this point.)

There is also another place inhabited by

barbarians who have 110 kings

(The role of these kings is confused. In Mir they are said to be *sub se* 'under them', in EP *in se* 'among them' and in OFr *sur aus* 'over them'.)

They are a very evil race.

(The rest of the passage is in both groups.)

In that place are two lakes

(Only EP and OE retain this reading, but the variants in other texts can all be traced back to *laci*. The agreement between Mir and OFr in reading *loci* is coincidental, for OE *seapas* is translated from *laci*. There is support from apparently unrelated texts for *laci*, see Analogues.)

One belonging to the sun, the other
to the moon. The one belonging to
the sun is hot by day and cold by
night; the one belonging to the
moon is hot by night and cold by day.

(This distinction is retained in full in P-Group. The text of FL is confused here, however, for at some stage (prior to the use of the text by Gervase, for the contraction appears also in his version) a copyist jumped from the characteristics of the first to those of the second, telling us that the one belonging to the sun 'is hot (*calet*) by day and becomes hot (*fervescit*) by night.

(Mir and OFr end with a dimension.)

And their length is 200 stadia or
133½ leagues.

Analogues

Springs which run at a different temperature by day and by night are described in several sources.

Solinus, 29,1, describes one which is cold by day and hot by night:

*Garamantum oppidum est Debris fonte miro:
quidni? qui alternis vicibus die frigeat,
nocte ferveat, ac per eadem venarum
commercia interdum ignito vapore inaestuēt,
interdum glaciali algū inhorrescat.*

A town of Central Africa is Debris, with its marvellous spring, and why not? With alternating vicissitude it is cold by day and seethes by night, and the same passage of the water at times rages with boiling steam and at other times grows hoary with icy frost.

No other instances of a pair of such lakes with opposing characteristics is known, outside that in the *Letter*. The attribution of these lakes to the sun and moon respectively raises two possibilities. We may be dealing with an ancient, possibly pre-Greek myth (just as the association of the Tritons with foretelling the future seems to be ancient and to have lapsed into oblivion except in that instance in which it is fossilised in a legend); the other possibility is that the single lake, as described by Solinus, has become confused in some way with the

the sun and moon trees consulted by Alexander as an oracle.

Significant Readings

P-Group

27,1 *locus hominum barbarorum*. (Mir) This construction with the genitive, found in both P-Group Latin texts, proved difficult to the translators who resorted to circumlocution. OE reads *beoð on* and OFr *habitent*, and in both cases the genitive has been changed to a nominative.

27,2 *under (him)*. (OE) As in 23,6, OE-V renders *sub se*, referring to subservience, not location, simply by the preposition *under* without a pronoun. OE-T gives *under him*.

27,2 *qui les gouvernent*. (OFr) It seems likely that OFr changed *sub se* (as in Mir) to *sur aus* at a fairly late stage, for *qui les gouvernent*, for which there is no support from the other texts, appears to have been added in defence of the emendation.

27,2 *genus pessimum et barbarorum*. (Mir) EP reads *gens haec pessima*, omitting *barbarorum*, which may have been repeated from 27,1 in Mir either accidentally or for effect. OFr includes the second of Mir's *barbarorum*, but omits the first.

27,3 *alibi*. (Mir) The reading *alibi* 'in another place' may be a late development in Mir as EP, OFr and OE all read 'there'.

27,3 *laci duo*. (EP) The agreement between EP and OE and the support of such passages as that from Solinus quoted above indicates that the ancestral text read *laci* at this point. Mir and OFr both have the same reading (*loci* and *lieus*), but if Mir had the archetypal reading when the OE translation was made, these changes to *loci* must be independent developments. Mir-B gives an alternative plural form, *loca*, which usually carried the specialised meaning 'places which are connected'.

27,7-8 The dimension given in these lines seems out of place, and it is lacking in EP (which frequently suppresses measurements). It may well have been displaced from another part of the text, as there is strong evidence for displacement of some sort in the text over the following sections. (For a full discussion of this, see the Introduction.)

27,7 *ches .ii. lieus*. (OFr) OFr amplifies Mir's *eorum*, referring back to 27,3 where the things in question have been named *lieus*.

27,8 *cxxxiii & dimidium miliarium*. (Mir) OFr reproduces this figure exactly, but omits the half mile.

F-Group

27,1 *latera*. (FL) This reading, which makes nonsense in the context as they are not specified as sides or flanks of anything in particular, is a corrupted reading of *loci*. Confusion between *c* and *t*, a common feature in minuscule hands as well as in insular hands and most others in which a round *t*-form was employed, led to *lat-*. Intrusion of an abbreviation for *-er-* and the modification of the ending to fit the new word would then be straightforward, once the word was close enough to *latera* for a scribe to assume that it was a mistake in his exemplar. Gervase realised that the reading was not satisfactory, for it does make poor sense of the passage, and made the best emendation he could on the basis of the facts available to him. Finding a description of the palace of the sun in §32 (which is separated from this section in F-Group by a single brief passage on the long-eared men) he substituted the word *palatia* for *latera*.

27,2-3 *illud solis die mediocriter calet et nocte fervet*. (Ger). Because of the omission caused by haplography in FL, Ger inherited a text in which one of the lakes was said to be hot by day and boiling by night. Recognising the confusion, but unaware of the reason, Gervase modified this to 'is moderately hot by day and boils by night'.

SECTION 28

The description of the balsam trees appears in this position only in Mir and OFr, possibly as a result of displacement. It is lacking entirely in EP, and appears in F-Group in 32,6-8 as part of the description of Heliopolis. Although the passage from §32 is presented beside this passage in the text for the purposes of comparison, the relationship between the readings of the two groups is discussed in the commentary on §32, together with the analogues.

Letter of Pharasmanes

(The underlying text revealed by comparison between Mir and OFr shows us a comparatively late stage in the development of P-Group. Considerations of the archetypal Letter are postponed to §32.)

Trees grow in this place which are
similar to laurel and olive trees,
and from these trees balsam is
produced. And on the way away from
there, there is a place which measures
151 stadia or 100 leagues.

Significant Readings

28,2 *balzamum se deorweorðesta ele.* (OE) Both
OE texts provide this gloss on *ba(l)zamum*, which
connects the balsam with the trees to which the

balsam trees are compared, for *e1e* is the first element of the Old English name for the olive, *e1etreow* 'oil-tree'.

28,2 *bið eall kenned*. (OE-T) OE-V reads *bið acenned*, which is a straightforward gloss of *nascitur*. OE-T (or an earlier scribe) has inserted *eall*. The idea that *all* balsam comes from these specific trees seems to imply that balsam was a substance known only by name to the scribe in question.

28,4 *que faciunt leuvas .l. et i miliarium*. (Mir) OFr gives the figure as *.c. liues de lonc*. Elements of both readings are correct, for two-thirds of 151 is $100\frac{1}{2}$ (all fractions are rounded to halves), and the basis for conversion in these texts was that one league equalled $1\frac{1}{2}$ stadia.

SECTION 29

This section on the half-human cannibals who combine the characteristics of the corocotta (or its relative, the hyaena) with those of the crocodile is found only in P-Group. It is present in Mir, EP and OFr and provided the basis for LM I,40.

Letter of Pharasmanes

(As with all sections unique to one group, and more especially those which are found only in P-Group, it is probable that this passage did not form part of the ancestral *Letter*. The complexity of the textual tradition in this section, however, implies extensive development over a long period of transmission.)

There is an island in the Red Sea

In which there is a race of men.

(Mir then includes a detail which closely resembles the reading of F-Group in 26,1-4 in the description of the *soraci* or *tritonides* with oracular powers.)

which are known to us as *donestre*

and who are like soothsayers

(*Quasi divine* 'like soothsayers' is directly echoed in 26,4F. The two passages are presented in parallel in both places in this edition, so that each can be compared in its proper context. The word *divini* is shown to be used in the prophetic and not the divine sense at this point by the ensuing

description of oracular powers. This sense is also conveyed by OE *swa frihteras*, although the relationship of this to the rest of the sentence has become distorted in OE.)

They are like men from the head to
the navel

(EP and Mir-T agree in this reading, although it conflicts with the picture cycle in Mir in which the creatures have been given the leonine heads appropriate to their descent from the corocotta (see Analogues). Plate 5 is the illustration which accompanies Mir-T and OE-T.)

the rest of the body unlike that
of men

(Only EP gives this reading. Mir-T produces a non-contrast, by making the lower half of the body also *similitudine humana*, and OE and Mir-B have devised various means of overcoming this difficulty.)

They speak the languages of all races
and if they see a man from a strange
country they address him by name in his
own language and refer to his relatives
and friends by name with alluring words,
so that they deceive him and capture
him.

(Mir reads *perdunt* 'kill' in place of *comprehendant* 'capture'. This is probably duplication in anticipation

of 29,11, where both texts read *perdunt*.)

When they have captured them they kill

them and eat them.

(Mir and OFr add a detail which properly belongs to the legend of the crocodile:)

and afterwards they take the head

of the man they have eaten and weep

over it.

(OFr reads *se metent en orisons* 'they pray' in place of 'weep'. This indicates a corruption in the Latin text which provided the translator's source from *plorant* to *orant* or, possibly, *implorant*.)

Analogues

The analogues to this section are of special significance, for it is they which demonstrate that this description is the product of the conflation of two traditions. Leaving aside the prophetic *donestre* of 29,3Mir (which have almost certainly been misplaced and belong properly in the context in which the *soraci* appear in F-Group), we are left with two basic components. On the one hand there is the monster described in LM as *conmixtae naturae*, a hybrid, who imitates human speech in order to trap travellers and then devours them. This is the behaviour of the hyaena; Aelian VII,22 describes them as copying speech to lure woodcutters. In other accounts they

attract dogs by imitating the sound of men vomiting. The hyaena is not a hybrid, but the corocotta, the product of a union between a hyaena and a lioness, is. (In this connection, note especially the leonine nature of the heads in Plate 5.) The hyaena was usually reputed to plunder graveyards for food, but the corocotta, inheriting savage bravery from its mother, is particularly associated with killing men. Thomas of Cantimpré sums up the available sources in *De Natura Rerum* IV,27:

*Corocotes bestia est, sicut Solinus et
Iacobus, que voces hominum ut hyena
imitatur. Nunquam claudit oculos. ...
hii filii leonum fiunt leunculi: discunt
predam capere et homines devorare. (Eze. XIX)*

The corocotta, according to Solinus and Jacobus (of Vitry) is an animal which imitates the voices of men like the hyaena. It never closes its eyes. ... the offspring (of hyaenas) with male lions are called *leunculi*: they learn 'to catch prey and devour men' *Ezekiel* 19,6.

The final detail, that of the creatures weeping over the heads of the victims they have devoured, appears only in Mir and OFr. It comes from the legend of the crocodile; to this day we talk of 'crocodile tears'. The detail appears in many bestiaries, and the knowledge of the crocodile which was available in the late eleventh century is summed up by Hugo of Saint Victor (*De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus*, II,viii)

Crocodilus a colore croceo dicitur, et nascitur in Nilo flumine, quadrupes animal, terra et aqua vivens, longitudine plerumque viginti cubitorum, dentium et unguium immunitate armatum, cuius cutis tantae duritiae dicitur, ut quavis percutiatur in tergo lapidum ictibus, nihil laedatur. Nocte in aquis, die in limo quiescit; qui si aliquando inveniatur hominem comedit eum, si vincere potest, et postea eum semper plorat.

The crocodile is called after the colour saffron (*croceus*), and is born in the river Nile; a four-footed animal, living on land and in the water, for the most part 20 cubits in length, armed with teeth and claws of great savageness. Its skin is said to be so hard that if anyone were to hit it on the back by throwing stones it would not be injured at all. It rests in water by night and in earth by day. If it ever comes across a man it eats him, if it wins the fight, and afterwards always weeps for him.

There are several problems in trying to establish the order in which the various details in these accounts found their way into the text of P-Group. The imitating of human voices appears to be the fundamental characteristic, although it is not clear whether the half-human character to whom the trick is ascribed is, in the earliest versions, a *corocotta* or a cannibal who happens to have the same traits.

Two facts indicate that the creature was seen as a corocotta at a later stage in the textual development of this passage. The picture cycle, which was not an early addition since it portrays readings unique to Mir, diverges from its text here in order to portray a corocotta, as the illustrator understood it. There can be no other explanation for the leonine heads. The only satisfactory explanation for the accretion (for such it must surely be) of the detail belonging to the crocodile must be the similarity of the names *corocotta* and *cocodrillus*. And yet neither name appears in any of these texts. Either the whole passage was borrowed very much as it stands, from another text in which the two animals had already become conflated, in which case we have to assume convenient loss in EP of the one item in the description which did not really belong; or the passage was identified as a description of the corocotta (despite the name *donestre* in Mir) at a stage after EP broke away from the common source of Mir and OFr, and the crocodile detail was added because it was thought to belong with the corocotta. The pictures show us that there was identification of these creatures with the corocotta at a comparatively late stage, so perhaps this latter possibility is marginally more likely.

Significant Readings

P-Group

29,3 þa syndon geweazene swa frihteras. (OE) The text of Mir-T, which was probably that which lay before the translator, is nonsense, describing both the upper and lower halves of these creatures as being in human form. The translator has made sense out of this nonsense, by changing the division of the sentence and contrasting an upper half which is *quasi divine* with a lower half which is *quasi homines ... similitudine humana*. Mir-T does not support this interpretation, for structurally *quasi homines* and *similitudine humana* contrast with each other, whereas this interpretation puts them both in the same relationship to *reliquo corpore*. The translator, having decided on an interpretation, reinforced and simplified it by the introduction of the verb *syndon geweazene* and by reducing the duplication of 'like men' which this interpretation produced. Mir-B, with both the text of Mir-T and the OE translation to guide it, has emended both instances of 'like men'. In place of the first, *quasi homines*, it reads *deformatum ab hominum specie* (thus coming into line with the illustrations) and for the second, *similitudine humana* it gives an even clearer and more emphatic reading, *similitudine existens humana*. In OFr the whole description is

omitted.

28,7 *cum alieni generis hominem viderint.* (Mir)

The reading *alieni generis* 'of another race' implies that these creatures are regarded as men, of a kind, and indeed they have already been described as such in 29,2 (*hominum genus*) despite their animal pedigree. OFr simplifies this phrase in translation to *tous chiaux qui la vont* 'all those who go there'.

29,10-11 *decipiant eos et perdant. Cumque comprehend-
erint eos perdunt eos.* (Mir) This highly tautological phrase is paralleled by that in EP where, however, *comprehendere* is used twice and *perdere* once. In view of this similarity, it seems probable that the tautology was inherited from the archetype, although it may have developed in an attempt to cover a difficult reading. The translations have both reduced it to the logical sequence, deceive, capture, eat.

29,13 *se metent en orisons.* (OFr) OFr derived from a Latin text which read *orant* instead of *plorant*. (Another possible corruption, more likely in terms of the Latin, because it would simply have absorbed an abbreviated *ipsum* but perhaps less likely to have been translated in this way, would have been *implorant*.)

Derivatives

Liber Monstrorum

The section in LM does not include the additional detail in 29,3Mir (*quasi divine*) or the final two lines with the crocodile detail.

29,4 *conmixtae naturae*. The text used by the compiler of LM may have had the confused description of the dual nature of these creatures which we find in Mir, for he does not describe them in detail but simply as *conmixtae naturae*.

29,6 *loqui posse testantur*. The unquestioned statement of the source, *loquentes*, has been modified to introduce a disclaimer, as usual when the subject matter challenges the imagination. LM tells us that 'they are asserted to be able to speak'.

29,12 *crudos devorent*. As in 16,6, LM has introduced *crudos* into the description of cannibalism, and again the reader is not quite certain which he considers the greater evil!

SECTION 30

The Enotokoitai, or large-eared men, described in this section are present in all texts of both groups (Mir, EP and OFr; FL, FR and Ger) and also in LM I,43.

Letter of Pharasmanes

(The F-Group texts all resume here; in FR it is the first reading since §26 on the oracle, in FL and Ger the first since §27 on the sun and moon lakes.)

Beyond this, to the East

(This localisation, present in Mir and OFr only, is probably padding which has been added during transmission.)

are born men who are 15 feet tall

(Most P-Group texts read 15, and all F-Group texts read 16.)

and 10 feet broad

(P-Group texts agree on the number 10 (except EP which omits this dimension) and F-Group texts agree on the number 7.)

They have large heads and ears as

wide as winnowing fans

(Two F-Group texts have replaced *vanno*, but this was certainly the inherited reading.)

at night they spread one beneath

themselves and cover themselves with

the other.

(This detail, found in classical analogues, is omitted in F-Group.)

(Mir includes here two details which might possibly be inherited from an ancestral text:)

and they hide themselves with the
ears; they are very light.

(The last note, *leve ... sunt*, looks as if it might be an accretion, inserted to explain their apparent flight.)

and of white body

(P-Group texts add a simile, 'like milk'.)

When they catch sight of men, they
spread out their ears

(Each version uses a different verb for 'extend', as if a need to gloss the original were strongly felt. A change of meaning has been made in Mir and OE to *tollunt sibi aures* 'they pick up their ears', which is supported by a classical tradition of men with long, floppy ears. This tradition found its way into the picture cycle in T and B. (V's picture accurately represents the tradition in the *Letter*, although the text does not.)

and they flee a long way

(Their escape is specified in P-Group although it is assumed in F-Group.)

so that you would think they are flying.

Analogues

Both the fan-eared man of the *Letter* and the long-

eared man who has found his way into the text and illustrations of Mir and OE are inherited from classical traditions. The earliest records of the fan-eared men is in the writings of Skylax (W. Reese, *Die griechischen Nachrichten über Indien*, Leipzig, 1914, p.49), while the long-eared men are first found in the works of Ktesias (*ibid.*, p.51). The idea that the ears were large enough to sleep in can be traced back to Ktesias.

Another name for these creatures is Panotii, and as such they were known to Isidore (*Etymologiae*, XI,iii, 19):

*Panotios apud Scythiam esse ferunt,
tam diffusa magnitudine aurium ut
omne corpus ex eis contegant. Πᾶν
enim Graeco sermone omne, ὦτα aures
dicuntur.*

The Panotii are said to be among the Scythians, with such a wide expanse of ears that they can hide their whole body with them. For πᾶν is the Greek word for 'all', and ὦτα means 'ears'.

Significant Readings

P-Group

30,3 *longi pedum xv.* (Mir) All P-Group texts agree in giving the height as 15, except OFr, which reads *xii*, which has arisen by misreading of the two minims of *v* as separate minims.

30,5 *swæ fon*. (OE-V) Here, as in 15,5, OE-V retains an unusual spelling of *swæ* in conjunction with *fon*. In both instances it is written as if it were *swæfon*, preterite plural of *swefan*.

30,7 *ceperunt*. (EP) This verb, which is the perfect tense of *capio* 'to hold, seize', has been italicised *ceperunt* by Graff, without comment. He does not normally expand abbreviations in italics. There is no way now, since the MS has long been destroyed and there are no other known studies of it, of telling whether the italics were to indicate a suspect reading or perhaps a proposed reading to fill a lacuna. The reading is in any case unsatisfactory; it is a corrupt version of Mir's *cooperiunt*.

30,7 *tegunt se his auribus*. (Mir) This phrase, which appears only in Mir, is not translated into OE. This may mean that it was added to the text of Mir after the translation was made, or that the OE translator felt that *wreoð* adequately covered the sense of both *cooperiunt* and *tegunt*. It is interesting to note that Isidore uses a very similar word, *contegant*, and his passage or a similar one could have provided material for an additional phrase of this nature, although such an obvious statement would probably require no literary source.

30,8 *leve*. (Mir) *Levis* can mean either 'light' or 'smooth', according to whether the vowel is long or short. Here, probably in view of the reference to picking up the ears, OE has taken it as 'light' *leve*. The translator assumed that it was the ears which were light, reading *beoð þa earan swiðe leohte*. Mir-B, on the other hand, assumed that it referred to the men themselves, and emended accordingly to *levi autem et*. Grammatically, *leve* fits neither interpretation. It should perhaps be seen as qualifying *corpore*, the *-e* ending being that of a third declension noun given to the adjective in error. The word does not appear in any of the other texts, so a conclusive explanation is unlikely.

30,10 *tollunt sibi aures*. (Mir) For whatever reason, all texts have a different verb to express the action these men make with or to their ears in order to run away. Mir, perhaps not to contradict the revised picture cycle, says that they 'pick up their ears' and OE has further elaborated this, with *nymað hy hyra earan him on hand*, thus describing precisely the illustration in Mir-T. EP reads *excludunt* 'shut out, exclude', which is nonsense. It may have been a nonsensical reading such as this in an earlier version which forced each text to rewrite, although the F-Group texts all use verbs based on *tendere*, which indicates an ancestral text

using a similar verb.

30,11 *quasi putes*. (Mir) The personal construction found here in both Mir and the F-Group texts (EP has reduced *quasi putes eos volare* to *quasi volent*) is not reproduced in either of the translations. OE renders it *swa is wen þæt hy fleogen* and OFr uses *quil sanle* 'it seems'. Both translators, again acting independently because no such adverb appears in any of the Latin texts, have added 'so quickly' before their translation of *quasi* (*swa hræðlice* and *sitost*).

F-Group

30,5 *quasi alas*. (Ger) It seems strange to imagine that a winnowing fan might have been unfamiliar to Gervase. His modification to *alas* is not a gloss but a substitution of another object of similar shape. In view of what follows, it is perhaps an appropriate alternative, except that a winnowing fan would have been of a more or less standard size, whereas wings vary, so that the image, in terms of dimensions, is less precise.

quasi statura. (FR) This error is present and unemended in all four MSS of FR, presenting the clearest possible evidence for their close relationship. It arose through repetition of *statura* from 30,2.

30,8 *aurioulas suas ostendunt*. (FL) Each of the three F-Group texts uses a different verb here, although all are compounds of *tendere*. This implies that the ancestral F-Group text also read *tendere* or a compound based on it. FR reads *extendunt* 'they extend'; FL *ostendunt* 'they open out; display' and Ger *protendunt* 'they stretch out'. From the agreement in the initial syllables of FR's *extendunt* and EP's nonsensical *excludunt* one might deduce, tentatively, that the archetype also used a verb beginning with *ex*.

30,9 *ut eos volare credas*. (Ger) Gervase has modified the verb *putes* 'you think' which he found in his source, replacing it with *credas* 'you believe'.

Derivatives

Liber Monstrorum

30,2 *ut fabulae ferunt*. As usual, the compiler of LM makes it clear that he personally does not believe such accounts.

30,4 *vannosas aures*. The simple reading *tamquam vannum* which the compiler found in his source has been replaced by the elaborate adjective *vannosas* in the interests of style.

30,8 *corpora marmorei candoris*. The simile found in the source was 'like milk', a comparison not used elsewhere in this text. LM has replaced it by the more common (if rather loftier) image, 'like marble'.

30,10 *erectis auribus*. LM is in no doubt that the ears are spread out, not lifted up by hand. This probably indicates that the copy of the *Letter* used by the compiler had a reading similar to those in F-Group.

30,10 *per deserta vastissima*. This idea that the creatures flee 'through the very great desert' must come from the imagination of the compiler, for no desert has been referred to in P-Group texts for a long time and the passages which surround this one are all located on islands.

SECTION 31

This section on men whose eyes glow in the dark is found only in P-Group. It is present in Mir, EP and OFr. There is an expanded version of it in LM I,36.

Letter of Pharasmanes

(As this passage is present only in P-Group it is dubious whether it formed part of the archetypal *Letter*. The location given is the same as in other passages which appear to be interpolations in P-Group (e.g. §29), which leads us to suspect that this is a later addition to the *Letter*.)

There is another island where
men are born whose eyes glow
like lamps.

Analogue

There are classical analogues for this concept, and it is a frequent occurrence in folklore. Men with eyes like lamps appear in the *Vita Alexandri Magni* of Archipresbyter Leo (ed. Landgraf, 1885, p.120, III,24):

*Et vidi ibi caligines et inter ipsas
caligines vidi lucentes stellas et
apparitiones idolorum. Vidi et quosdam
recumbentes lucidos habentes oculos
sicut lucernas.*

And I saw there mists, and between the
mists I saw bright stars and apparitions
of idols. And I saw some men reclining
there; they had eyes bright as lamps.

Glowing eyes are also found in folklore and vernacular
literature. They are a characteristic ascribed to
Grendel (*Beowulf*, 726-7):

him of eagan etod
ligge gelicost leoht unferger.

Specific Readings

31,1 *et alia insula*. (Mir) As in 529, these men
are isolated on an island, but 'another island'.
The earlier group of interpolated passages in P-Group
were all said to be sited near the river Brixo.

31,3 *qui ont les vis*. (OFr) This glosses the
Latin *quorum oculi*, but *vis* is unattested as a form
of *ieus*. The attested Picard forms are *ieus*, *ix*,
eus and *iez*. *Vis* could be a miscopying of *ius*,
an unattested but theoretically possible form, (*lieu*
gives *liu*).

31,4 *sua man micel blacern onele þeostre nihte*. (OE)
The translator has amplified *sicut lucerna* not only
in making it a big (*micel*) lantern but in introducing
the contrast with a dark night. He seldom responds
to an image with such enthusiasm, and is demonstrating
his receptivity to this particular idea.

Derivatives

Liber Monstrorum

31,1-2 *in orientalibus orbis terrarum partibus esse dicuntur.* This embellishment by the compiler is added to the simple *insula* of his source. It at the same time adds an element of doubt ('are said to be') and localises the island firmly in the East.

31,3 *rationabili statura.* This addition is not supported by the *Letter*. The compiler evidently wishes it to be understood that, except for their eyes, these men are perfectly normal.

SECTION 32

This section, together with the following one, provides a detailed description of Heliopolis. Despite the details of the phoenix, traditionally associated with Egyptian Heliopolis, the basic theme of these passages is not the centre of sun-worship but the mythical palace in which the Sun rests after his day's work. The passage is found in Mir, EP and OFr in P-Group and in all three F-Group texts. None of the derivative works have made use of this material.

Letter of Pharasmanes

The dislocation and rearrangement of material, which gave rise to different sequences in the two groups, is at its most marked in this passage and the following one. A hypothetical rearrangement is proposed in the Introduction to this edition; however, in order to avoid obscuring any of the relevant information, in the Commentary all details are considered in the order in which they arise. Relationships between the two groups are considered at those points where the alternative reading casts light on the reading under discussion.

There is an island, the length and
-
breadth of which measure

(200 stadia in F-Group; 360 stadia in P-Group. For the conversion to leagues, which should, according to the method of calculation used, be 240 if based on 360 stadia, OFr reads 140 and Mir 110.)

In this island is the colony of the Sun
(Only F-Group introduces the Sun at this point. He is not referred to in P-Group until 32,7.)

called Hellopolis.

(The name is present in all texts, although badly distorted in Mir.)

It is enclosed by a wall

(This is explicit only in F-Group, but EP goes on to describe it as *cooperta* 'enveloped' in brass and iron.)

built of brass and iron.

(At this point F-Group includes the description of the balsam trees, found in P-Group in 28,1-2.)

In this place there are trees like the
laurel and the olive, from which incense
and balsam are born.

(This accords almost exactly with the description in the earlier P-Group passage. The only differences are the introduction of *thus* 'incense' and the use of the word *opobalsamum* in place of *ba(l)samum*.)
At this point Ger includes a long interpolation on the various types of balsam and their production. After this, the texts diverge. P-Group describes

the priest of the Sun (as in 33,6-9F) and F-Group describes the interior of the palace and the Sun's bed (33,4-5P). The P-Group text is considered first here.)

The temple of the Sun is there in the
East.

(The next detail, which is likely to have formed part of the ancestral text as it is supported by 33,6-9F, is found only in Mir and OFr.)

where the quiet priest guards the town
by the sea.

(The F-Group texts continue:)

There are two similar temples in that place. One is built of gold blocks and the other is of brass. One of them is 265 feet in length and the walls are 9 feet thick. In this temple there is a little altar made of pearls and square-cut precious stones; it is 70 feet in length.

(The bed, described next in F-Group, is found in P-Group in 33,4-5.)

The Sun's bed is found in the same place, made of ivory and highly refined gold, embellished with very precious stones. Its brightness radiates 16 feet.

Analogues

The basic mythology of this passage is Greek, not Roman, in origin. The idea that the Sun spent the night in a palace surrounded by water is found as early as Homeric times. Roman legends, on the other hand, usually tell of the pastures where Phaeton's horses graze on ambrosia or of the cup which floats on the ocean current to bring the Sun back to his starting-place in readiness for the next day. Neither of these ideas has infiltrated this description, possibly because from the earliest appearance of the *Letter* the mythical palace of the Sun it describes has been confused with the centre of sun-worship at Heliopolis. The phoenix, introduced in 834, belongs properly to the latter. Its presence in such close proximity to this description of Heliopolis may have caused readers to see this as a description of historical Heliopolis, in which case new views on the home of the Sun would not be added, as they would appear to be irrelevant.

The mythology is early Greek, but the closest correspondance in detail is with certain Alexander texts, particularly some of the later versions. This raises questions of whether one group of texts was in a position to influence the other. The *Letter* is known to have been in circulation in Latin at an early date,

and was possibly available even earlier in Greek, but the same is true of some of the Alexander texts. In considering the possibility that the *Letter* drew this material from an Alexander text at an early enough date for the borrowing to have been inherited by both groups, it seems significant that there is not a single reference to Alexander in those sections of the text which are certain to be of early date. This does not altogether rule out such borrowing, for his name might have been excluded deliberately, perhaps for some reason we cannot even guess at now. It is, however, equally possible that Alexander is not mentioned simply because no Alexander texts were used as a source.

The *Letter to Olympias* in Julius Valerius (ed. Kübler, p.159) refers to an island belonging to the sun:

*Perperimus in illa insula civitatem
quae Solis esse diceretur,*

We found a city in that island which
was said to belong to the Sun,

The *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle*, again in Julius Valerius (ed. Kübler, p.132) describes, after the Sun and Moon trees:

*Quamvis hominibus gentis eiusce usus
ferri arisque, quod ad aedificii usum
ex luto fingares.*

However, men of that race use iron
and brass to build things which you
would make of clay.

The temple, the bed and the vine (from §33) appear
in the *Vita Alexandri Magni* of Archipresbyter Leo
(ed. Landgraf, p.113) in the same sequence as in
F-Group:

*Et erat templum ibi totum aureum et
erat ibi lectus cum pretiosa lectisternia;
iacebat ibi unus homo magnissimus atque
clarissimus, indutus veste alba bambicea
ornata ex auro et lapidibus pretiosis.*

And there was a temple there, all of gold,
and in it there was a bed with an elaborate
feast (*lectisternium*: feast offered to an
image of a god reclining on a couch);
there was a single man lying there, enormous
and most illustrious, clad in a garment of
white cotton decorated with gold and precious
stones.

The Corruptions in OE-V

Between 32,4 and 32,9 OE-V has several readings which
do not agree with those of OE-T and are not an
adequate alternative representation of the Latin text.
Commentators have long sought to explain this as an
earlier level of translation corrected in OE-T, although
none has been able to suggest why this particular
passage should have caused the translator so much

difficulty. The corruptions are evidently dependent on misinterpretation of the Latin text and not miscopying of the Old English. Thus we see *oppida* apparently read as *ostrea* (*sæ ostrum*) and *æreo* as *vitreo* (*glæs gegotum*). This is not an earlier version of the text, but a late retranslation from the Latin by an incompetent translator, as becomes clear from an examination of the points at which OE-V agrees in wording with OE-T.

OE-T (readings not in OE-V italicised):

þær wæs timbred on Beles dagum þæs cinges
 7 iobes templ of Isernum geweorcum 7 of ærenum geworht.
 7 on ðære ylcan stowe is east ðænon eac oþer templ
sunnanhalig to þam is sun gefungen 7 gedefe sacerð to
gesett 7 he ða hof... healded 7 begymep.

OE-V shares sufficient readings with OE-T to show that the passage as a whole was not retranslated. A roughly triangular portion of text, presumably at the foot of a page, was obliterated in a copy from which OE-V was descended, and the scribe who copied the damaged MS was forced to turn to the Latin in order to fill the gaps. This is what he produced:

þær wæs getymbro on beles dagum
 7 iobes temple of isernum geworcum 7 of *glæs gegotum*
 7 on þære ilcan stowe is æt sunnan upgange setl
quietus þæs stillestan bisceopes se nænne oþerne mete
ne þige buton sæ ostrum 7 be þam he lifede.

Three other passages in OE-V have also been rewritten, although to a lesser extent. The four sections affected appear in four consecutive columns in the two-column bilingual text of T. All are at the same height on the page (see Plate 4). This points clearly to damage spreading across four columns in an ancestor of V, incidentally confirming that V was descended from a MS similar, if not identical in layout to T. This damaged MS still retained the Latin text, to which the copyist referred in his attempt to fill the lacunae. If the damage had been a tear, whether or not involving total loss of the bottom corner, both sides of the folio would have been affected to a similar extent. In fact, apart from this passage, only isolated words have been lost. This points to a stain of some kind, either offsetting on the facing folio or seeping through to the verso.

Significant Readings

P-Group

32,3-4 *ubi est belis templum in diebus regis et iobis.* (Mir) The name Heliopolis is badly distorted in Mir, appearing here broken down to *belis* and *iobis* and later (32,6) as *beliobilis*. The reading in this line was probably an attempt to salvage some meaning

from an incomprehensible form, and as such it is far from illiterate. Solinus, describing Babylonia, tells of a temple to the legendary founder of the city of Babylon, King Belus, in the terms *Beli ibi Iovis templum* (56,3).

32,5 *constructa aere et ferro cooperta.* (EP)

Unlike the other texts, which imply that both brass and iron were used in the external construction of Heliopolis, this reading tells of a building constructed of brass and enveloped in iron. The building thus described is the whole of Heliopolis, for the word *templum* is omitted in this text. In this EP agrees with the image presented by the F-Group texts, which depict Heliopolis as a massive metallic structure containing the temples. This may be a coincidence based on a late omission of *templum* in EP, for the Old Saxon gloss reads *erin timbar isarnin thecina* 'a temple built with an iron roof'. *Templum* does not appear elsewhere in EP's description of Heliopolis.

32,5 *glæs gegotum.* (OE-V) This phrase fills one of the lacunae discussed above, and appears to be a mistranslation of *aereo* 'of brass'. It is normally assumed that the scribe misread *aereo* as *vitreo* 'of glass'. In T, *aereo* is simply anglicised to *ærenum*, and a scribe would have required no

knowledge of Latin to produce a similar reading, if he found *aereo* in the Latin. Perhaps the reversed order in OE-T, which reads *isernum* ... ? of *aerenum* where the Latin reads *aereo et ferreo*, caused the scribe who made the correction to think that the Latin word which corresponded to his lacuna was *ferreo*. Neither word has more than a superficial resemblance to *vitreo*, if that is what he imagined the word to be. The scribe in question did not give a straightforward gloss for *vitreo* but added *gegotum*. *Gegeotan* refers to the casting process, normally associated with metals. From this one could conjecture that the scribe, seeking to retranslate, found *ferreo* but as this concept was already present in the translation introduced the only other precious building material he could think of, glass, but glass with a quality of metal because it had been produced by casting. However, in view of the tangle he produced in rewriting 32,7-9, it would probably not be maligning the scribe to suggest that he pulled an idea out of the air, no matter how tenuously it was connected with the Latin text before him.

32,6 *quod etiam beliobilis dicitur.* (Mir)

The name Heliopolis, which in 32,3-4 had been transformed to *belis* ... *et iobis* in Mir, is given

in a marginally less corrupt form here. This line does not appear in either EP or OFr, which give the name correctly in 32,3, nor is it present in OE. It is unlikely to have been found in the archetype of P-Group. Its omission in OE may be due to the earlier presence of recognisably similar names; in OE transformed from a localisation into a date, *on beles dagum* in place of *belis templum*. (Grammatically, the reading of Mir can be construed either way.) Alternatively, the absence of this line in OE may indicate that it is a late interpolation in Mir. The corruption of Heliopolis to *beliobilis* can be explained orthographically as confusion of *h* and *b*, likely in many scripts including insular hands, and between *p* and *b*, which is more likely in those hands in which both letters have a vertical upstroke. However, the earlier names, *beli* and *iobis*, show both modifications (*bel/iobi/lis*) so the modifications are more likely to be contextual than purely orthographic in origin.

32,7 *æt sunnan upgange*. (OE-V) Although this phrase, which has been inserted to fill a lacuna, is an accurate translation of *solis ad orientem*, the Latin has been wrongly parsed and should be read *edīs solis, ad orientem*. The original translator handled it correctly; OE-T reads *cast ðanon eac ofer templ sunnanhalig*.

32,8 *setl quietus þæs stillestan bisceopes.* (OE-V)

At this point the scribe filling the lacunae certainly referred to the Latin text, for he has included *quietus* twice, once in Latin as if it were a proper name and once translated by the superlative *stillestan*. *Setl* 'seat, throne' may be an attempt to render *edis* (32,7), perhaps misread as *sedes* 'seat'. It may, on the other hand, be an amplification inspired more by the free translation of *sacerdos* as *bisceop* and an association of ideas, helped a little, no doubt, by the similarity of the two Latin words, *edis* and *sedes*.

32,8 *se nænine operne mete ne þige buton sæ ostrum*

be þam he lifede. (OE-V) At this point the scribe really floundered in his attempt to retranslate. The only points of contact with the Latin are the correct rendering of *maritima* as *sæ* and the possible misreading of *oppida* as *ostrea*, thus translating *oppida maritima* as *sæ ostrum*. Oysters were a semi-fasting diet in Anglo-Saxon times, but not appropriate for a strict fast (in *Seasons of Fasting*, ed. Dobbie, *Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, 1942, p.104, ll.216-220, priests who eat oysters and drink before noon during periods of fast are criticised as setting a bad example). In OE-V at this point the impression given is that the scribe recognised, or thought he recognised *sæ ostrum* in the Latin and based on it a

description of the abstemious life-style of the priest who lived in the midst of such opulence.

32,8-9 *geþungen 7 gedefe ..gehealdeð 7 begymep.* (OE-T)

Word-pairing is the one recognisable stylistic feature of the original translator's work, and the presence of 2 such pairs in this passage in OE-T, in a section which has been totally rewritten in OE-V, adds further confirmation that the readings of OE-T are those of the original translator.

32,8-9 *uns prestres qui edeopame le chite.* (OFr)

No satisfactory emendation or explanation has been offered for *edeopame*, which glosses *observat.* Hilka's emendation to *ades warde* does not satisfy on either orthographic or linguistic grounds.

F-Group

32,1-3 *In hiis terminis colonia est solis ...colonia ergo Solis.* (Ger) Gervase's attempt to improve on the reading of his source is uncharacteristically inefficient. Only the second *colonia* is present in FL, which describes an island, gives its dimensions and then explains that it is the home of the Sun. Ger introduces the latter concept, which is self-evidently the most important part of the introductory description, at the beginning, making it *colonia ... solis ad modum insule* 'in the form of an island', but did not remove the duplication this caused.

32,6 *stadia ccc.* (FL) Only FL gives this second

dimension, having given the length and breadth of the island as 200 stadia in agreement with the other F-Group texts. On the face of it, this would appear to be a measurement of the wall of brass and iron, implying that the walled part was less than the whole island.

However, the numeral may belong historically with the balsam trees, which are associated in 28,3-4P with a place (*locus*) measuring 151 stadia. If this were to be the case, it would support the hypothesis that P-Group retains the correct position of the description of the trees, because the dimension makes better (if not totally satisfactory) sense in §28 than here.

32,9-21 Ger includes a 13 line interpolation on balsam trees. Much of the material is found in Isidore XVII,viii,14, especially the names for the different parts of the tree and their etymologies.

32,23 *una ex auro quadrato et cinnamorio in structura.*

(FL) FR omits *cinnamorio*, which is not easy to interpret as a building material to be used in conjunction with gold. Ger emended it to *cynamomo* 'cinnamon', and was probably correct in making this connection. The phoenix in §34 is described in FL as spending all its life among cinnamon (*in cynamum semper manet*, 34,16) and cinnamon may have been added here in order to fit this later passage which, historically, belongs with the other Heliopolis.

32,23 *ex tructa*. (FR) Although this appears in this form in all four MSS of FR, it is probable that it is a modification of *constructa* or a similar word. *Extructa* (its persistent appearance as two words indicates that it was not fully identified by scribes) means 'heaped up', not an altogether appropriate way of describing this lavish building, except perhaps insofar as it implies a lavish and careless use of building materials which would indicate an excess of wealth.

32,24 *alia aerea*. (FR) Only FR differentiates between the two buildings by saying that one is made of gold and the other of brass. This interpretation probably best represents the version inherited from the archetypal F-Group text, for FL, after stating that there were two buildings, goes on to specify that one of them (*una* is quite definite) is built of gold, *cinnamorio* and brass, and neither describes the second nor refers to it again. The reading of FR avoids this loose end.

32,26 *arula*. The effect achieved by the use of the diminutive of *ara* 'altar' to describe this monstrous altar 70 foot in length is to emphasize the vastness of the total structure if such an altar is seen as small. None of the P-Group texts describe the altar, so there is no way of telling whether this skilful

use of language is to be attributed to the original compiler of the *Letter* or to a later editor. The same technique is attempted in 32,28, but in that instance only FR and Ger use the diminutive form. FR-P reads *trula*, a miscopying which is to be traced back to a Beneventan *a* in an antecedent MS.

32,27 *cilindris*. (FL, Ger) Precious gems ground into a cylindrical form were prized because a stone of considerable size was required in the first instance before such shaping could take place. FR gives the word *scinindris* in place of *cilindris* throughout this text. *Scinindris* is not attested elsewhere; it is presumably an analogical formation based on the first syllable of *scintillo* 'to shine' and would refer to the luminous qualities of the gems.

32,28 *lectulus*. (FR, Ger) Again the use of the diminutive seems to be intended to exaggerate the overall size of the temple. The length of the couch is not given in F-Group, but P-Group texts, which use the simple form *lectus* (as in FL) describe it as 306 feet long. It is possible that the ancestral text combined the diminutive with some similarly vast length, which would be an exact repetition of the technique used in describing the altar two lines earlier, and thus rather less effective. The agreement between FR and Ger probably indicates that the form *lectulus* was present in the copy of FL used by Gervase, and that the

change to *lectus* in FL was quite late.

32,29 *ex ebore factus et auro*. (FL, FR) The corresponding passage in P-Group describes the bed as made of ivory alone (33,4-5).

32,29 *auro probatissimo*. (FL) Only FL has this reading, 'highly refined gold'. FR gives a rather simpler concept, *purissimo* 'most pure' and Ger, as elsewhere in this text, described the gold as *obrizo* (see note to 12,37).

32,31 *fulgur eius radiat pedes xvi*. (FL) Both FL and FR give 16 feet as the distance which light is reflected from this bed of gold, ivory and precious stones. As the bed is in origin, almost certainly, that on which the Sun rests at night, and as the radiance reflects the nature of the owner, 16 feet seems a very modest distance. Gervase, who does not appear to have associated the bed with the Sun, changed the reading to make the light from the bed fill the whole interior of the palace (*ad palatii interioris consistentiam*). In P-Group, the bed (33,5) is associated with a measurement - not in this instance of light beams but the length of the bed itself, 306 feet.

SECTION 33

The description of Heliopolis continues with the golden vine, from which pearls grow instead of grapes. This passage is present in Mir, EP and OFr in P-Group and also in all three F-Group texts. The priest, already described at the end of the previous section in Mir and OFr, appears in this passage in F-Group; the bed, described together with the interior of the temple in F-Group (32,28-32) is located under the vine in P-Group.

Letter of Pharasmanes

In that place

(F-Group adds that it is in the same building.)

there is a golden vineyard

(All texts agree in reading *vinea*. All the F-Group texts add, possibly by way of explanation:)

that is a vine, made and fastened with

gold. The surrounding ground (*pavimentum*)

is made of precious stones and square-cut gems

(All texts continue, although P-Group has described only the setting and not the plant:)

from which hang bunches of grapes

(P-Group makes them measure 150 feet; although this may originate in an estimate of the number of bunches, for EP omits *pedum*.)

made of valuable pearls.

(F-Group texts follow this with a description of the priest's house. The priest himself has already been mentioned in Mir and OFr in 32,8-9.)

That building is the house of the priest,
made of gold (silver in FR). The priest
eats incense and drinks balsam; he sleeps
in the vineyard (*pavimentum* 'paved area
surrounding the vine') under that vine.

(The P-Group texts also include the idea of sleep,
by describing at this point the bed which appeared
in F-Group in §32.)

where there is also an ivory bed, 106
feet long.

(F-Group texts conclude the description of Heliopolis
by describing its inaccessibility to travellers.)

No-one from outside is allowed to see
this, unless he is going to remain in
Heliopolis.

Analogues

The closest verbal similarities are again found in
Alexander texts. The Vulgate *Epistola Alexandri*
(ed. Boer, p.4) contains a description of a similar
vine:

*Vineam quoque solidam auro argentoque inter
columnas pendentem miratus sum, in qua folia
aurea racemique crystallini erant interpositi
distinguuntibus smaragdis.*

And I was also amazed at a solid vine
(*vinea*) of gold and silver hanging between
columns; bunches of grapes made of
crystal were dotted among those golden
leaves with ornamental emeralds.

There are further similarities later in the same
work (Boer, p.49) where the same building materials
as in the *Letter* (with the addition of lead and
silver) are associated with men whose diet is
of the holiest and purest imaginable. The use of
quiescentes, echoing the adjective *quietus* applied
to the priest in Mir in 32,8 (a point at which Mir
receives a little support from *O Fr se repose* but
none from EP) is noteworthy.

*Nam aere et ferro et plumbo et argento egent,
auro abundant. Opobalsamo et ture vescuntur
cadenteque rivo puram ex vicino monte potant
aquam homines, accubantes et quiescentes.*

For they build with brass and iron and lead
and silver; they abound with gold. The men,
reclining and resting quietly, eat balsam and
incense and drink pure water from a stream
cascading from a neighbouring mountain.

The question of which work provided material for the
other is a very complex one, and no undisputed solution
has been offered. The presence of this material in
all versions of the *Letter* indicates that it was
to be found in the earliest translations from the

Greek, which may well have been available by the fourth century. The *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle* is of similar antiquity, although the Vulgate version, in which the correspondances are most clearly seen, was not the earliest in circulation. Even if one text did provide the source of the other, it appears that there has been a considerable amount of subsequent cross-fertilisation, causing the addition of details and the modification of descriptions in both texts.

Disrupted Order in Mir and OE

In the ancestor of Mir and OE in which a leaf or a pair of conjoint leaves was reversed, this passage spread across the end of the last page to be reversed and the following page. After the reversal had occurred, the section was divided into two widely separated parts. In Mir-T they form 5525 and 34. The latter half is omitted altogether in OE-V, together with the remainder of the text. The reading in 33,4 in Mir and OE indicates that a connection was still made after the split had taken place, possibly because of the accompanying illustration, for the word *vincola* has been introduced to describe the setting in which the bed was placed.

Significant Readings

P-Group

33,1 *vinea*. All texts of both groups tell of a *vinea* of gold. In Classical Latin the term means not 'vine' but 'vineyard', and it has been translated as such in OE. The F-Group texts all have a gloss which must have been introduced at an early stage in the transmission of F-Group, indicating that a copyist handling the common source of F-Group was unhappy about describing what was evidently a vine as *vinea*. OFr translates it as *vingne* with no apparent hesitation, and the Alexander texts which contain a similar description refer to it as *vinea* and describe it as a vine.

33,1 *in oriente ad solis ortum*. (Mir) Only Mir repeats that this is in the East. The localisation is taken from 32,7 (three lines earlier in Mir): *edis solis ad orientem*.

33,2 *que habet uvas pedum cl.* (Mir) A similar reading in OFr (*dont les crapez ont .c. et .l. pies de lonc*) shows that the figure given was the length of the bunches of grapes in the common source of both texts. This length, ridiculously exaggerated as it may appear, fits in with the general magnitude of the setting (although it does make the bunches of

grapes just a little under half the length of the ivory bed in 33,5. In EP *pedum* is lacking and the numeral is taken as the number, not the length, of the bunches. The frequency of dimensions in this description of Heliopolis might incline us to accept the reading of Mir and OFr; equally, that same frequency might have caused a scribe to assume that any number he came across was intended as a dimension.

33,3 *de qua nascentes*. (Mir, EP) This neat Latin construction with a participle proved difficult to render in the vernacular languages. OFr settled for a simplification, removing the idea of birth: *esqueles sont marguerites*. OE elaborated: *of ðæm bergean beoð cende*. Mir-T uncharacteristically uses an insular long-s at the end of this word, which has been miscopied during the transmission of Mir-B, which reads *nascenter*.

33,3 *meregrota oððe gymmas*. (OE-T) OE-T has already used *gimmas* to translate *margaritae*, (20,9) so its use of *gimmas* as well as *meregrota*, apparently both as glosses of *margaritae*, would be discounted were it not that OFr (which read *marguerites* in 20,9) also tells of gems as well as pearls: *esqueles sont marguerites. et pierres precieuses autres*.

The F-Group texts give *unionibus*, a term for pearls of a particularly high quality; and the analogues in

thus separated from the description of the bed.
This seems a pointless and improbable exercise,
however, as the arrangement has no editorial value
but is a simply mechanical reversal of a certain
number of lines.

Sonne is sum land wingearðas weaxet on swiðast.

(OE-T) The laconic restatement of the presence
of vines in Mir (*Est et vineola*) has been amplified
in translation to make it appear that this is a
country in which the major occupation is viticulture.
It seems improbable that the brief Latin phrase and
the elaborate OE one would have been the work of
one and the same man, which would have been likely
if the rearrangement occurred after the translation
had been added, but the evidence on this point is
highly ambiguous.

33,4-5 *lectus eburneus longitudine cecvi pedum.* (Mir)

In contrast with the description in F-Group (32,28-32)
which emphasised the dazzling opulence of the bed,
the description in P-Group concentrates on its vast
size. It is the more remarkable for being constructed
wholly of ivory (gold, present in F-Group, is not
mentioned) for ivory is usually available only in small
quantities.

F-Group

33,1 *hoc est vitis*. The word *vinea*, which appears in all texts, seems to have been understood differently by editors at different periods. In P-Group the word is followed by a description which is clearly of a single vine, not a vineyard. In F-Group, the description is divided into two parts, that of the vine and, subsequently, that of the *pavimentum* or paved area under the vine (not an uncommon practice in viticulture, compare the Great Vine at Hampton Court Palace). The two together are embraced by the term *vinea*.

33,3 *pavimentum*. See note to 33,1.

33,4 *scinindris*. (FR) Once again FR uses the analogical formation *scinindris* (based on the first element of such words as *scintillo*) in place of the better attested form *cilindris*. (See also the note to 32,27.)

33,5 *margaritis et unionibus*. Where OE and OFr describe the grape clusters as consisting of pearls and precious stones, F-Group texts describe them as pearls, as in EP. Unlike EP, two different names for pearls are given, the usual name, *margaritis*, which is of Greek origin, and a name of Latin origin denoting single large pearls, *unionibus*. The *vinea*

as described in F-Group contained both pearls and precious stones, the pearls on the branches, the precious stones as part of the *pavimentum*.

33,5 *Illa vero edis*. (FL) The last building described was the temple containing the altar and the bed. This may, in an earlier version of the *Letter* have been a reference to the second of the two buildings referred to in 32,22, of which only the first was described in FL and Ger. If this was the case, the connection is now no longer clear and both FR and Ger lack the demonstrative adjective. Gervase solved the problem by introducing another house, the one next door - *edes contigua domus est sacerdotis*.

33,6 *ex argento*. (FR) Only FR includes silver among the building materials, although the accounts in Alexander texts list gold, silver, brass and lead. FL and Ger both construct the priest's house of gold.

33,6 *ex auro strata*. (Ger) FL reads simply 'made of gold' (*ex auro facta*). *Strata* in Ger may be an orthographic error and not editorial change, because in the MSS with corrections in the hand of Gervase himself (Vat. Lat. 933) the scribe originally wrote *stracta* and then corrected it himself to *strata*. Another early MS reads *structa*, and the scribe may have been influenced by that reading or by *facta*, either

corrected or miscopied in his exemplar.

33,7 *qui sacerdos thus vestitur.* (FL) Confusion between *c* and *t* is so common in some minuscule hands that this was readily accepted as from *vescor* and not *vestio*. FR reads *vescitur*. Gervase tried to improve the Latinity by changing the accusative *thus* to ablative *thure* (*vescor* is more usually found with the ablative in Classical Latin) but he left *vestitur* as he found it in FL.

33,8 *et opobalsamum bibit.* (FR) FL and Ger both read *vivit* in place of *bibit*, but contextually the reading of FR makes better sense. FL gives *apobalsamum* as a direct object of *vivit*, which is intransitive; and to say that a man eats one thing and lives off another is contradictory, whereas to say that he eats one thing and drinks another presents no such problems. Confusion of *b* and *v* is often a symptom of early date. In later MSS it is associated with the hispanic area.

Gervase's emendation to *ex opobalsamo vivit* solves the grammatical contradiction but not the logical one.

33,9 *sub eadem vinea.* (FR) *Vinea* is clearly intended to refer to the plant here, and not the vineyard. FL and Ger use the classical word for vine, *sub isdem vitibus*.

SECTION 34

This long section describing the two most famous of all fabulous birds is subdivided in a minority of MSS (Mir-B, OE-T and two MSS of FR) but is treated here as a single section. The subdivision in Mir and OE is late, arising from the presence of separate illustrations for each bird in the picture cycle. The section is present in Mir, EP and OFr in P-Group and in all three F-Group texts. None of the derivative texts appears to have drawn material from this section, although several describe the griffin from other sources.

Several of the texts of the *Letter* include additional material on the phoenix drawn from other writers. The sources of these interpolations are considered together with other analogues below.

Letter of Pharasmanes

In that place there is the adamantine
mountain

(F-Group texts describe it as inaccessible.)

where there is a bird named the
griffin

(The name is given only in P-Group, but is probably inherited from the ancestral *Letter* as it is quite correct.)

it has four feet

(This detail is only in Mir, although historically correct.)

an aquiline head

(Mir also attributes to it a bull's tail. The additional details in the description in Mir are probably inherited from iconographic traditions.)

and large wings like a *luppa*.

(The wings are described only in F-Group.)

(In those MSS which divide the section into two, the division comes at this point.)

In the same mountain is the bird called

the phoenix, which has a crest

(It is described as large (*ampla*) in F-Group.)

like the peacock's crown.

(The next details, mostly concerned with the bird's divinity, are found only in F-Group.)

this bird is among the delights (*in deliciarium*) of the sun. It lives for countless years and because of its divine nature it is born unique and always remains unique.

(This difficult concept, central to the interpretation of the phoenix legend, is omitted in FR and has been altered by Gervase.)

It has a nest made of pearls and

spends all its time in cinnamon.

(At this point the P-Group texts pick up the account again. The reference to the nest is fully preserved only in Mir:)

It has a nest of cinnamon

(F-Group adds:)

but we do not know what it eats or how

it lives.

(P-Group then refers to its longevity, mentioned earlier in F-Group:)

After it has lived for a thousand years

(EP gives a more specific number: 'in the five hundred and fortieth year'.)

(All texts continue:)

It burns itself together with its nest

and is born again from its ashes.

(F-Group is alone in summing up pagan belief in the phoenix:)

Thus it is that while it always dies

it always lives.

Analogues

The Griffin

The description of the griffin given by Isidore, while fuller, includes most of the details present

in the *Letter* (*Etymologiae*, XII,ii,17)

*Grypes vocatur, quod sit animal pinnatum
et quadrupes. Hoc genus ferarum in
Hyperboreis nascitur montibus. Omni
parte corporis leones sunt; alis et
facie aquilis similes; equis vehementer
infesti. Nam et homines visos discerpunt.*

The creature called the griffin seems to be a winged four-legged animal. This species of wild animal is born in the mountains in the extreme North. All parts of its body are like a lion; the wings and face like an eagle; fiercely hostile to horses, they tear to pieces any men they see.

There is a further reference in Isidore (XIV,iii,7) which gives an alternative location and confirms the inaccessibility referred to in F-Group:

*Ibi sunt et montes aurei, quos adire
propter dracones et gryphas et immensorum
hominum monstra impossibile est.*

The golden mountains are there, which it is impossible to approach because of the dragons, griffins and huge hominoid monsters.

The Phoenix

Descriptions of the phoenix are common in both classical and mediaeval literature. Marialuise Walla (*Der Vogel Phönix in der antiken Literatur und die Dichtung des Laktanz*, Ph.D. thesis, Vienna, 1965) cites

no fewer than 109 references to the phoenix in classical and patristic writings, many of which include some details of the bird.

Several distinct traditions have grown up surrounding the phoenix and its ritual cremation. Our text draws on more than one of these in its original version, and the interpolations come from various branches of the legend. It is beyond the scope of this Commentary to examine all the ramifications of the phoenix legend and discussion will therefore be restricted to an attempt to identify the earliest appearance of each specific feature found in the *Letter* and the direct source of the interpolations.

in eodem monte

The phoenix is normally associated with Heliopolis, the Egyptian city of the sun, which it visits at least once in its lifetime, or for burial. It is often said to live in Ethiopia. (Achilles Tatios in *Clitophon and Leucippe*, III,24-25, written towards the end of the third century, describes the arrival of the new phoenix in Heliopolis from Ethiopia, bringing his father's sarcophagus.)

quae colorem feniceum habet (interpolation in Mir-B)

This is drawn from Isidore (*Etymologiae*, XII,vii,22).

Mir-B uses material from this section again in a longer interpolation in 34,12-18, and has several

extra passages from Isidore at the end of the text, following the *Jamnes and Mambres* extract which it inherited from T. The phoenix passage from Isidore reads:

Phoenix Arabiae avis, dicta quod colorem phoeniceum habeat, vel quod sit in toto orbe singularis et unica. Nam Arabes singularem 'phoenicem' vocant. Haec quingentis ultra annis vivens, dum se viderit senuisse, collectis aromatum virgulis, rogam sibi instruit, et conversa ad radium solis alarum plausu voluntarium sibi incendium nutrit, sicque iterum de cineribus suis resurgit.

The phoenix is an Arabian bird, so called because it is phoenician purple in colour, or because it is single and unique in the whole world, for the Arabs say 'phoenicem' for 'singular'. It lives for more than 500 years, and when it sees that it is growing old, after collecting twigs of sweetly scented plants it builds a funeral pyre for himself and, turning round towards the rays of the sun, by a clap of its wings it feeds its voluntary fire with its own body.

It is interesting to note that the original description of the phoenix in the *Letter* there is no reference to the bird's colour. Some of the interpolations, notably this one in *Mir-Band* and the interpolation in 3 MSS of FR, seem to have been selected especially to supply this want. The illustrations in the MSS of

Mir show the phoenix with peacock colouring, blue, green and red.

cristam similem orbi pavonis.

Early descriptions, such as that in Achilles Tatios already referred to, describe the phoenix as having a magnificent halo. Solinus, writing in the third century, gave the bird a crest (*Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 33,11):

*capite honorato in conum plumis extantibus,
cristatibus faucibus.*

with its head distinguished by a cone of feathers, the gullet plumed.

Comparison with a peacock, the most magnificent bird known to the western world in the Classical and Mediaeval periods, is frequent in early texts, but it is usually a general comparison rather than the attribution of specific characteristics.

in deliciarum Solis.

The dedication of the phoenix to the Sun is referred to only in FL and Ger. It appears to be a feature of Latin writers, rather than Greek ones. One of the earliest such references is in Tacitus (*Annales*, VI,28):

Sacrum Soli id animal.

That creature is sacred to the Sun.

*et fauces cristatas, circa collo fulgore aureo,
postera parte purpureus. Extra caudam roseis pennis.
In quas ceruleus scribitor nitor.* (Interpolation
in MSS C, M and P of FR.)

This interpolation, adding information on the colouring of the phoenix which is not present in the inherited text of the *Letter*, is taken from Solinus 33,11. It contains readings which are peculiar to a small group of MSS, one of which is Monte Cassino MS 391, the MS containing FR-MC. The Solinus text, as in that MS, reads:

*Apud eosdem nascitur phoenix avis,
aquilae magnitudine, capite honorato in
conum plumis extantibus, cristatis
faucibus, circa colla fulgore aureo,
postera parte purpureus extra caudam
(most MSS absque cauda) in qua roseis
pennis caeruleus scribitur (most MSS
interscribitur) nitor.*

The phoenix bird is born among them, the size of an eagle, with its head distinguished by a cone of feathers, the gullet plumed, with a golden brightness around the neck; the hind part purple, except for the tail, in which dark blue is described (interspersed) with pink feathers.

Traditional descriptions of the bird give its colouring as the royal colours of red (or purple) and gold. The dark blue tail was first found in Pliny

(*caerulea cauda*) and is embellished in the description in Solinus.

vivit annos innumerabiles. (F-Group)

post mille annos. (Mir, OFr)

quingentesimo xlmo anno. (EP)

The life-span attributed to the phoenix varies in the different accounts. Aelian (*Historia Animalium*, VI,58) saw the reliability with which the phoenix returned every 500 years as the bird's most important feature; he regarded it as a form of perpetual calendar.

The figure 1000 appears to have become more popular as concern grew about the Millenium. One of its earliest appearances is in the work of Lactantius

*Quae postquam vitae iam mille peregerit annos
Ac se reddiderint tempora longa gravem.*

(*De Ave Phoenix*, 59-60)

Solinus was aware of different traditions concerning the life-span of the phoenix. In the main part of his description he gives 540, the figure used in EP; (*Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 33,12):

*probatum est quadraginta et quingentis cum
durare annis. rogos suos struit cinnamidis,
quos prope Panchaeam concinnat in Solis urbem,
strue altaribus superposita.*

It has been demonstrated that he lives for five hundred and forty years. He builds his own funeral pyre with cinnamon, hence in the city of the Sun he sings in praise of Panchala (a fabulous island famous for its spices), while he stands on top of the pile on the altar.

nidum habet de cinnamomo. (P-Group)

in cynamum semper manet. (F-Group)

Both the habitat of the phoenix and its funeral pyre are frequently described as abounding with aromatic herbs and spices. The Solinus passage quoted above specifies cinnamon, as does St. Avitus, writing in the late sixth or early seventh century (*Poematum de Mosaicae Historiae*, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 59, coll. 328-9). He describes the phoenix, without naming it, and refers to death by fire in a nest of cinnamon. Pope Clement, in *Epistola I ad Corinthos*, XXV (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, I, coll. 262-6) written during the first century A.D., uses the phoenix legend as an illustration of resurrection, and incidentally informs us that the phoenix dies amid spices.

ex divinitate sola nata est et sola erit. (FL)

The earliest Greek accounts do not stress the fact that there was never more than one phoenix in the world at any one time; indeed, they tell of the son conveying his father to Heliopolis for burial. Artemidoros (*Oneirocritica*, IV,49), writing in the second century A.D. included in his list of dreams and their interpretations a dream of painting a phoenix. His interpretation shows awareness of two different traditions about the bird, only one of which includes uniqueness as a central feature.

Pope Clement, in the passage already referred to, emphasised the uniqueness of the phoenix, which is central to the use of the bird as a symbol for Christ.

quemadmodum vivet, ignoramus. (F-Group)

The sudden and unheralded appearance of the phoenix is a characteristic of many early accounts. It appeared out of the blue, at regular intervals, much like the phenomenon of the natural world which was invested with ominous powers, the comet. Nothing was known of the life of the phoenix prior to its sudden appearance and ritual death. In Achilles Tatios (*Clitophon and Leucippe*, III, 24-25) the bird's sudden arrival delays the departure of an army. Allied to such accounts are the records of sightings included in lists of historical events (e.g. Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, 4). These indicate that the appearance of the phoenix was of national importance, to be recorded for posterity.

ipsa autem nidum suum seseque incendit.

Ritual cremation, so central to the modern image of the phoenix, is a comparatively late introduction. Artemidoros, in the work already cited, describes two distinct traditions, that of the phoenix who buries his father in Heliopolis and that of the unique phoenix who dies amid a funeral pyre of myrrh

and reappears a few days later as a worm creeping from the ashes. The worm is lacking in our text, except in Mir-B where it has been added in a passage drawn from Ambrose, *Hexameron*, V,xxiii,79. In Mir-B, 34,12-15 are taken from the same passage as the earlier interpolation cited above, and 34,16-18 are from this passage from Ambrose:

*Phoenix quoque avis in locis Arabiae
perhibetur degere, atque ea usque ad annos
quingentos longaeva aetate procedere.
Quae cum sibi finem vitae adesse adverterit,
facit sibi thecam de thure et myrrha et
caeteris odoribus, in quam impleto vitae
suae tempore intrat, et moritur. De cuius
humore carnis vermis exsurgit, paulatimque
adolescit, ac processu statuti temporis induit
alarum remigia, atque in superioris avis
speciem formamque repartatur.*

The phoenix is also said to live in Arabia, and to reach 500 years in her long life. When she perceives herself to be at the end of her life, she makes herself a casket of incense and myrrh and other perfumes, into which, her allotted life-span having been completed, she enters and dies. A worm emerges from her decomposing body, gradually grows and in the course of time assumes the flapping of wings and is renewed in the shape and form of the former bird.

The accounts of rebirth through putrefaction seem to have come before those of reincarnation through fire.

The earlier descriptions of the fire-death still retain the worm, which creeps from the ashes just as in the other tradition it crept from the putrefying corpse. Ovid's version (*Metamorphoses*, XV, 392ff.) follows the older form, but for aesthetic reasons has dropped the references to putrefaction and a worm. One of the earliest examples of cremation without reference to a worm is in the account given by St. Avitus, cited above. Another example, of similar date, is in the Isidore passage already quoted.

semper moritur semper vivit. (F-Group)

This reference to the quasi-eternal nature of the phoenix is paralleled in St. Avitus, who says of it (*Poematum de Mosaicae Historiae*, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 59, coll. 328-9):

Natali cum fine perit

With death it passes to birth.

In patristic writers and homelists the phoenix is frequently used as a symbol of the resurrection.

secundum illud ovidii. (Ger)

Gervase gives a three-line quotation from Ovid, which is reproduced with a high degree of accuracy. The subject matter of his chosen quotation (a quotation he had already used in an earlier description of the phoenix in *Decisio II* - MS Vat. Lat. 933, f. 19^v, col. 2, ll. 13-15) caused Gervase to suppress certain

details in the text he inherited because they
conflicted with Ovid's statement (*Metamorphoses*, XV, 392-4):

una est, quae reparet seque ipsa reseminet ales

(Ger: seseque reseminat ales)

*Assyrii phoenica vocant; non fruge neque herbis,
sed turis lacrimis et suco vivit amomi.*

Significant Readings

P-Group

34,1 *mons adamans*. (Mir, OFr) The name 'adamantine'
or 'diamond' mountain is shown to be the reading of
the ancestral text by its appearance in F-Group.
Neither of the vernacular translations have made
any attempt to translate the name, or even to offer
a gloss, as elsewhere with other meaningful names.

montes Riphei. (EP) This is clearly a late
corruption. The Rhiphaean Mountains are in a far
better known part of the world (Isidore, XIV, viii, 8):

*Riphaei montes in capite Germaniae sunt,
a perpetuo ventorum flatu nominati.*

The Rhiphaean Mountains are at the end of
Germania, they are named after the perpetual
blowing of the winds.

34,2 *griphus*. (Mir) The classical form of the name
of this creature (which is unnamed in the F-Group texts)
is *gryps*, which is more closely represented by EP's
gripes. Isidore uses both forms, *gryphas* in XIV, iii, 7
and *grypes* in XII, ii, 17.

34,2-3 OFr omits the physical description of the bird, the four feet and the aquiline head.

34,3 *et caudam bovis*. (Mir) The griffin is usually described as having a lion's body, and is depicted thus, with the tail which accompanies such a body. The tail of a lion is similar in form to that of a bull, and it is likely that this additional phrase was inserted in Mir by the scribe who added so many details drawn from the illustrations, and that a bull was better known to him than a lion.

34,3 *equinum capud*. (EP) The corruption of *aquilinum* to *equinum* is easy to explain on orthographic grounds, for it requires no more than the omission of an abbreviated *li*. It is an interesting error, for the griffin is frequently associated with horses in another way - it is their deadly enemy.

34,4 *avis fenix dicta*. (Mir-B) Mir-B begins its first interpolation with *dicta*, which is both found at the beginning of the borrowed passage in Isidore and represented in OE by *hatte*, which has been inserted to produce a smooth translation for *avis fenix*. OFr also inserted a verb for this purpose, *qui a non*.

34,7-8 *qui habet cristam quasi orbem de cinnamomo*.

(EP) Either haplography or damage to an antecedent

MS is to blame for this ridiculous reading, for three words have been omitted from the text as found in Mir: *qui habet cristam quasi orbem (pavonis, nidum habet) de cinnamomo.*

34,8 *hyra nest þætte hi wyrcað of ðam deorweorðestan wirtgemangum þe man cinnamomum hateð.* (OE-T) Just as the translator explained balsam as *se deorweorðesta ele* (28,2), he explains cinnamon as if he did not expect his readers to be familiar with the word.

F-Group

34,1 *mons est adans.* (Ger) There is considerable confusion among the MSS over the name of this mountain, but none gives *Atlas* as suggested by Leibnitz.

34,1 *inaccessibilis.* (FL, FR) This idea is also found in Isidore. Gervase emended and amplified to *inascensibilis propter sui celsitudinem.* His emendation seems to have been an attempt to clarify and explain, but the reading as in FL requires no such explanation.

34,4 *luppe.* (FL, Ger) The wings of the griffin are compared with those of this creature, which remains unidentified, in size. Certain MSS of Ger read *hippae*, which also has no meaning which would fit the context, indicating that at the time when the text was transcribed *luppe* was not readily understood.

34,5 *habet in caput cristam.* (FL) Apart from the minor grammatical irregularity, in the use of an accusative where an ablative would be expected, this reading is quite clear. There is no apparent reason why Gervase felt it necessary to add *vittam* before *cristam*. It cannot have been in the interests of a more comprehensible text, for in correcting MS Vat. Lat. 933 he added a gloss to explain *vittam* - .i. *pepulam*, which makes one wonder why he did not add *pepulam* in preference to *vittam*.

34,6-7 *similem orbiculari caudae pavonis.* (Ger) The simile in the ancestral version of the *Letter* likened the crest to a peacock's crown (*orbi*). This has been exaggerated beyond reason in Ger, perhaps through a misunderstanding, to give the bird a crest like a peacock's tail, or, more precisely, like the eyes (*orbiculari*) on the peacock's tail.

34,12 *vivit annos innumerabiles.* (FL, FR) FR-P shows considerable naiveté here in adding *videlicet* .c.

34,13-14 *ex divinitate sola nata est et sola erit.* (FR) This statement of the unique existence of the phoenix ('it is born alone, being of divine nature, and will always be alone') has been changed completely by Gervase, probably because it was wrongly parsed.

Gervase has transformed it into:

ex sola ut tradunt divinitate processit.

it emerged, so they relate, from the unique divinity.

34,17 *ignoramus*. (FL) The first person reference is in accordance with the epistolary nature of the text. FR uses a passive, *ignoratur*.

34,17 *vivet*. (FL, FR-C, FR-P) FR-MC reads *bibat*, a tempting reading in view of the contrast between *vescitur* and *bibat*, although either reading is satisfactory contextually. Variation between *b* and *v*, which in later MSS indicates hispanic provenance, can be a symptom of early date.

34,18 *nidoque combusto*. (Ger) A lengthy clause in FL has been précised down to the ablative absolute construction favoured by Gervase.

SECTION 35

In F-Group, which probably follows the intention of the original compiler of the *Letter*, this section leads us from Heliopolis over the fiery mountains to the darkness at the world's end. In P-Group the reader is led, with equal finality, to the impassable mountains where only negroes can bear the heat. This section is present in Mir, EP and OFr in P-Group and in FL and Ger, but not FR, in F-Group. Material from it was used in LM I,30.

Letter of Pharasmanes

There is another mountain

(F-Group makes it 'other mountains').

After this point the texts diverge, although fiery mountains or volcanoes figure in both descriptions. P-Group has a simplified and popularised version:)

where there are black men. No one can

pass this point because the mountain burns.

(Although it is not explicitly stated, the fiery mountain is intended as an explanation of the black skins.

F-Group texts offer a more complex picture of the end of the world:)

which emit flames up to the fifth hour.

The mountains are called Olympus and

Smaragdon. Around those mountains the

boiling sea emerges from the colony of Heliopolis. This sea is believed to be impassable, and no one may look on it. In that same colony of Heliopolis are devout men who serve their gods. Near them, along the shore of the Ocean, are the irreligious Egyptians. Between that place and the end of the world are men with goat-like horns and feet, called Gegotones. Beyond that we have heard of nothing but darkness.

(The contradiction inherent in providing a description of people who live beyond the furthest point which man may reach seems not to have worried the author.)

Analogues

There appear to be no close analogues to any of the details in this passage, although there are other descriptions of volcanoes, negroes, the torrid zone (which, although in the south and not the east as in this text, has the same characteristics, heat and impassability) and the names of the mountains are found elsewhere.

Significant Readings

P-Group

35,1 *alius mons*. (Mir) Of the P-Group texts, only Mir specifies that this is 'another (*alius*) mountain. The term is directly paralleled in F-Group, where it appears in the plural (*alii montes*).

35,3 *ad quos nemo accedere potest*. (Mir) All the other texts refer to a place which is not beyond reach itself but which is the furthest point which the traveller can reach. Only Mir describes the place itself as inaccessible. In EP, whose reading is closest to that of Mir, the place described is a mountain, beyond which (*ultra quem*) no-one can climb (*ascendere*). *Ascendere* is orthographically very close to *accedere*, differing only by one letter and a nasal stroke, so it is likely that both readings derive from the same reading. OFr, which reads *ne puet nus che mont passer*, combines features of both and indicates that the ancestor of the P-Group texts referred, as does EP, to a mountain, but with the words *ultra quem nemo accedere potest*. In F-Group the impassable obstacle is the fiery sea around Heliopolis.

35,3-4 *adeo Oriens ardet*. (EP) Mir and OFr both refer to a burning mountain. In F-Group, however, the mountains are linked with the rising sun - although it appears in extant texts in a form which could be taken temporally, *sole oriente* 'from sunrise' or 'in the place where the sun rises'. The east or the rising sun probably figured in the archetypal P-Group text, as preserved here in EP. The geographical area traditionally believed to be impassable because of extreme heat was, however, the torrid zone to the south.

F-Group

35,2 *que sole oriente flammās mittunt.* (FL)

This reference to the rising sun could be taken as a locative (in the place where the sun rises) as it appears to have existed in the ancestral P-Group text. The appearance of a time until which these volcanic mountains emit flames encourages the reader to take *sole oriente* as 'from sunrise', and this is certainly how it was read by Gervase, who reversed the order of the clauses to describe first the mountains and give their names and then to describe their habit of erupting for the first part of every day.

35,2 *usque in horam quintam.* Exactly the same period of time (*sole oriente usque in hora quinta*) is given in 12,14-15 as the period of each day when the gold-digging ants are excavating under the ground. The two passages are widely separated, and it would perhaps be unrealistic to suggest that the earlier passage may have inspired the addition of *in horam quintam* here. The evidence of EP suggests, however, that *sole oriente* functioned as a locative in an earlier version of the text, and the line in §12 provides a convenient source for the accretion *usque in horam quintam*.

35,3 *montes Olimpius et Smaragdon.* (FL) Mount Olympus is well known, and gave its name to several mountains on the outskirts of the Greek world, but none is famous as a volcano. *Smaragdon* is the name used for gems and semi-precious stones which are green in colour; not only emeralds but also the less valued stones such as beryl. After the diamond or adamantine mountain of 34,1 an emerald mountain is not incongruous, although there seems to be no support for it in other writings.

35,4 *vulgo nominant.* (Ger) It is difficult to see why Gervase should describe *olympum* as a popular or vernacular name, since it is well attested in classical literature. *Smaragdon*, on the other hand, is not known as the name of a mountain. It is possible that Gervase saw it as a local name, perhaps one referring to gems mined in the mountain or even to the colour of the distant slopes; as a local name it would not be surprising that he had not encountered it elsewhere. He implies that the mountains also have correct names, but does not give them.

35,12 *Ab eodem loco a finis orbis.* (FL) The reading in this line is poor both grammatically and contextually, and an emendation from *a* to *ad* is required to satisfy both needs. Gervase, who may have inherited a text

with a greater degree of corruption than the surviving copy of FL, elected to read *confino* 'vicinity', which probably seemed to him to be more likely than a reference to the 'ends of the earth' (*finis orbis*).

35,12-13 *homines qui caprorum cornua et pedes habent.*

(FL) These creatures are described as fauns, although the classical fauns were not restricted in their geographical area as these appear to be. LM I,5, quoting from Lucan, describes them flocking to the lyre of Orpheus:

*Quos poeta Lucanus, secundum opinionem Graecorum,
ad Orphei lyram cum innumerosis ferarum generibus
cantu deductos cecinit.*

The poet Lucan, following the opinion of the Greeks, sang about them drawn to the lyre of Orpheus with a song, together with innumerable kinds of wild animals.

35,13 *alii gorgones alii gaulales.* (Ger) FL names these faun-like creatures *Gegotones*. Gervase gives a very puzzling reading, because it comes so close to the versions of the river names given in the P-Group accounts of the gold-digging ants in S12. Mir gives the name as *gorgoneus* in 12,2 and repeats it as *gargulum* in 12,13. In the second instance the reading of EP, *gallalim*, is even closer to the second name offered by Ger. I am unable to offer any explanation for this remarkable coincidence. The

gaulales were a recognised race of men, nomads inhabiting the extreme south of the known world, and to that extent Gervase's emendation is an intelligent and scholarly one. They do not, however, appear elsewhere in the same remarkable guise as in this text. Isidore explains their name (*Etymologiae*, IX, ii, 124) as deriving from that of an island off the coast of Africa - the geographical details he gives are drawn from Solinus (*Collectanea*, 29, 8):

*Gaulalum gentes sunt a meridie usque Oceanum
Hesperium pervagantes. His nomen Gauloe
insula dedit, quae est iuxta Aethiopian, ubi
nec serpens nascitur neque vivit.*

The race of the Gaulales are to the South,
they wander as far as the western ocean.
The island Gauloe gave them their name.
It lies next to Ethiopia, and on it no
serpent is ever born and none ever lives.

35, 14-16 In the text of Ger, this passage does not represent the ultimate point beyond which none can travel, for it appears not at the end of the descriptions but near the beginning, insofar as it is followed by §§1-5. The reference to 'nothing beyond but darkness' found in FL has been omitted, presumably because it was felt to be inappropriate in this revised version.

The Derivatives

Liber Monstrorum

35,1 *In quodam quoque deserto.* The P-Group texts do not refer to a desert at this point; indeed, they have not referred to a desert since 9,4. LM, however, has introduced the concept in 11,1 and 30,10.

35,1 *montes ignei.* The P-Group text which provided the inspiration for this must have had a reading similar to that of Mir (35,3 *quia ipse mons ardet*) rather than to that of EP, in which the subject of *ardet* is *Oriens*.

35,2 *toto corpore nigri.* In its description of the negroes, LM goes beyond the basic factual statement found in his source, that they are black. In amplifying, it describes the teeth, eyes and fingernails as shining against the sooty blackness of the skin. In an earlier passage (1,9 *De Aethiopibus*) on a similar theme, the identical phrase *toto corpore nigri* is used, but the remainder of that passage is devoted to the climatic conditions in which they live.

SECTION 36

This conclusion to the *Letter*, with its extensive use of the first person and its references to personal involvement in the collection of material, is found only in FL. It balances the lengthy epistolary incipit, found in full only in that version.

Letter of Pharasmanes

With only a single witness to the text of this section, we can do no more than regard the version given by FL as probably representing the content and possibly the wording of the final paragraph of the earliest Latin versions of the *Letter*. The general movement of the text is away from the epistolary format towards a simple presentation of information, so it would seem likely that any passages in which the epistolary style is maintained are inherited from the archetype.

These travellers' tales made me wish to see such things for myself, and I set out laden with precious stones. I reached the point beyond which no man may travel. Men of all kinds, rich as well as the naked, did obeisance to me and were most anxious that I should put them in touch with Rome. Eternal and unconquered Caesar, I wish you to acknowledge this all as true, in order that you may live better and that you will

remember it with pleasure for many years.
I have transcribed and despatched this
letter, in the hope that it will please you,
my lord.

APPENDICES

**PAGE
MISSING
IN
ORIGINAL**

APPENDIX 1A

THE OLD ENGLISH TEXT

Note: When the readings of V and T agree, a single line of text is given. When they differ, the reading of V is given in the upper line, that of T in the lower. Numbers without brackets refer to the section division used in this edition; numbers in brackets to the paragraphs as they appear in the MSS.

2. (1) Seo landbuend onfruman from antimolimo þam lande
antimolima þam landum.
þæs landes is on ^{gerime} _{rime} þæs læssan milgetæles þe stadio
stadia
hatte fif hund. 7 þæs miclan ----- þe leones
micclan milgetæles þe leuua hatte
þreo hund 7 eahta 7 .ix. On þam ealando bið micel mænegeo
ðam byð menigeo
sceapa 7 þanon is to babilonian þæs læssan milgetæles stadio
babilonia stadia
hundteontig. 7 eahta 7 ix. 7 þæs miclan milgetæles
micclan ----- þe
leones
leuua hatte fiftyne 7 hundteontig

3. (2) Seo londbunis is swyðost ceremonnum geseted þær bood
lanbunes swiðost cypemonnum
weðras acenned
weðeras acennede on oxna micelnesse þa buað oð meda burh þære
burge nama is archemedon sio is mæst to babilonia burh
burhge noma . Seo byrig.
þanon syndon ----- þæs læssan milgetæles stadi
þanon is to babilonia in stadia
ccc. 7 þæs maran þe leon
leuua hatte .cc. from archemedon þær
syndon þa miclan mærdæ þæt syndon þa weorc
syndan þa mycclan syndan þa geworc þe so micla
miccla
macedonisca alexsander het gewyrcean. þæt land
alexander gewyrcean. lond is on lange .
7 on bræde .cc. þæs læssan milgetæles -- stadi -----
-- oð stadia hatte .cc.
7 þæs miclan þe leo(nes) hatte .c.xxx 7 -- half
micclan þe leuua .cxxxiii. an half mil.

4. (3) Sum stow is mon fered^ð to pære readan sæ seo is haten
 færd^ð oare gehaten
 Ientibelsinea -- þæm beoð^ð henna acenned onlice þonne þe mid us
 on ðan akende gelice ðam
 beoð^ð reades heowes. - gif hi hwylc man niman wile oppe him o
 hiwes 7 gyf hi hlyc mon hyra
 æthrined^ð þonne forbærnað^ð hy sona eal his lic þæt syndon
 hi eall
 ungefrægelicu liblac.
 ungefrelicu lyblac.

5. (4) Eac þonne þær beoð^ð wildeor acenned. þa deor þonne hy
 swa wildor kennede. hi
 mannes stefne gehyrað^ð þonne fleoð^ð hy feor. þa deor habbað^ð eahta
 monnes raœ hi fleoð.
 fet. 7 wælcyrian eagan. 7 twa heafdu gif him hwylc mon
 wælkyrian heafda gyf hi mann
 onfon wille þonne hiera lichoman þæt hy onælað^ð
 gefon wile. gewrædað^ð hy sona grimlice ongen þæt syndon
 þa ungefrægelicu
 -- ungefrelicu deor.

6. (5 - T only) Hascellentia hatte þæt land. þonne mon to
 babilonia færd^ð þæt is þonne ðæs læssan milgetæles þe stadia
 hatte .ix. mila lang 7 brad þæt buoð^ð oð medarice þæt land is
 eallum godum gefylled.

(5V; 6T) Deos stow hafað^ð nædran. þa nædran habbað^ð twa
 steow næddran hafað^ð þa næddran
 heafdu þara eagan scinað^ð nihtes swa leohte swa blæcern.
 heafda ðæra blacern.

7. (6V; 7T) On sumon lande eoselas beoð^ð acende þa habbað^ð swa
 assan akende
 micle hornas swa oxan þa syndon on pære mæstan wæstme
 ðam westene

8. þæt is on þa suð healfe from babiloniam. þa buað^ð to
 fram babilonia
 þæm readan sæ for þara nædrena mænego þe in þæm stowum
 pære ðæra næddrena mænigeo
 beoð^ð. þa hatton corslas. þa habbað^ð swa micle hornas swa
 hattan

weðeras. gif hy hwilcne man sleað oppe a æthrineð þonne
 gyf hi hwylcne monn sleað oppe - æthrineað þonne
 swylteð he sona.
 swylt

(7V; 8T) On þam landum bið pipores genihtsumnis þone pipor
 londum byð piperes genihtsumnys þone pipor
 healdap þa næddran heora genæornesse.
 þa næddran healdað on hyra geornfulnysse. þone pipor mon
 swa nimeð þæt mon þa stowe mid fyre onwileð 7 ----- þa næddran
 þonne of dune on þa eorþan þæt -- hi fleoð for þan se pipor bið
 ----- byð
 sweart

9. from babiloniam oð persiam þa burh. þar se pipor weaxeð
 Fram babilonia oð persiam þa burh. ðær se pipor weaxet.
 is þæs læssan milgeteles þe stadia hatte eahta hund mila.
 of þam is geteald þæs miclan milgeteles þe leones hatte .vi.
 þam milgetæles þe leoua
 hund 7 xxiii. 7 an healf mil. Soo stow is unwæstmberenlicu
 iii 7 xx i unwæstmberendlicu
 for þara næddrena mænego.
 for þæra næddrena menigeo.

10. (8V; 9T) Eac swylce þær beoð cende healfhundingas þa syndon
 hatene conopenas hy habbað horses mana 7 eoferes tuxas 7
 conopoenas. hi habbað horses manan 7 eoferes tuxas
 hunda heafdu 7 heora oroð bið swylce fyres leg þas land beoð
 heafda oruð byð lig.
 neah þam burgum þe beoð eallum worldwelum gefylled
 ðam woruldwelum

11. þæt is on þa suð healf egyptana landes.
 ----- ægiptna

(9V; 10T) On sumon lande beoð men acende þa beoð on longe syx
 menn akende six
 fotmæla : --- hi habbað beardas op cncow side 7 foax oð helan.
 lange of
 homodubii hy syndon hatene þæt beoð twimen 7 be hreawum flixum
 hi sindon bioð twylico 7 be hreawan flisceon
 hy lifiað 7 þa etap.
 hi libbað

12. (10V; 11T) Capi hatte seo ea in þære ^{ilcan} stowe þe is ^{ylcan}
 haten gorgoneus. þæt is ^{wælcyrging} wælcyrging þær beoð ^{cende æmetan} akende æmettan
 swa micle swa hundas ^{hy} habbað ^{--- swelce swa} fet swylce ⁻⁻⁻ græshoppan ^{hy}
 syndon ^{reades} heowes 7 ^{blaces} heowes ⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻ þa æmettan delfað gold up
 of eorpan ^{from} fram foran nihte oð ða fiftan tid dæges. * þa ^{men} menn þe
 to ^{þon} ðam ^{dyrstige} beoð þæt hi þæt gold nimen þonne ^{lædað} hy ^{nimað} hi
 mid him ^{olfendan meran} olfenda myran mid hyra folan 7 stedan. þa folan ^{hy} hi
 gesælað ^{ær} hy ofer þa ea faren. þæt gold ^{hio} hi gefætað on þa
 getigað ^{hi} ofer þa ea faran. þæt gold ^{hi} gefætað on þa
 meran. 7 ^{hy} hi sylfe onsittað 7 þa stedan þær forlætað. þonne
 þa æmettan ^{hy} hi onfindað 7 þa hwile þe þa æmettan ^{embe þone} ymbe ða
 stedan ^{abysgode} abyscode beoð. þonne þa men mid þam ^{merun} 7 mid ^{myran} ⁻⁻⁻ þam
 golde ofer þa ea ^{fareð} hy beoð ^{swa hrædlice} ofer þære ea
^{farad} hi to þam swifte -----
 þæt ⁻⁻ ða men wenað þæt ^{hy} fleogan. ----
^{hi} fleogende syn.

13. (11V; 13T) Betwih þysson twam ean is londbunis.
 Betwyn þyssum twam ean is londbunes
 locotheo hatte þæt is ^{betwih} nile 7 ^{bryxonte} brixonte geseted seo
 nil is ealdor ^{fallicra} fullicra ea. 7 heo ^{flowed} of egypta ^{fareð} of egiptna lande.
 7 hi ^{nemnað} næmnað þa ea archoboleta. þæt is haten þæt ^{micle} miccle
 wæter On þyssum ⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻ stowum beoð ^{acende} akende þa miclan ^{mænego} olfenda.
^{menigeo} ylpenda.

14. (12V; 14T) Ðær beoð ^{cende} akende men ^{hy} ða beoð fiftyne fota
 lange. 7 ^{hy} hi habbað hwit lic 7 ^{twa} tu neb on anum heafde.
 fet 7 cneowu ^{swyðe} reade 7 lange ^{nosa} 7 sweart feax.
 bið þæt cneo ^{swiðe} read ^{nosu}

* T begins a new paragraph (12T) at this point. It follows an illustration but there is no intervening Latin text.

þonne hy cennan willað þonne farað hy on scipum to lndum. 7
hi kennan hi -----

þær hyra gecynda in world
--- gecynd on weorold bringap

15. (13V; 15T) Ciconia in gallia hatte þæt land þær beoð men
Liconia

acende on . drys hoowes para heafdu. beoð gemonu swa leona
acenned preosellices hiwes heafda gemonu

heafdu. 7 hi beoð .xx. fota lange 7 hy habbað micelne muð
heafdo twentiges hi

swæ/fon*. gyf -- hwylcne monnan on þam landum ongitað oððe
swa fann. gif hi man on þam

geseop oððe him hwilec man folgiende bið. þonne feor þæt hi
----- oððe him hwylc --- folliende þeorriað

7 flooð 7 blode --- hy swætað. þas beoð men gewende.
7 þæt hi menn gewenede.

16. (14V; 16T) Begeondan brixonte þære ea east þanon beoð men
þanon

acende lange 7 micle þa habbað fet 7 sconcan .xii. fota lange
sceancan twelf

sidan mid breostum seofon fota lange. -----
siðan seofan hi beoð sweartos hiwes 7

hostes hy synd nemned cuplice swa hwylcne man swa hy
hi syndan hostes nemde. mann swa hi

gelæccað þonne fretað hy hyne.
gefoð hi hine.

17. (15V; 17T) ðonne seondon ----- wildeor þa hatton
syndon on brixonte

lertices hy habbað eoseles earan 7 sceapes wulle 7 fugeles fet.
hi fugles

18. (16V; 18T) þonne syndon opere ealand suð from byxon
is oðer ealand fram brixonte

on þon beoð ----- buton heafdum þa habbað on hyra
þam menn akende butan

breostum heora eagan 7 muð hy seondon eahta fota lange 7 eahta
hi syndan

fota brade.

*swæfon

19. (17V; 19T) Ðar beoð ----- cende
 Ðær beoð dracan kende þa beoð on lenge
 hundteotige fotmæla lange . 7 fiftiges hy
 hundteontiges 7 fiftiges lange 7 beoð greate swa
 stænene sweras micle. for þara dracena micelnesse
 micelnysse
 ne mæg nan manna ypelice
 nænig mann naht eaðelice on þæt land gefaran mæg .

25. (18V; 20T) From þisse stowe is oðer rice on þa suð healf
 Fram þisse stowe is oðer rice on þa suð halfe
 --- garsecgges þæt is geteald þæs læssan milgeteles þe
 þæs garsecgges. milgetæles --
 stadia hatte .ccc. 7 xxxiii.
 ----- þreo 7 twentig 7 þæs miclan þe leones
 leuua
 hatte .cc.liiii. 7 an mil. 7 þær beoð cende
 .cc.l.u. kende homodubii þæt
 beoð. ----- hy habbað oð ðone nafolan gesceape.
 byð twylice hi beoð oð ðene nafelan on menniscum gesceape
 7 syppan on eoseles gelicnesse 7 hy habbað longe sconcan
 gesceape - hi habbað long sceancan
 swa fugelas 7 lipelice stefne. Gif hy hwilcne man þæm
 gyf hi hwylcne mon on ðam
 landum ongytað oððe geseoð þonne fleoð hy feor.
 ongytað feorriað hi 7 fleoð.

27 (19V; 21T) Ðonne is oper stow elreordge men beoð on. 7
 elreorde
 þa habbað cynigas under --- þara is geteald .c. þæt syndon
 kyningas him ðæra is getald .cx.
 þa wyrstan men 7 þa elreordegestan. 7 þær syndon twegen seapas.
 elreordigestan - þær syndan .ii.
 oper is sunnan 7 oper monan. se ðe sunnan seað se bið dæg
 is se byð
 hat 7 nihtes ceald. 7 se ðe monan seað se bið nihtes
 is se bið neahtes hat 7
 dæges ceald. heora widnes is .cc. ----
 cald wide mila þæs læssan
 milgeteles -- stadia ----- 7 þæs maran þe leones
 getales þe hatte leuua hatte
 .cxxxiii. 7 an healf mil.

28. (20V; 22T) On þisso stowe beoð treowcyn þa beoð lawernbeabe*
þysso treowcynn. þa beoð laurbeame

7 eletreowum onlice of þam treowum balzamu se doorworðesta
gelice. of ðam treowum balsamum

ele bið ---- acenned. seo stow is þæs læssan milgotoles
eall kenned milgotales þo

stadia hatte .c.li. 7 þæs miclan þo leon ----- .lii.
maran þo leua hatte .li.

29. (21V; 23T) Ðonne is sum ealand in þære readan sæ þær is
ealand on

mancyn þæt is mid us donestre nemned. þa syndon geweaxene
moncynn genemned.

swa frifteras. fram þam heafde oð ðone nafolan 7 se oðer dæl
frihteras. fram ðan nafolan.

bið mennisce onlic. 7 hy cunnon ---- mennisce gereord þonne
byð mannes lice gelic hi eall mennisc

hy fremdes cynnes mannan geseoð þonne nemnað hy hine. 7 his
hi kynnes mann namnað hi hine

magas cupra manna naman 7 mid leaslicum wordum hy hine beswicað

7 hine gefoð ----- 7 æfter þan hy hine fretað ealne buton
him onfoð 7 þænne - hi butan

þan his heafde 7 þonne sittað 7 wepað ofer þam heafde

30. (22V; 24T) Ðonne is east þær beoð men acende þa beoð
Ðanan akenned

on wæstmefiftyne fota lange 7 .x. brade ----- hy habbað
awæstmefiftyne on brade tyn fotmæla hi

micel heafod 7 earan swæ/fon** eþer eare hy him on niht
micle heafda swa fann hi

underbredað 7 mid opran hy wreoð. him beoð þa earan swiðo
hi

leohte 7 hy beoð swa on lichoman swa hwite swa meolc - gyf hy
hi an 7 gif hi

hwilcne mannan on þam lande geseoð oðpe ongytað þonne nymað
hwylcne mann ðam landum ----- nimað

hy hyra earan him on hand 7 fleoð swyðe ----- : swa hrædlice
hi heora --- feor þætte hi fleoð

swa is wen þæt hy fleogen
hi

* lawernbeabe - wrong b marked for deletion.

** swæfon

31. (23V; 25T) Ðonne is sum ealond on þæm beoð men acende para
ealand in ðam ealand ma micel blacern onele -- þeostre
eagan scinap swa leohte swa ma onæle on bystre
nihte.

32. (24V; 26T) Ðonne is sum ealond þæt is þæs læssan
ealand milgeteles be stadia hatte on lenge 7 on bræde .ccc. 7 lx.
milgetæles

7 þæs miclan þe leones hatte .cx. þær wæs getymbro on beles
leuua .xc. timbred
dagum ----- 7 iobes temple of isernum geworcum. 7 of
þæs cinges templ geweorcum
glæsgegotum 7 on þære ilcan stowe is æt sunnan upgange
ærenum geworht. ylcan east ðanon eac
setl quietus þæs stillestan bisceopes se nænine operne mete
oper templ sunnanhalig to þam is sum gepungen 7 gedefe sacerð
ne þige buton sæ ostrum be þam he lifede
togesett 7 he ða hof(a) gehealdeð and begymep.

33. (25V; 27T) Ðonne is gylden wingearð æt sunnan upgonge
gylde upgonge
se hafað bergean hundteontiges fotmæla ----- 7 fiftiges of þæm
berian lange on ðam
bergean beoð cende ----- saragimmas
swylce meregrota oððe gymmas.

20. (26V; 28T) Ðonne is oper rice on babilonia landum. þær
is seo mæste dun betwih med a* dune 7 armœnia. Seo is ealra
betweoh media armenia.
duna mæst 7 hyhst. -----
higest þær syndon gedefelice menn þa habbað him
to cynedome ----- þone 7 to anwalde
kynedome 7 to anwealde þa readan sæ ----- þær
beoð cende ----- sarogim(mas)
kende þa deorwordan gimmas.

21. (27V; 29T) Ymb þas stowe beoð wif acenned. þa habbað
þa
beardas swa side oð hyra breost. 7 horses hyda hy habbað
heora hi
him to hrægle gedon ----- hundicgean swiðast nemde.
þa syndan huntigystan swiðe genemde

* a letter, possibly i has been scratched out between d and a.

7 from ----- tigras 7 leon 7 loxas þæt hy fedað þæt syndon
fora hundum leopardos hi

þa cenestan deor 7 ealra þara wildeora cyn þara þa on þaro
kenestan ðara kynn

dune acende beoð mid heora scin(:::)e þæt hy tohuntaþ,
akende ----- þæt hi gehuntigað.

22. (28V; 30T) ðonne syndan opere wif þa habbað woferas
sindon oðre

tuxas 7 feax oð helan side. 7 oxan tægl on londunum. þa
tuxas. on lendenum oxan tægl.

wif syndon þryttigne fotla lange 7 hyra lic bið on marmorstanes
ðreottigne heora

hiwnesse - hy habbað oðfendan fet 7 eoseles of hyra
hwitnysse 7 hi oðfenda eoferes for heora

micelnesse hy gefylde wæron fram þam miclan macedoniscan
mycelnysse hie gefelde wurdon fram ðam mycelan

alexandre þa cwealde he hy þa he hy lifiende oferfon mehte
----- þa he hi gefon no mihte

----- þa acwealde he hi for þam hy syndon æwisce on lichoman 7
ðam hi

unweorpe.

23. (29V; 31T) Be þam garsecge -- wildeora cyn þa hatton
ðam is cynn. þa hattan

catinos þær syndon freawlitl men
catini þa syndon freawlitige deor 7 þær syndon menn.

þe be hreawum flæsce. 7 be hunle hy lifiað
ða be hreawan hunige -- lifigað.

(30V; 32T) On þam wynstran dæle þæs rices þe þa door on
þam þær

beoð catinos 7 þær beoð gæstliþende men. cyningas þa habbaþ
eastliþende menn

under --- monigfealde leodhatan. heora landgemæra buap
him mænigfealde landgemære

neah þam garsecge - þanon fram þam syndon
þam 7 þanan fram þam wynstran dæle syndan

fela cyninga.
manege cyningas.

(31V; 33T) ðis mancyn lyfað fela geara 7 hy syndon
mannkynn lifað hi syndan

fræmfulle men - gif hwile mon him to cymð þon gifað
fræmfulle menn. 7 gif hwile mann to him cymð þonne gifað

hy him wif ær hy hine onweg læten. Se macedonisca alexander
hi hi

pa ða he him to com pa wæs he wundrende wundriende hyra menniscnesse.
menniscnysse

ne wolde he hi cwellan ne him nan lað on.
nawiht laðes don.

24. (32V; 34T) ðonne syndon treowcyn on þam
treowcynn of ðam pa

deorwyrpystan stanas synd ofacende. - þonon ----- hi growað.
deorweorstan beoð acende 7 þanon þætte

(33V; 35T) Oþer moncyn is seondon sweartes hyiwes on onsyne
ðær mannkynn syndan hiwes on ansyne

pa mon hated sigelwara.
man Silhearwan.

33 ctd. (36 - T only) ðonne is sum land wingearðas weaxet

on swiðast þær bið rest of elpenda bane geworht seo is on

lenge þreo hund fotmæla lang 7 syxa.

34. (37 - T only) ðonne is sum dun aðamans hatte on ðære dune

bið þæt fugelcynn þe grifus hatte pa fugelas habbað feower

fet 7 hryðeres tægl 7 earnes heafod.

(38 - T only) On þære ylcan stowe byð oðer fugelcynn fenix

hatte pa habbað cambas on heafde swa pawan 7 hyra nest þætte

hi wyrcað of ðam deorweorðestan wrytgemangum þe man

cinnamomum hated 7 of his æðme æfter þusend gearum he fyr

onæleð 7 þonne geong upp of þam yselum eft ariseþ.

35. (39 - T only) ðonne is oðer dun þær syndon swearte

menn 7 nænig oðer mann to ðam mannum geferan mæg for ðam þe

seo dun byð eall Byrnende.

APPENDIX 1B

MIRABILIA

Note: The readings given are those of Mir-T. Variants from Mir-B, which is a direct descendant of the earlier MS, are given as footnotes. Numbers without brackets refer to the section division used in this edition; numbers in brackets refer to the paragraphs as they appear in the MSS.

2. (1) Colonia¹ est initium ab antimolima quia habet stadia numero² quingenta que faciunt leuvas³ trecenta sexaginta octo. que insula habet multitudinem ovium. & inde ad babiloniam stadia sunt centum sexaginta octo numero que faciunt⁴ leuvas .c. et .xv.⁵

3. (2) Haec colonia est maxime negotiatorum ubi nascuntur berbices magnitudine boum habitantes usque ad medorum civitatem cui nomen est archemedon. que maxima est ad babiloniam (i. excepto babilonia)⁶ inde sunt stadia ad babiloniam numero .ccc. que faciunt leuvas .cc. ab archemedone. Ibi sunt illa magna insignia que magnus alexander operari iusserat. quae terra habet in longitudine & latitudine stadia numero .cc. que faciunt leuvas cxxxiii⁷. & dimidium miliarium.

1. Mir-B *Colononia*.

2. Mir-B omits *numero*.

3. Mir-B (and *passim*) *leugas*.

4. Mir-B *fatiant*.

5. Mir-T omits numeral.

6. interlinear gloss in Mir-T, also present in Mir-B.

7. Mir-B *cxxxiii*.

4. (3) Est locus euntibus ad mare rubrum qui dicitur
lentibelsinea. in quibus galline nascuntur quales apud nos
rubicundo colore has cum aliquis adprehendere¹ voluerit: manum
suam quam tetigerit totumque corpus conburit.

5. (4) Preterea ibi bestiae² nascuntur. hae cum sonum
audierint hominum. statim fugiunt. pedes habent octenos.
oculos habent³ gorgoneos. bina capita habent. si quis
eos voluerit adprehendere⁴ corpora sua inarmant.

6. (5) Hascellentia⁵ babiloniam proficiscentibus habet
stadia .ix. quae subiacet regionibus medorum omnibus bonis
plena.

(6) Hic locus serpentes habet. capita bina habentes.
quorum oculi nocte sicut lucerne lucent.

7. (7) Nascuntur et ibi onagri cornua boum habentes. forma
maxima.

8. Hi in dextera⁶ parte a babilonia. ducunt se in occulto
ad mare rubrum propter serpentes qui in illis locis nascuntur.
qui vocantur corsias habentes cornua similia arietibus. Hii
quem percusserunt⁷ moritur. Ubi nascitur abundantia piperis.
quod serpentes servant sua industria. Hoc piper sic tollunt.

1. Mir-B *apprehendere*.

2. Mir-B *bestiole*.

3. Mir-B *autem*.

4. Mir-B *apprehendere*.

5. Mir-B *Hascellentia regio que subiacet regionibus medorum
omnibus bonis plena. babiloniam proficicentibus habent stadia
.ix.*

6. Mir-B *dextra*.

7. Mir-B *percusserint*.

Incendunt ea loca & serpentes sub terram fugiunt. ideo¹
nigrum² est piper.

9. A babilonia usque persiam civitatum ubi nascitur piper
stadia sunt .dccc. quae faciunt leuvas dcxxiii³ & dimidium
miliarium. Loca illa sterilia sunt propter multitudinem
serpentium.

10. (8) Similiter ibi nascuntur cenocephali quos nos conopoenas
appellamus. Habentes iugas equorum. aprorum⁴ dentes. canina
capita. ignem & flammam flantes. Hic est civitas vicina dives.
omnibus bonis plena.

11. dexteriore parte ducitur illa terra ab aegypto⁵.

(9) In⁶ aliqua⁷ nascuntur homines statura pedum vi. barbas
habentes usque ad genua comas usque ad talos qui homo dubii
appellantur & pisces crudeos manducant.

1. Mir-B ideoque.

2. Mir-B niger.

3. Mir-B dcxxx. In Mir-T xxi is almost obliterated by the
coloured frame of the adjacent picture which has been painted
over it.

4. Mir-B aprum.

5. Mir-B egipto.

6. I lacking in Mir-T - space left for rubricated initial which
has not been added.

7. Mir-B alia regione.

12. (10) Capi¹ fluvius in eodem loco² appellatur³ gorgoneus. Ibi nascuntur formice. statura canum. habentes pedes quasi locuste. rubro colore. nigroque. fodientes⁴ aurum & quod per noctem fodiunt sub terra. profertur foras usque diei horam quintam. Homines autem qui audaces sunt illud tollere, sic tollent⁵. Aput⁶ camelos masculos & feminas illas⁷ quae habent foetas⁸. Foetas⁹ autem trans flumen gargulum¹⁰ alligatos relinquunt et¹¹ camelis foeminis aurum¹² inponunt. Ille¹³ autem pietate ad suos pullos festinantes¹⁴. Ibi masculi remanent & ille formicae sequentes inveniunt eos masculos¹⁵ & comedunt eos¹⁶. Dum circa autem¹⁷ eos occupatae sunt. foemine transeunt flumen cum¹⁸ hominibus. sunt autem tam veloces ut putes eos volare.

1. Mir-B adds *vocatur*.

2. Mir-B adds *qui*.

3. Mir-B *appellatur*.

4. Mir-B *fodientes*.

5. Mir-B *tollunt*.

6. Mir-B *accipiunt*.

7. Mir-B omits *illas*.

8. Mir-B *fetus*.

9. Mir-B expands to *Qui ad flumen predictum pervenientes, fetus trans...*

10. Mir-B omits *gargulum*.

11. Mir-B inserts *ipsi cum camelis fluvium transsevit. & auro collecto ...*

12. Mir-B *illud*.

13. Mir-B *illis*.

14. Mir-B *festinantibus*.

15. Mir-B omits *masculos*.

16. Mir-B omits *eos*.

17. Mir-B reverses *autem circa*.

18. Mir-B amplifies to *cum auro & hominibus*.

13. (11) Inter duas has amnes colonia¹ est locotheca quo inter
nilum & brixontem posita est. Nam nilus est capud² fluviorum
& per aegyptum fluit. quam aegyptii archoboleta vocant quo
est aqua magna. In his locis nascitur multitudo magna
elephantorum.

14. (12) Nascuntur & ibi homines habentes statura³ pedum xv.
corpus habentes candidum.
duas in una habentes capite facies. rubra genua. naso
longo. capillis nigris. Cum tempus gignendi fuerit suis
manibus transferuntur in indiam et ibi prolem reddunt.

15. (13) Item liconia in gallia nascuntur homines tripartito⁴
colore. quorum capita capita leonum. pedibus⁵ .xx. ora
amplissimo sicut vannum. hominem cum cognoverint aut si
quis persequatur longe fugiunt & sanguine sudent. Hi⁶
putantur homines fuisse.

16. (14) Trans⁷ brixontem flumen ad orientem nascuntur homines
longi & magni. habentes foemora & surras .xii. pedum. latera
cum pectore .vii. pedum. colore nigro. quos hostes rite
appellamus. nam quoscumque capiunt⁸ comedunt.

1. Mir-T adds interlinear gloss *habitatio*.

2. Mir-B *caput*.

3. Mir-B *staturam*.

4. Mir-B *tripertito*.

5. Mir-B amplifies *longi pedibus*.

6. Mir-B *Hi*.

7. Mir-T *Tras*.

8. Mir-B inserts *cito*.

17. (15) Sunt & alie bestiolae in brixonte quae lertices
apellatur¹. auribus asininis. vellere ovino. pedibus *avium*².

18. (16) Est & alia insula in brixonte ad meridiem in qua
nascuntur homines sine capitibus. qui in pectore habent
oculos et os alti sunt pedum .viii. et lati simili modo³ pedum
.viii.

19. (17) Nascuntur et ibi dracones longitudinem habentes
.cl. pedum vastitudine columnarum. Propter multitudinem⁴
draconum⁵ nemo facile adire potest trans flumen.

25. (18) Post hunc locum alia est regio oceano⁶ dexteriore
parte. stadia .cccxxiii. quae faciunt leuvas cclui.⁷ &
miliarium unum ubi nascuntur homodubii qui usque ad umbilicum⁸
hominis speciem habent. reliquo corpore onagro similes⁹
longis pedibus ut aves lena voce. Sed hominem cum viderint
longe fugiunt.

1. Mir-B *appellatur*.

2. Thus Mir-B. Mir-T *ovum*.

3. Mir-B *similiter*.

4. Mir-B inserts *vero*.

5. Mir-B inserts *illorum*.

6. Mir-B rewrites *regio in dexteriore parte oceani. habens stadia*

7. Mir-B *ccliii* (see commentary).

8. Mir-B *umbelicum*.

9. Mir-B *similes cruribus ut*.

27. (19) Est & alius locus hominum barbarorum habens sub se
 reges numero .cx.¹ genus possimum & barbarorum² est. Sunt et
 alibi loci³ duo. Unis⁴ solis & alius lune. Qui solis est
 die calidus nocte frigidus. qui lune est nocte calidus die
 frigidus. Longitudo⁵ eorum .cc. stadia sunt que faciunt leuvas
 .cxxxiii. & dimidium milliarium.

28. (20) Hoc loco arbores nascuntur similes⁶ lauro & olive.
 In quibus arboribus basamum⁷ nascitur & inde proficiscentibus⁸
 locus est qui habet stadia .cli. que faciunt leuvas .l. & i
 miliarium.

29. (21) Itaque insula est in rubro mari. in qua hominum genus
 est quod apud nos appellatur donestre. quasi divine⁹ a capite
 usque ad umbilicum quasi¹⁰ homines. reliquo corpore similitudine
 humana¹¹ nationum¹² linguis loquentes¹³. Cum¹⁴ alieni generis

1. Mir-B inserts *quod*.

2. Mir-B *barbarum*.

3. Mir-B *loca*.

4. Mir-B *unus*.

5. Mir-B *lungitudo*.

6. Mir-B *silniles*.

7. Mir-B *balsamum*.

8. Mir-B *prorofiscicentibus*.

9. Mir-B *divinum*.

10. Mir-B rewrites *deformatum ab hominum specie*.

11. Mir-B *similitudine existens humana*.

12. Mir-B *nacionumque diversarum*.

13. Mir-B *loquuntur*.

14. Mir-B *Qui cum*.

hominem viderint ipsius¹ lingua appellabunt eum & parentum
eius² & cognatorum nomina³ blandientes sermone ut decipiant
eos & perdant. Cumque comprehenderint eos perdunt eos &
comedunt. et postea comprehendunt caput⁴ ipsius⁵ hominis
quem comederunt⁶ et super ipsum plorant.

30. (22) Ultra⁷ hoc ad orientem nascuntur homines longi pedum xv.
lati pedum .x. caput⁸ magnum & aures habentes tamquam⁹ vannum.
unam¹⁰ sibi nocte substernunt. de alia¹¹ se cooperiunt & tegunt
se his auribus. Leve¹² & candido corpore sunt quasi lacteo.
Homines cum viderint tollunt sibi aures & longe fugiunt quasi
putes eos volare.

31. (23) Est & alia insula in qua nascuntur homines quorum
oculi sicut lucerna lucent.

1. Mir-B *isp us.*
2. Mir-B *eis.*
3. Mir-B *inserts inquirunt.*
4. Mir-B *capud.*
5. Mir-B *ipsis.*
6. Mir-B *comederint.*
7. Rubricated *U* not added in Mir-B.
8. Mir-B *capud.*
9. Mir-B *tanquam.*
10. Mir-B *quarum unam.*
11. Mir-B *alia vero.*
12. Mir-B *levi autem.*

32. (24) Est & alia insula stadia habens longitudine & latitudine .ccc.l.x. quae faciunt leuvas .cx. ubi est belis templum in diebus regis & iobis. aereo & ferreo opere constructum quod etiam beliohills¹ dicitur. & inde est edis solis ad orientem ubi est sacerdos quietus qui illa oppida maritima observat.

33. (25) Est & vinea aurea in oriente ad solis ortum quae habet uvas pedum .cl. de qua nascentes² pendent margarite.

20. (26) Est & altera regio in terra babiloniao. & mons ibi est maximus inter mediam & armeniam mons maximus & altissimus. Sunt ibi homines honesti. Hi³ retinent mare rubrum imperio ubi nascuntur margarete⁴ pretiosissime.

21. (27) Circa hunc locum nascuntur mulieres barbas habentes usque ad mamillas pelliculas equorum ad vestimentum⁵ habentes & he venatrices. maxime pro canibus tigres & leopardos nutriunt. & omnia genera bestiarum que in eodem monte nascuntur cum illis venantur.

1. Mir-E *beliohiles*.

2. Mir-B *nascenter*.

3. Mir-B *Hi*.

4. Mir-B *margarite*.

5. Mir-B *vettimentum*.

22. (28) Et alie sunt mulieres ibi. dentes aprorum¹ habentes. capillos usque ad talos in lumbis caudas boum. Quae sunt altae pedum xiii. specioso² corpore quasi marmore candido. pedes habentes cameli. Ap(ri)nos³ quarum multe ex ipsis ceciderunt pro sua obscenitate a magno nostro macedone alexandro. quia⁴ illas vivas adprehendere⁵ non potuit, occidit. ideo quia sunt publicato corpore & inhonesto.

23. (29) Secus oceanum sunt genera bestiarum quae catini nuncupantur. Isti formosi sunt. et⁶ ubi sunt homines cruda carne et melle vescentes.

(30) In sinistra parte⁷ regio est catinorum et ibi reges sunt hospitales sub se multos habentes tyrannos confines secus oceanum⁸. A sinistra⁹ parte sunt reges conplures.

(31) Hoc genus hominum multos vivit annos. homines sunt benigni. et si qui¹⁰ ad eos venerint cum mulieribus eos¹¹ remittunt. Alexander autem macedis¹² cum ad eos venisset miratus est eorum humanitatem nec voluit eis nocere nec ultra voluit occidere.

1. Mir-B *aprum*.

2. Mir-B *spetioso*.

3. Mir-B omits *Ap(ri)nos*.

4. Mir-B *quas quia*.

5. Mir-B *apprehendere*.

6. Mir-B rewrites: *Sunt autem & ibi homines*.

7. Mir-B rewrites: *parte catinorum regio est in qua reges ...*

8. Mir-B *occeanum*.

9. Mir-B inserts *vero*.

10. Mir-B *Siq(ut)*

11. Mir-B omits *eos*.

12. Mir-B *macedo*.

24. (32) Sunt arboros in quibus lapides proflosi nascuntur
et ibi germinabuntur¹.

(33) Aliud genus est hominum valde nigrum qui othiopes
vocantur.

33. (34) Est & vineola ubi est² lectus eburneus longitudine
.ccc.vi pedum.

34. (35) Est & mons adamans ubi est³ griphus avis que .iiii.
pedes habet. caput aquilinum & caudam bovis.

(New paragraph in Mir-B only)

in eo⁴ etiam monte est avis fenix⁵

(Mir-B inserts) quae colorem feniceum habet. vel quod sit in toto
orbe singularis & unica.

(Both MSS) que habet cristas quasi orbes pavonis.

(Mir-T only) nidum habet de cinnamomo ipsa in sinu suo post
mille annos ignem incendit et nova de favilla
exurget.

(Mir-B only) Hec quingentis annis ultra vivens. dum se viderit
*senuisse collectis aromatum virgulis*⁶ rogem sibi
instruit & conversa ad radium sol alarum plausu
voluntarium sibi incendium nutrit⁶ & moritur. Decuis
humore carnis urmis exurgit. paulatimque adulescit.
in durcque alarum remigia atque in superioris avis
speciem formaque reparatur.

1. Mir-B *germinantur*.

2. Mir-B omits *est*.

3. Mir-B omits *est*.

4. Mir-B *predicto*.

5. Mir-B adds *dicta*.

6. Supplied from Isidore, *Etymologiae*, XII vii 22.

35. (36) Est et alius mons ubi sunt homines nigri. ad
quos nemo accedere potest, quia ipse mons ardet.

APPENDIX 1C

EPISTOLA PARMOENIS (PIT)

Note: Pitra's text is followed verbatim. The Roman numerals are the paragraph markers of the original (either from the MS or introduced by Pitra), the Arabic numerals refer to the section division used in this edition.

1. Incipit epistola Parmoenis ad Trajanum (cod. trojanum) imperatorem data de locis aut incolis aut ubi quales homines nascuntur, vel qualia monstra vel montium figuras et hominum vel bestiarum.
2. 1. Initium ab Antepoli usque Serimium. Habet multitudinem ovium, et inde usque Babylonia, stadia nunc num. LXIX.
3. Haec colonia est maxima (cod. maximi) negotiatorum. Ibi nascuntur vervices magnitudine boum. - (1b) Ad civitatem cum hominis Archemedon. Magna et fructuosa. A Babylonia usque Archemedon stadia num. CCC. Ibi praedia sunt magna. Hoc est Athenas Magni Alexandri, sunt n. CC.
4. Ibi est locus euntibus ad Mare rubrum, qui dicitur Lantabel Feniae. In quibus locis gallinae quales et apud nos similes colore. Has cum aliquis apprehendere voluerit, manu sua si tetigerit, totum corpus comburet, quia veneficae sunt.
5. Praeterea nascuntur ibi bestiae, quasi simiae. Hi quum unum audierint, longe fugiunt. Pedes habent octonos et oculos gorgonios, bina capita. Hos quum volueris apprehendere, corpora inarmant.

6. II. A Seleucia ad Babyloniam proficiscentibus sunt stadia ...
II, quae subjacent regionibus Medorum, omnibus bonis plena.
Habet in locis illis serpentes habentes capita bina, quorum
oculi nocte sicut lucerna lucent.
7. Nam nascuntur ibidem onagri, cornua boum habentes, formam
maximam.
8. Ducunt se in occulta loca ad Mare rubrum, propter
serpentes qui in illis locis nascuntur, qui vocantur Corsia,
habentes cornua similia arietibus. Hi hominem quem
percusserint, morietur. Ibi nascitur abundantia piperis,
quod hi serpentes servant. Sed hi homines sua industria
hoc piper sic tollunt: incendunt ea loca, et serpentes
sub terra fugiunt. Ideo nigrum est.
9. III. A Babylonia usque Persidam civitatem. Ibi nascitur
piper. Stadia sunt n. CCC. Loca sunt sterilia propter
multitudinem serpentium.
10. Nascuntur ibi cynocephali, quos Conopenras appellatis:
comas equorum, dentes aprorum, capita canina, ignem et flammam
flantes.
11. IV. Dexteriores partes (cod. dexteriore parte) ducent in
Aegyptum, in qua nascuntur (Trogloditae?) pedum binum,
barbas habentes usque ad genua. Homines Durci appellantur.
Hi pisces crudos manducant.

12. Est ibi fluuius in eadem insula, Gurgarus appellatur.
Ibi nascuntur formicae staturam canum habentes, pedes sonos.
Qui pedes quasi locustae marinae sunt, colore nigro. Quae
formicae aurum fodiunt sub terra, et proferunt usque diei hora
quinta. Homines qui audent illa tollere, sic tollent.
Ducunt apud se camelos, masculos et feminas, illas quae habent
fetus. Trans flumen Gorgarium alligantur et relinquunt, et
camelis feminis aurum imponunt. Illae pietate ad suos pullos
festinantes, illae formicae sequentes inveniunt et comedunt
eas. Quum circa eos occupatae sunt, feminae transeunt flumen
cum hominibus; sunt tam veloces, ut putes eos volare.

13. V(1)* Inter duas vias colonia est Liconthoea, quae inter
Nilum et Brixontem posita est. Nec Nili, nec Erixontis
initium invenitur. Nam hic influit illum, quem Aegyptii
Arcubelita vocant, quod dicitur aqua magna. In his locis
nascitur multitudo elephantorum.

14. et ibi nascuntur homines pedum n. X corpore candido,
facie parthica, pedes et genua sub ea, naso longo, scapulas
nigras habentes. In tempore suo transferuntur in avibus.

15. et quadrupedia colorem equorum, pedes leonum, ore
amplissimo sicut vannum, habentia regunt: verum hos si
aliquis sequitur, longe fugiunt et sanguinem sudant. Hos
potamos appellant.

* The last three sections are numbered V. For the sake of
clarity I have added (1), (2), (3).

16. Est in Brixontem flumen ... V(2) Ad Orientem nascuntur homines longipedes et macri femora, et subta ... pedes n. iv. colore nigro. Hos ostes appellant, nam quoscunque capiunt, comedunt.

17. Sunt et alii juxta Brixontem, Lerueis appellant.

19. (V2b) Nascuntur et ibidem dracones longipedes n. C. vastitudine columnarum; propter multitudinem draconum nemo tam facile adire potest super illud flumen.

20. V(3) Et altera regio est ... Babylonem. Mons est ibi in quo natio Tyrannorum est inter Moeniam et Arimeniam. Mons est maximus et altissimus: ibi sunt honesti homines. Hi tenent Mare rubrumⁱⁿ imperium.

21. Ibi nascuntur mulieres barbas habentes usque ad mamillas, pelliculas vestimentis et equas habentes venatrices. Sunt maxima in forma canis tigrides, et leopardos nutriunt, et omnia genera bestiarum, quae in eodem monte nascuntur, interficiunt.

22. Sunt et aliae ibidem mulieres, dentes aprinos habentes, capillos usque talos in lumbis et caudas habentes boum. Altae sunt, speciosae corpore, quasi marmore candido, pedes habentes camelinos: propter quarum inspectionem tres ex his occiderunt socii nostri, quoniam vivas prendere non potuerunt.

Explicit.

APPENDIX 1D

EPISTOLA PREMONIS (EP)

Note: Graff's text is followed verbatim. There is no division into paragraphs in the source; numbers refer to the section division used in this edition.

EPISTOLA PREMONIS REGIS AD TRAJANUM IMPERATOREM

1. Loca vel insulas in oriente, ubi diversa hominum monstrorumve qualitas nascatur, vel montium figuras et hominum vel bestiarum describi jussimus.
4. Locus est euntibus ad mare rubrum qui dicitur Ientibel. In cuius finibus gallinae nascuntur, quales et apud nos similes colore. has cum aliquis comprehendere voluerit. manus eius qui tetigerit, corpus earum comburit.
5. Ibi sunt praeterea bestiae octonos pedes habentes, oculos quaternos. binaque capita has cum voluerint comprehendere corpora sua inarant. Id' pugnant.
6. Regio medorum plena est hominibus bonis. hic locus serpentes habet. capita bina habentes. quorum oculi nocte sicut lucernae lucent.
7. Nascuntur^{que} ibi onagra (*wildi esil*) cornua boum habentes maxima atque fortia.

8. In dexteriore parte ab arabia sunt inculta loca prope ad mare rubrum in quibus nascuntur serpentes qui corsica vocantur. cornua habentes arietinis similia. Si quem hi percusserint cito moritur. Ibi etiam nascitur piperis abundantia. quod serpentes servant sua industria. et hoc piper sic homines incendunt ea loca adquirunt et sub terram fugiunt serpentes. Ideo piper nigrum est propter incendium.

9. A babilonia usque ad persidem civitatem ubi etiam piper nascitur sunt loca hostilia propter serpentium multitudinem.

10. nascunturque canis cenonulli homines vel bestiae quaedam vel verius homines mixti cum capitibus canum habentes iugas equorum quorum capita canina sunt ignium flammis flantes. Et ibi est civitas vicina dives hominum plena bonis.

11. Ibi nascuntur homines statura pedum binorum in longitudine barbas usque ad genua habentes qui cenodubii appellantur idest homunculi.

12. Ibi etiam nascuntur formicae statura canum senos habentes pedes et quasi locustae marinae nigro sunt colore et formicae ibi aurum fodiunt. et proferunt usque ad horam diei quartam. et post abscondunt sub terra. Homines autem qui audaces sunt ab illis aurum sic ducunt. Ducunt autem apud se masculos et feminarum fetus trans flumen gallalim alligantes relinquunt. et camelis feminis inponunt aurum. illae ad suos pullos festinant. ubi cum masculis remanent. Dumque eas formicae insequuntur rapiunt masculos et edunt eos. et dum eos

occupaverint. feminis ne cum viris transount fluvium. tam veloces, ut volare eas putas.

13. Inter has duas aquas idest nilum et brixontem colonia est nomine locata. ubi nascitur magna multitudo elefantorum.

14. et ubi sunt homines statura quindocim pedum corpus candidum pedes genua et scapulas nigras habentes. omni tempore immorantur in navibus.

15. Nascuntur etiam ibi animalia triplici coloris quorum capita sunt leonum longa pedum decem et octo. ore amplissimo. homines cum viderint. si eos aliquis insequatur. longo fugiunt. ita ut sanguine sudent. Hyppotami appellantur.

16. Trans brixontem flumen ad orientem nascuntur homines magni, habentes femora et suras pedum duodecim. latera cum pectore pedum sex. admodum nigri hos hostes appellant. nam quoscumque capiunt comedunt.

18. Est etiam in brixonte insula in qua nascuntur homines sine capitibus qui in pectore oculos et ora habent. Altitudine novem pedum. et latitudine octo. hos epifagos vocamus.

19. Nascuntur autem ibi et dracones longitudine centum quinquaginta pedum grossitudine columnarum. et pro multitudine draconum nemo ibi commorari potest. Super hoc flumen

20. et mons maximus et altissimus est inter Modiam et Armeniam. ibi sunt homines honesti et habitant usque ad Mare rubrum. ibique nascuntur margaritae.

21. Circa hunc etiam montem sunt mulieres barbas habentes usque ad mamillas pelliculas vestimenta habentes. venatrices maximae sunt et leopardos pro canibus nutriunt.

22. Sunt enim et aliae mulieres Rubro mari proximae, capillos usque ad talos habentes et in lumbis caudas boum, statura pedum tredecim, cum specioso corpore vel ut marmor quae pedes camelorum et dentes asinorum habent; et ex his decem occidit Alexander magnus, quia vivas eas capere non poterat.

23. Secus Oceanum autem cativa gens est, qui formosi sunt et crudam carnem et mel comedunt. Et ibi est rex hospitalis, habens sub se multos tyrannos confines secus oceanum. Et hoc genus hominum vivit multis annis adeo hospitale, ut si quis venerit ad eos cum mulieribus illos remittunt. Alexander magnus cum venisset ad eos miratus humanitatem illorum, noluit eos nocere, nec ulterius accedere.

24. Sunt ibi serpentes in quibus lapides pretiosi nascuntur et illic sunt ethiopes, nigri homines.

25. Post hunc locum est et alia regio proxima oceano ubi nascuntur homines qui homodubii vocuntur. qui usque ad umbilicum hominis speciem tenent. reliquum corpus onagro simile, pedes habent ut equus cum hominem viderint longe fugiunt ab eo.

27. est etiam alius ibi locus barbarorum habens in se reges numero centum et decem. gens haec possima est. Sunt ibi duo lac. solis unus alius lunae. qui solis est nocte frigidus. Die calidus est. qui vero lunae nocte calidus et die est frigidus.

29. Est quoque insula in mari rubro. in qua est genus hominum qui a capite usque ad umbilicum sunt homines. reliquum vero corpus dissimile humano. omnium nationum linguis loquentes. et si alienigenam viderint. ipsius lingua appellant et parentum cognatorumque dicunt nomina. blandientes sermone ut decipiant et comprehendant; et cum comprehenderit perdunt illos et comedunt.

30. Nascuntur etiam ibi homines quindecim pedum altitudinis. caput magnum et aures latas habentes tanquam uannus. unam sibi nocte substernunt et alia se ceperunt* colore candido quasi lac et homines cum viderint aures excludunt et sic fugiunt quasi volent.

31. Est autem ibi et insula in qua sunt homines quorum oculi sicut lucernae lucent.

32. Et alia insula ibi est, in qua ollopolis constructa aere et ferro cooperta (*erin timbar isarnin thecina*) ubi aedos solis est ad orientem.

* Italics unexplained by Graff.

33. Est etiam ibi vinea aurea quae habet uvas centum
quingenta de qua nascentes pendent margaritae. ubi etiam
lectus eburneus est. longitudinis pedum trecentorum sex.

34. et montes riphei ibi, ubi sunt gripes, qui habent equinum
capud. In eodem monte, quoque est avis fenix. qui habet
cristam quasi orbem de cinnamomo. et ipsa in nido suo
quingentesimo xmo anno incendit se et post haec nova de
favilla exsurgit.

35. Et ibi est mons ubi sunt homines nigri ultra quem nemo
ascendere potest. quia adeo oriens ardet.

APPENDIX 1E

THE OLD FRENCH TEXT

Note: The spelling of the MS has been followed exactly and *u* and *v* have not been standardised. Numbers without brackets refer to the section division used in this edition; numbers in brackets refer to the paragraphs in the MS, which uses two different paragraph markers (see Introduction to the Text).

1. Haus empereres. Je vous senefile aucunos cosos qui sont merueilleuses en Inde.

2. (1) Premièrement il i a vne isle qui a non atymolimus qui a .iii.c. et .lxiij. liues de lonc. Et i croist moult de brebis. Et de la iusques en Babilone a .c. et .xii. liues.

3. (1b) Et les brebis de chele isle sont ossi grans quest vns buef. Et moult est markaande. De cheste isle dusques a vne chite de Mede qui a non Arcemedon qui est bolne chites. Et dusques en Babilone a .ii.c. liues. Et de la dusques a Athaines le grant Alixandre cxxxiii liues. Et pres de la moitié dune mille

4. (1c) naissent gelines de tes couleurs que les nostres et li lieus ou eles naissent est apeles Lontibol de Surie et est en le voie qui va a le rouge mer. Et quiconques prenderoit vne de ches guelines a sa main, tous ses cors arderoit, car eles sont enuenimees.

5. (2) Apres il i naist bestes ossi que singes qui ont .viii. pies et ossi de femme et .ii. testes et son fulent loins quant

eles oent aucun son. et quant on les veut prendre. eles enarment leur cors a leur pooir. si sont fors a avoir.

6. (3) Apres de Seleucie iusques a Babilone a entour .ix. estades.

(3b) Et chele tere habunde en tous biens, et est par desous medie. Et i a serpens qui ont .ii. testes. et leur oeil luisent de nuit comme candelles.

7. (4) Apres la naissent asne sauvage. qui ont cornes ossi que de buef et sont moult grant

8. (5) Et se traient en le darraine partie d'Arrabe vers les lieus repus sur le Rouge Mer. pour les serpens qui naissent la, et ont a non confia.

(5b) Et chil ont cornes sanlaules as cornes de mouton. Et se chis serpens fiert aucun homme, il morra tantost. Et la naist li poiures en habundanche, lequel li serpent wardent par grant diligence. Et de la le wardent li homme, que il ne perdent le poiure pour les serpens, et i boutent le fu. Et li serpent s'en fuient desous terre et on kuelle le poiure qui pour le fu est noirs.

9. (6) Et de babilone ou li poiures naist iusques a Perse la chite a .lxxiiii. liues. Et entre deus a terres brehagnes pour le multitude des serpens.

10. (6b) Et la naissent cenophale qui ont testes de kien et ont alainnes de flamme. Et la est vne chites rike.

11. (6c) En lequele naissent homme qui nont que li ples de lonc, et leur pendant leur barbes iusques as genous. On les apele hommes.

(6d) Et menguent les poissons tous crus, lesquels il prennent en le riviere de Cabes.

12. (7) En chele isle naiscent fourmi de grant estaturo comme sont kien et ont .vi. ples comme laoustes de mer. Et sont de noire couleur. Et fouent lor et tralent de terre iusques a le quinte heure du iour. Et li homme qui ont hardioche de chel or prendre font ensi. Il prennent cameus masles et femeles les queles ont petis cameus. Et laissent les petis cameus bien lies outre une riviere. le quele a non gargalo. Et metent les meres outre le riviere en le terre ou li ors est. et les karkent de chel or.

(7b) Et eles par lamour queles ont a leur petis cameus passent le riviere pour aler a aus atout chel or. et li camel masle demeurent avec les hommes. Et li fourmi keurent sus as cameus masles et les menguent. Et u tamps que li fourmi sunt en chele pcupation: li homme passent avec les cameus femeles qui portent lor. Et tant sont hastives, qu'il sanle car eles volent.

13. (8) Entre ches .ii. isles .v. voles. est une terre. qui est apelee lothee v lothee. qui est entre le flueve Nile et brixont. qui sont rivieres des queles on ne puot trouver les commenchemens. Et voirs est que brixont kiet v nile.

que li egyptient apelent Aruiobolet. chest adire grant laue.

(9) Et la habite grant foisons dolifans.

14. (9b) Et la naiscent homme qui ont .xii. pies de lonc et les cors blans. et visages partikes. et ont les genous et les pies tous nus. Et lons nes et noires espauls. Et en aucun tamps il passent en nes vn flueue qui a non ydees selonc leur coustume.

15. (10) Apres en vne region qui a non galle en le quele naiscent tripaire. qui ont testes de lion. et .xiiii. pies de lonc. Et ont si grant guele qu'il i porroit bien vn van. Si voient homme qui les sieuent il fuient bien loins. et suent sanc. on les apele ypotames.

16. (11) Apres outre brixont le flueue dont nous auons parle naiscent homme lonc et grant. qui ont longues gambes et longues cuisses. tant quil ont .xii. pies de lonc. et par le pis et par lescostes .iii. pies de le. Et sont noir. On les apele hostes. chest adire Anemis. car tous chiaus quil prennent il menguent.

17. (12) Et en le riuere de brixont a autres besteletes qui ont a non celestices.

18. (13) Apres en le riuere de brixonte a vne isle vers le midi. en le quele il naiscent homme qui nont nient de teste et ont boukes en leur pis. et les iex ossi. et ont .iiii. pies de haut. et .iiii. de le et ressanlent as ypotames. on les apele v pais epiphongos.

19. (14) Apres en chele meisme isle naissent dragon qui ont

.c. et .l. ples de lonc. ossi gros que pillor. Et nus ne
puet la legierement aler. pour la multitude des dragons.

20. (15) Apres entre che flueue et babilone est vne regions.
en lequele est vne tres haute montaigne et tres grans. ou il
a hommes honnestes. qui tienent le rouge mer en le partie par
desous et la naissent les marguerites.

21 (16) Et environ chele region naissent femmes qui ont longues
barbes iusques as mameles et de piaux sont vestues. Et sont
ententives a vener. et en lieu de kiens nourrissent tigres.
et lupars et autres bestes.

22. (17) Et la sont autres femmes qui ont dons de sainglor.
et les kaulaus lonz iusques au talon. et ont keues de buef
et .xiiii. ples de lonc. et sont ossi blankes que marbres.
et ont biaux cors. et ples de kamel. et oreilles dasne.
Nos gens en tuerent .ii. Et li grans alixandres ne los peut
prendre vives. mais il les ochist.

23. (18) Apres dencoste le grant mer sont homme que on apele
catins. qui sont iuste et bel. qui viuent de miel et de
char crue. Et le regions de catins est a senestro. Et la
est vns hospitaus v quel il a moult de tirans.

(19) Et leur volsin qui sont sur le grant mer. qui sont apele
reges. sont homme benigne et viuent moult longuement. Et
se aucuns va a aus. il leur baillent conduit et les renuolent
s'il ont femmes. Et pour leur benignete alixandres ne leur
fist nul mal.

24. (20) Et la sont arbres esquels naiscent pierres precieuses.
et pour che sont il apele gemmer quil portent gemmes. Et la
sont ethioplien qui sont noir.

25. (21) Apres sur le grant mer a dextre. Par lespasse de
.cc. et liii. liues et .i. mille. est vne regions. enquele
naissent homme qui ont a non homoduli. chest a dire hommelet.
qui ont fourme domme iusques a le boutine. et apres fourme
dasne sauvage. Il ont .xii. pies de lonc. et souef vols
comme oisel. et quant il voient hommes il senfuient loins.

27. (22) Apres en vn autre lieu. habitent gens qui ont sur
aus .c. et .x. rois qui les gouernent et sont barbarin et
tres male gent.

(23) Et la sont .ii. lieux li uns du soleil. et li autres
de le lune. Chius du soleil est frois par nuit. et caus
par iour. chius de le lune est frois par iour et caus par
nuit.

27. Et le longueur de ches .ii. lieux est .cxxxiii. liues.

28. Et la naissent arbre sanlaule a loriers et a oliuiers.
esquels naist basmes.

(24) Et ensi que on se part de la, on troeue un lieu qui
a .c. liues de lonc.

29. (24b) Et la en le rouge mer est vne isle. en le quele
sont gens qui parolent de tous langages. et saluent tous
chiaux qui la vont. chascun en sen propre langage. et
leur nomment leur cousins et leur lignage. et par beles

paroles les dechoivent et les prennent et menguent et quant il
les ont mengie si se metont en orisons sur les festes.

30. (25) Et outre naissent homme qui ont .xii. pies de lonc
et .x. de le. Et grosse teste et orelles ossi grans quast
vns vns. et par nuit gisent sur uno. et se cueurent de lautre.
Il sont blanc comme lais. Sil volent hommes il lieuent les
orelles et fuient si tost quil sanle quil volent.

31. (26) Vne autre isle i a ou naissent homme qui ont les vis
luisans comme candelles.

32. (27) Et vne autre isle qui a .c. et .xi. liues de lonc
et est apelee helyopolis. et est edefiie de fer et darain.
Et la est le maisons au soleil vers orient. en lequale se
repose vns prestres qui edeopame le chite.

33. (28) Et la est vne vingne dor. dont les crapeles ont .c.
et .i. pies de lonc. esqueles sont marguerites. et pierres
precieuses autres.

(29) Et la est vns lis diuoire qui a .ccc. et .iii. pies de
lonc.

34. (30) Et la est adamas le montaigne ou est il grifons.
Et il oisiaus qui a non fenix. qui a couronne de paon.
et quant ele a vescu .m. ans ele sart. et vne autre vient
de le cendre.

35. Et la est vns mons ou il a noirs hommes. Et ne puot nus cho
mont passer. car il art tous.

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APPENDIX 1F

LIBER MONSTRORUM

Note: The text is based on the most recent edition (C. Bologna, Milan, 1977¹). In cases where an alternative reading is of significance in determining the relationship between LM and the *Letter*, the text has been emended to give prominence to those readings. All such emendations are indicated by italics and fully explained in the footnotes.

The passages are given in the order in which they appear in LM. Numbers in brackets refer to the corresponding sections of the *Letter*.

1,18 De Barbosis Homnibus (11)

Sunt homines in Oriente in culusdam eremi vasta *latitudine*² morantes qui, ut perhibent, barbam usque ad genua pertingentem habent ~~et~~ *crudis piscibus vescuntur*³.

1,20 De Magnis Homnibus Brixontis (14)

Quidam quoque homines Brixonti Niloque fluminibus vicini, corpora miri candoris habentes, XII pedum altitudinem habentia, facie quidem bipertita et naso longo, et macilentum corpore describuntur.

1. Reviewed by the present editor for *Medium Aevum*, 48, 1979, pp.259-262. (A copy of this review is appended to this thesis.)

2. All MSS except R give this reading. Bologna follows R and previous editors in reading *solitudine*.

3. Only B gives this reading. The remaining MSS have replaced it with a line drawn from the *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle*: *crudis pisces et aquarum sunt ha(u)stu viventes*. (cf. pp.26-27 of the *Scriptorium* article appended to this thesis.)

1,22 De Barbosis Mulleribus (21)

Mulleres, ut ferunt, iuxta montem Armeniae nascuntur, pellibus indutae, barbam usque ad mammas habentes prolixam. Quae dum venatrices sunt, sibi tigres et leopardos et rapida ferarum genera pro canibus nutriunt.

1,24 De *Epifugos*¹ (18)

Sunt quoque homines in insula Brixontis fluvii, qui absque capitibus nascuntur, quos *epifugos*¹ Graeci vocant; et .VII.² pedum altitudinis sunt, et tota in pectore capitis officia gerunt, nisi quod oculos in humeris habere videntur.

1,26 De His qui Crudam Carnem Manducant (23)

In Oriente quoque iuxta Oceanum formosum genus hominum legimus, et hanc causam amoenitatis eorum esse adserunt: quod crudam carnem et mel purum manducant.

1,28 De Monstruosis Mulieribus (22)

Sunt mulieres, ut ferunt, speciosae, Rubro mari cohaerentes; quarum corpora marmoreo nitore fulgent. Quae .XII. pedes altitudinis et crines usque ad talos defluentes, caudas boum in lateribus, et camelorum pedes habent.

1,30 De Montibus Igneis (35)

In quodam quoque deserto montes ignei leguntur, in quibus nascuntur homines toto corpore nigri, sicut Aethiopes. Quorum nos quendam vidimus carbonea nigritudine, dentibus et oculis tantummodo et unguibus nitentem.

1,33 De His qui Manducant Homines (16)

Hominum quoque genus inmensis corporibus Brixontis fluminis ab oriente nascitur; corpore nigri, et .XVIII. pedes altitudinis accipiunt. Et, ut ferunt, homines cum comprehenderunt crudos manducant.

1. Thus MSS R, L and B. W and S read *epistigos*, as accepted by Bologna.

2. L gives .VIII. as in Mir.

1,36 De His quorum Oculi volut Lucerna Lucent (31)

Et quaedam Insula in orientalibus orbis terrarum partibus esse dicitur, in qua nascuntur homines rationabili statura, nisi quod eorum oculi sicut lucernae lucent.

1,40 De His qui Omnium Linguam Loquuntur (29)

Est gens aliqua conmixtae naturae in Rubri maris Insula, quam linguas omnium nationum loqui posse testantur. Et ideo homines de longinquo venientes eorum cognitos nominando adtonitos faciunt, ut decipiant et crudos devorent.

1,43 De Immensis Hominibus (30)

Nascuntur homines in orientalibus plagis qui, ut fabulae ferunt, .XV. pedes altitudinis capiunt, et corpora marmoris candoris habent, et vannosas aures quibus se substernunt noctu et cooperiunt. Et hominem cum viderint, erectis auribus per deserta vastissima fugiunt.

11,3 De Elefanto (13)¹

Elefanti autem licet sibi leones timeant, omnibus tamen cognitis maiores sunt animantibus, qui apud Gangaridas et Indos et inter Nilum fluvium et Brixontem nasci perhibentur. Quorum Pyrrhus in Romam .XX. primus ad auxilium belli deduxit, quod turres ad bella cum interpositis iaculatoribus portant, et hostes erectis promusculis caedunt. Quorum quoque Alexander Macedo innumerabiles albo, nigro et rubicundo varioque colore se in India vidisse ad Aristotolem philosophum descripsit.

11,4 De Onagro (7)

Onagri animalia sunt, non bestiae; sed ingenti animo et saepe elata exultantes fortitudine saxa de montibus ovollunt. Sed ipsi in desertis Persarum esse, cum incredibilibus quibusdam

1. 613 supplies a small detail here and another in 11,32.

prodigiis boum habentes cornua, et magnis describuntur corporibus.

11,11 De His qui Bina Capita Habent (5)

Quasdam enim bestias prope ad mare Rubrum nasci ipsa fabulositas perhibet, et quod .VIII. pedes duplicibus membris et capita bina habent cum oculis fingunt gorgoneis.

11,14 De Conopenis¹ (10)

Et in Perside fingunt esse bestias, quas conopenos¹ appellant, quibus sub caninis capitibus equina dependet per cervices iuba; et ore naribusque ignem flammisque expirant.

11,16 De Formicis (12)

Et inter ipsa quae dicunt inania ferunt Formicas in quadam esse insula, et quod .VI. pedes et atrum colorem et miram habeant celeritatem depromunt. Cum quibus incredibilis auri abundantia describitur, quod ipsae sua servant industria.

11,18 De Ippotamos² (15)

Et cum his incredibilibus fingunt execrandae formae ippotamos², quos ferunt triplicem habere colorem. Qui oris latitudine vanno comparantur. Sunt autem tam fugaces, ut si quis insequitur fugiant quousque sanguine sudant.

11,31 (20; 21)³

Et in vicino Armeniae montis loco, ubi margaritae nasci perhibentur, leones et tigres, lynces et leopardos, et cuncta genera ferarum horribilium mons quidam altissimus gignit.

1. MS reading restored in preference to Bologna's emendation to *coenopoenos*.

2. MS reading restored in preference to Bologna's emendation to *hippopotamos*.

3. This section, untitled in the MS, draws on both sections of the *Letter*. The monstrous women from §21 are in 1,22.

II,32 De Bestiis Caelestibus (13; 17)

In Brixonte quoque bestiae quaedam non magnae, sed prope omnibus nationibus ignotae gigni perhibentur, quas Caelesticos vocant. Quem fluvium, in quo nascuntur, Nilo vicinum descripsimus, cuius secundum plurimos ignoratur initium. Qui apud Aegyptios Archoboleta (quod est Aqua magna) vocatur.

III,2 (6)

Serpentes quoque Assyriorum in desertis nasci perhibentur, qui habent capita bina, et inmensa corporis volumina torquent; quatuorque per umbras nocturnas oculis in modum lucernae lucent.

III,6 (8)

In confinio Rubri maris et Arabiae serpentes esse perhibentur, cum quibus nascitur piper album: quod, incenso loco, sub terram fugientibus, homines nigrum flammis labentibus deripiunt. Qui serpentes corsia nuncupantur, et cornua habent arietina, et ab eis percussus cito moritur tumens.

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APPENDIX 1G

GERVASE OF TILBURY

OTIA IMPERIALIA DECISIO II (GerII)

Note: The text is newly transcribed from MS Vat. Lat. 933. The Corrector's emendations and Insertions are accepted, but noted in footnotes. Numbers in brackets refer to the corresponding sections of the *Letter*.

f.19^r, col.2, ll.9-13 (22)

Nascuntur et ibidem mulieres dentes aprinos habentes capillos usque ad talos. In lumbis cauda boum, alte stature, specioso corpore quasi marmore candido, pedes camelinos habentes.

f.19^v, col.2, ll.2-4 (7; 6)

In his locis nascuntur honagri cornua boum habentes. Serpentes quoque habentes capita bina quorum oculi de nocte sicut lucerna lucent.

f.20^v, col.2, ll.18-22 (20-21)

Ibi sunt honesti homines tenentes rubri maris Imperium. Ibi nascuntur mulieres barbas habentes, usque ad mamillas, pelliculis pro vestimentis utuntur, equos habent, venatricos¹ sunt tigrides pro canibus habent leopardos nutriunt, omnia genera bestiarum illic nascentium interficiunt.

1. *venatrices* ... *habent* Inserted in margin by Corrector, with / marking point for insertion into text.

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APPENDIX 2A

FERMES LETTER

Note: The original reading of the MS is given in the body of the text; the Corrector's reading (FLCor) is given as a footnote even when it is preferable to the original. Numbers without brackets refer to the section division used in this edition; numbers in brackets to the paragraphs indicated by ' followed by a capital letter, the marker used by the original scribe.

1. (1) HAEC DISCRIPTIO PARTIS ORIENTIS

Divo adriano fermes divo adriano salutem. Litteras tuas, domine caesar, ab asacrate et monacrate recepi quibus recensetis quod te fortem atque hiliorem Imperium tuum amplatumque esse cognovi gavisus sum. Interea cognovi ut nationes hominum et qualitates locorum que in terris nostris sunt exquisivi meisque litteris conexa transmittam. Quamobrem sive quae ipso nobis sive parentes atque germanos quae addiscere potui amplexus pariter adnexui.

2. (2) Est igitur a finibus antiochiae dirus flumen stadia cxc^{†is}; hic locus sanctus est. A nicerorum autem usque ad Olinum insulam et usque in finibus Eufrates fluminis stadia sunt xcv; haec insula multitudinem habens ovium innumerabilem.

3. Hic Egmonas stadia xviii; haec colonia maxima negotiatorum, berbices sunt *ibi*¹ Inmensi ac pree². Unde et unico³ et birri vel ceteras⁴ res fiunt.

1. FLCor inserts sunt *ibi*.

2. FLCor: capree.

3. FLCor: tunice.

4. FLCor: ceterae.

(3) Hinc euntibus ad meridiem¹ versus civitas est opulenta nomine archymedia; distat a babilonia stadia ccc; haec² eadem arcymeda sunt predia opulenta et fructuosa nimis. Hinc usque ad anteletens stadia ccc. Fluvius³ inmensus. A babilonia usque mesopotamia⁴ stadia sunt lx; locus honestus et plus quam locupletes⁵ hinc usque damnas castrorum stadia sunt clxxxv. A sinistra vero euntibus civitates sunt xii: valatho, melenimo, cleopatra, termasia, marmino, maragdon, fluvius, casia, possidonia, india, anda, eluchana.

4. Hic⁶ ad castellum philoniae, qui locus dictus est stadia .ccc. hac⁷ regio mons horis vicinatur; abundant⁸ gallinae quales et apud vos⁹ colores¹⁰ similes nascuntur. absque¹¹ prendere voluerit, corpus suum comburet.

5. Sunt et humiles quasi simii.¹² Quando sonum audierint, fugient. pedes habentes octenos, idemque et¹³ oculos, cornua bina habentes. Quas cum aliquis occidere voluerit, diligenter se munire debet.

1. FLCor: meridiem.

2. FLCor: In haec.

3. FLCor: Ibi est fluvius.

4. FLCor: mesopotamiam.

5. FLCor: locuples. (et deleted)

6. FLCor: Hinc.

7. FLCor: haec.

8. FLCor: habundant ibi.

9. FLCor: nos.

10. FLCor reduces to colore.

11. FLCor: quas qui.

12. FLCor: simie.

13. FLCor: totidemque (deletes et).

6. (4¹) A seloucia autem babylonia² pergontibus stadia sunt .lx.
Subiacet haec regio in Sidonia. Ibi serpentes nascuntur imensi
atque horridi et plus quam sevissimi, habentes bina capita quorum
oculi lucent velut lucerna³.

7. Nascuntur et onagri cornua habentes et forma maxima.

8. (5⁴) His confinis arabia iungitur inculta propter serpentes,
ducens ad mare rubrum, in quibus locis nascuntur serpentes
caraste⁵, cornua similia habentes arietum. Hominem cum
percusserint, occidunt⁶. Ibi nascitur multitudo piperis,
quod idem serpentes custodiunt, homines vero propter⁷ industria
sua sic colligunt, cum maturum fuerit, incendunt eadem loca, et
serpentes sentientes ignem fugiunt⁸ et sub terra se mittunt
merito propter flamma⁹. Piper ipsum nigrum¹⁰ efficit, et
sic eligitur, verumtamen natura piperis alba est.

9. (6¹¹) A babylonia per sidonia¹² colonia, stadia sunt .ccc.
que loca sterilia sunt propter serpentes.

1. FLCor emphasizes section beginning.

2. FLCor: babyloniam.

3. FLCor: lucerne.

4. FLCor emphasizes section beginning.

5. FLCor: caeraste.

6. FLCor: occidunt .

7. FLCor: per industriam suam.

8. FLCor: fugiunt.

9. FLCor: flammam.

10. FLCor deletes -um.

11. FLCor emphasizes section beginning.

12. FLCor: per sidoniam ad coloniam.

10. (7) Seleucia¹ autem a parte dextra euntibus ad mare rubrum sunt vicinae divisiones.

(8) Ibi nascuntur quinocoephali, iube² equorum habentes, validissimis et immensis dentibus flammam inspirantibus³, ubi vicinali divisione coheret civitas omnibus plena.

11. A dextra parte ducent⁴ ad aegyptum; hinc ad insulam in qua nascuntur homines longi⁵ habentes barbas usque ad genua, qui appellantur idtofagi, pisces enim crudeos vescuntur.

12. (9) Est autem flumen in eadem insula nomine gargerum trans hoc flumen nascuntur formice myrmidones magnitudine catulorum, habentes pedes senos et centrios quasi locustae marinae. Dentes habentes canum colori⁶ autem sunt nigrae. Aurumque custodiunt et proferunt⁷ de subterraneo ad lucem, qui⁸ cum hominem aut animale⁹ viderint; devorant usque ad ossa. Sunt enim velocissimi¹⁰ cursu¹¹, ut putes eos volare. he sole oriente usque in ora¹² quinta subterraneo sunt et aurum fodiunt, et proferunt¹³ de subterraneo ad lucem. Que¹⁴

1. FLCor: Seleucie.
2. FLCor: iubas.
3. FLCor deletes *in-*.
4. FLCor: ducens.
5. FLCor: longas.
6. FLCor: colore.
7. FLCor: proferunt.
8. FLCor: que.
9. FLCor deletes *-em*.
10. FLCor: velocissime.
11. FLCor: *in* cursu.
12. FLCor: hora.
13. FLCor: proferunt.
14. FLCor: Quod.

aurum ex ingenio ab ipsis confictatis¹ hominibus ita ingenioso auferetur². Ducunt camelos quamplures masculos et camelas cum pulletris suis, quos pulletros super ripam fluminis relinquunt adligatos, et ipsi transeunt in flumine cum camelis masculis et feminis. quippe³ cum ad locum pervenerint, camelis feminis aurum imponunt. Ille filiorum adiacente festinantior plus quam cursim fluvium transeunt ad filios suos. Homines vero dum viderint formice⁴ agminatim insequi relinquentes camelos masculos fugiunt ad fluvium. Camelas feminas⁵ volanter transeunt.

(10) Formice autem camelos masculos cum invenerint, devorantes eos retardantur. Nam cum consequi voluerint et ad aquam pervenerint transire non possunt. Sic fit ut aurum illius provinciae auferatur.

13. Et inter has vias colonia est. Nilus enim brisonem⁶ implet et ducet ad meridianum a quo effunditur egypto⁷ inrigata nilo. Hic aegypti partem vicinam vocant, quod dicitur maram aquam⁸. Cuius nili hoc brisonis origo invenietur. In his locis multitudo elefantorum est.

1. FLCor: ipsius confictatis.
2. FLCor deletes second *e*.
3. FLCor deletes *ppe*.
4. FLCor: formicas.
5. FLCor: *et cum* camelas feminis.
6. FLCor: brisonem *fluvium*.
7. FLCor: egyptus.
8. Graph *9* in hand of original scribe.

14. (11) Ibi nascuntur homines longa femora habentes, longi pedes .xii. corpus relicum pedes .xii. candida brachia usque ad humeros, nigre sure¹, pedes rubei, caput rotundum, nares longi². Hii homines in avibus caeli certo tempore transfigurantur, et apud vos fetum³ faciunt, quos ciconias appellatis.

15. (12) Item que⁴ nascuntur bestiae colores⁵ similes equorum, pedes habentes leonum, et ipsi longitudinem pedum duodena edificio amplo. Hanc bestiam si quispiam persequi voluerit, sanguinem suum a quolibet se sequi adimens sugit et omnino ab is feris non nocetur.

(13) Nam yppofogi appellantur.

18. (14) Est namque et alia insula in brisone flumine ubi nascuntur homines sine capite; habentes oculos et os in pectore, longi sunt pedes xii, lati et vasti pedes vii, colore et corpus auro simile.

19. (15) Ibidem nascuntur dracones immensi longi formam pedes ci, crassi latitudine columnarum maximarum qui in brisone et nilum nasci potuerunt.

1. written *nigres aure*. FLCor has added an abbreviation mark over s and a second s to read *nigre sunt aures*.

2. FLCor: longe.

3. FLCor: fetus.

4. FLCor: queque.

5. FLCor deletes s.

20. (16) Inter babyloniam¹ vero mons est in quo natio si² lionum
oritur. In media autem armoenia alius mons est in quo sunt
valde locupletes a parte vero dextra euntibus ad mare rubrum
civitates sunt duae, nomine phenix, et loraba, ubi valde
homines locupletes sunt, ex quibus ad india et arabia collationes
sunt. Hi tenent rubrum maris imperium.

(17) Ibi nascuntur margaritae ingentes et maximo forme.

21. Circa eadem loca mons est ubi sunt mulieres horrido habentes
barbas usque ad mammas, caput planum pellibus vestite sunt.
Namque venariaces pro canes bestias nutriunt ad venationem
quae bestiae magnitudinem et colorem leopardum.

22. In eodem monte silve sunt in quibus nascuntur et alio mulieres
aprorum dentes habentes. Capillos usque ad talos et in lumbis
caudam quasi bos, alte pedes vli reliquum corpus pilosum quasi
structio et camelus. Propter vero desiderium cupivi ut aliquas
caperem, atque vivas romanniae adducerem. Tres autem comiti
armati ut unam occiderent, quippe, ut evadere potuissent diu
multoque pugnaverunt.

23. Hi confinis dii regis persarum coloniam vero cinctam in qua
idem darius rex cum suis commanebat et omnibus bonis fruebatur.
Ibi secundum oceanum reges sunt multi. Quorum propter multitudinem
nec numerum nec nomina scribere potuimus. Ad quos qui forte
pervenerint remunerati dimittuntur.

24. (18) Sunt namque et alia flumina ubi pretiosi lapides

1. FLCor: babyloniam.

2. FLCor: quasi.

nascuntur. Unde gemme naturales sunt nigre. Hoc genus ethiopes appellantur, quorum et omerus meminit.

26. Iuxta quod oceani fines stadia sunt ccclxxx. In illo loco nascuntur soraci qui apud vos tritognides appellantur, quasi divini quos de quacumque res interrogare volueris responsum accipies.

27. Sunt vero circa eadem loca latera duo, unum solis, et alterum lunae. Ille solis inter die calet, nocte fervescit.

30. (19) Ibi sunt homines statura habentes pedes .xvi. latitudine pedes .vii. Caput magnum habent auriculas vero quasi vanno similes corpore candido. Qui cum homines alios viderint auriculas suas ostendunt ut putes eos volare.

32. (20) In eo loco insula est habens longitudinem et latitudinem stadia .cc. In qua colonia est solis nomine eliopolis muro cincta in structura aerea et ferrea altercatos stadia .ccc. In quo loco arbores sunt similes lauro et olive, ex quibus thus et apobalsamo nascuntur. In eodem loco sunt edes due similes una ex auro quadrato et cinnamorio in structura aerea et lata pedes ccclxv, longitudine unius in structure parietes pedes .viii. In hac ede est arula ex margaritis et cylindris instructa latitudine pedum .lxx. Est in eodem loco lectus solis ex ebore factus et auro probatissimo, lapidibus ornatis pretiosissimis, quippe fulgur eius radiat pedes xvi.

33. Est ibidem in eadem edo vinea aurea, hoc est vitis ex auro facta atque fixa, quarum vitum pavementum est ex lapidibus pretiosissimis et cylindrinis, in quibus pendent racemi margaritis et unionibus illa vero edes est domus sacerdotis ex auro facta qui sacerdos thus vestitur et apobalsamum vivit; dormit in eodem pavimento sub isdem vitibus extraneum umquam non licet hunc videre nisi qui eliopolis commoratur.

34. Circa ea vero mons est adamans inaccessibilis, in quo monte est avis habens caput aquilinum pennas maximas similes luppe. In eodem monte est alia avis nomine phenix amplam habet in caput cristam similem orbi paonis. Quae avis est in deliciarum solis, vivit annos innumerabiles in toto seculo, qui ex divinitate sola nata est et sola erit.

(21) Nidum habet ex margaritis et unionibus. Haec phenix in cynamum semper manet. Quod vero vescitur vel quemadmodum vivit ignoramus. Ipsa autem nidum suum seseque incendit, et ex isdem cineribus iterum renascitur.

(22) Ita fit dum semper moritur semperque vivit.

35. (23) Ab hoc autem monte sunt et alii montes quo sole oriente flammam mittunt usque in horam quintam. Hi montes olimpius et smaragdon appellantur. Circa eosdem montes mare fervens a colonia eliopoli exoriuntur, quoniam mare non dicam transire, sed nec respicere quispiam potest. In eadem vero eliopolis colonia homines sunt religiosi deorum cultores. Iuxta eadem vero secundum oceanum sunt aegypti deos spernentes;

ab eodem loco a finis orbis sunt homines qui caprorum cornua
et pedes habent, qui gegotones appellantur. Ad eos sana loca
qui a nobis missi pervenerunt regressi ad nos nuntiaverunt
nihil alterius alii boni nisi tenebras.

36. Interea cupiens haec omnia per me cognoscere quam etiam
misi a me carissimis parentibus ac sollicitis magnis
pretiosissimis lapidibus sarcitus reppedavi. Similiter qui
hic ut dixi ultra me loca inaccessabilia circuir divites
ac nudati locupletes regressi sunt, solliciteque ac verefice
omnia desideria adnexui, designavi quod instruere parentem
Romanum festinantius commodavi.

(24) Domine invictissime, perennis Caesar, obto autem te victorem
haec omnia agnoscere perpetui quam melios te vivere semperque
in bonis meminere multosque per annos feliciter vivas multis
meritis. Hanc epistolam descripsi et transmissi. Lege felix,
quod obto, domine semper meus. explicat.

APPENDIX 2B

FERAMEN REX

Note: The text is taken from MS Monto Cassino 391, with variants from the other three MSS in footnotes. Where a reading has been supplied from a MS other than MC it is given in italics.

Numbers without brackets refer to the section division used in this edition; numbers in brackets refer to the paragraph division in MS C, the only MS which consistently distinguishes the beginning of sections.

1. (1) Feramen Rex. Ad Adrianum Imperatorem.
3. Inter babyloniam¹ et mesopotamiam est regio locuples².
4. In qua est oppidum quod dicitur castellum filonis³.
5. ubi nascuntur humiles bestiolas quasi similes. quando sonum audiunt, fugiunt, pedes habentes⁴ octonos idemque et oculos, cornua bina habentes. Quas cum aliquis occidere voluerit, diligenter se munire debet.
6. (2) Est et alia regio que dicitur pelusia⁵. distans a babylonia stadia lx. Ubi serpentes nascuntur immensi atque horridi⁶ et nimis sevissimi, habentes bina capita, quorum oculi lucent ut⁷ lucerna.

1. M: *Babyloniam*.
2. M; P: *locuplex*.
3. C; M; P: *philonis*.
4. Haplography in P produces: *pedes habentes. quas cum ...*
5. P: *pelusia* (misreading of Beneventan α , corrected).
6. C; M: *orridi*.
7. P: abbreviation similar to *et* in the body of the text. The word *ut* has been inserted in the margin.

7. Nascuntur ibi et onagri¹ cornua habentes et formam maximam².

8. (3) Hec iuxta arabiam³. A mari rubro pergens in arabiam⁴ est regio inculta propter serpentes, in quibus locis nascuntur serpentes cerastes, cornua similia habentes arietum; hominem cum percusserint, occidunt. Ibi⁵ nascitur et multitudo piperis, quod idem serpentes custodiunt; quod sic ab hominibus⁶ colligitur: cum maturum fuerit, incendunt eadem loca et serpentes ab igne fugantur et se sub terram mittunt. Qua propter, piper nigrum efficitur, nam natura album est.

10. (4) Seleucia a parte dextra euntibus ad Mare rubrum sunt vicinales divisiones. Ibi nascuntur cynocephali⁷, iubam⁸ equorum habentes, validissimis atque immensis dentibus, flammam spirantes.

11. (5) Hinc non longe abest insula in qua nascuntur homines longi habentes barbas⁹ usque ad genua, qui appellantur *icthiophagi*¹⁰, pisces crudos vescuntur.

1. P: *honagri*.

2. C; P: *forma maxima*.

3. P: *trabiam*.

4. C: *arabyam*.

5. MC has marginal rubric (later hand but cut into by binder):
de pip / cum alb / sit quomo / fiat (ni) / grum.

6. C: *ominibus*.

7. C; M; P: *cynocephali*.

8. C; M; P: *iuba*.

9. M; P: *barbam*.

10. MC: *indiophagi* C: *ithiophalii* M: *ithiogi*
P: *iethiophagi*.

12. (6) Est enim fluvius in eadem insula¹ nomine gargarus;
trans hoc flumen nascuntur formicae myrmidonos², magnitudine
catulorum, habentes pedes senos et cintras quasi locustae
marinae, dentes habentes canum; colore autem sunt nigro, aurum quoque
fodiunt et proferunt de subterraneo ad lucem; quae cum hominem
vel aliud animal conspexerint, devorant usque ad ossa; sunt
enim velocissime in cursu³, ut putet eas volare. Haec solo
oriens usque⁴ horam quintam sub terram sunt et aurum fodiunt
quod ex ingenio hominum qui ibidem sunt confines ita auferitur.
Inducunt camelos et feminas cum pullis⁵ suis; quos pullos⁶
super ripam fluminis relinquunt⁷ ligatos et ipsi transeunt in⁸
flumen cum camelis⁹ masculis et feminis¹⁰; quippe cum ad locum
pervenerint, camelis feminis aurum imponunt; et ille ad filios
festinantes suos plus quam cursim fluvium transeunt, homines
vero, dum viderint formicarum agmina se sequi, relinquunt¹¹
camelos masculos et fugiunt atque ad¹² fluvium cum camelis
feminis¹³ volantes eunt. Formicae autem cum camelos masculos

1. C: *insulam*.

2. C; M; P: *myrmidones*.

3. C: *occursu*.

4. M: *ad* inserted by a later hand.

5. C; M; P: *polletris*.

6. C; M; P: *polletros*.

7. M: *relinquunt*.

8. C; M; P omit *in*.

9. P: *et* inserted by scribe.

10. P: *feminis*.

11. M: *relinquunt*.

12. C; M; P: *ad* omitted. MC: *ad fluvium* in margin; different ink.

13. P: *feminis*.

Invenerint, devorant eos et retardantes, cum consequi¹ voluerint transire non possunt.

13. (7) Est inter brysonem² fluvium et nilum³ quo egiptus⁴ irrigatur regio que dicitur mesopotamia. In qua est multitudo elefantorum⁵.

14. Ibique nascuntur homines longa femora habentes, pedes xii, reliquum⁶ vero corpus senum pedum⁷, candida brachia⁸ usque ad humeros, nigre⁹ sure, pedes rubei, caput¹⁰ rotundum, nares longas.

15. (8) Ibique nascuntur bestie colore¹¹ similes equorum pedes habentes leonum. latitudinem¹² habentes pedum¹³ tricenum¹⁴. grossitudine pedum xii. Hanc bestiam si quispiam persequi voluerit harum¹⁵ sanguine aluntur homines qui yppophagi¹⁶ nominantur.

1. MC: *con* added above line.

2. C; M; P: *brisonem*.

3. C; P: *nylum*.

4. C; P: *egyptus*.

5. C; M; P: *elephantorum*.

6. M: *reliquum*.

7. C: *pedum senum*; M: *pedum senum* corr. to *sex*; P: *pedum sednum*.

8. P: *bracchia*.

9. P: *nigres*.

10. P: *capite*.

11. C: *colores*.

12. C; M; P: *altitudinem*.

13. M; P: *pedes*.

14. C; P: *triginta*; M: *xxx*^a.

15. C: *Arum*; M: *Arum* with *h* added later; P: *Harum*.

16. C: *ippophagi*; M: *rippo phagino*.

18. (9) Est namque et alia insula in Brisono¹ fluvio, ubi nascuntur homines sine capite, habentes oculos et os in pectore; hi longi² sunt pedes³ xii, lati et vasti pedes vii, colore et pectore auro similes.

19. Ibidem nascuntur dracones immensi, longitudinis forma pedes⁴ ci, grossi latitudine⁵ columnarum⁶ maximarum.

21. (10) Circa Indiam et arabiam regio est in culus montibus sunt mulieres horride⁷, habentes barbas usque ad mammas, caput⁸ planum⁹; pelibus¹⁰ vestite. sunt namque venatrices¹¹ pro canibus bestias nutriunt ad venationem que bestie magnitudine et colore leonibus comparantur.

22. (11) In eisdem montibus silve sunt, in quibus nascuntur et alie mulieres, aprorum¹² dentes habentes, capillos usque ad talos et in lumbis caudas bobis¹³, alte¹⁴ pedes¹⁵ xii, reliquum autem corpus pilosum, quasi strutio et camelus.

1. P: *brissone*.

2. C: *longii*.

3. M: *pedibus*.

4. M: *pedes* corr. to *pedibus*.

5. P: *latitudinem*.

6. P: *columpnarium*.

7. M: *orride*.

8. P: *capud*.

9. P: *plenum* corr. to *planum*.

10. P: *pedibus* corr. to *pelibus*.

11. M: *benatrices*.

12. P: *aprum*.

13. M: *bobis* corr. to *bovis*; P: *bovis*.

14. C; P: *altas*.

15. M: *pedes* corr. to *pedibus*.

26. (12) In persarum vero partibus nascuntur orhaci¹ qui apud² nos tritonides appellantur, quasi divini, quos de quacumque causa interrogare volueris, responsum accipies.

30. Ibi homines staturam habent pedes³ xvi, latitudinem pedes⁴ vii: caput⁵ magnum⁶ habentes, auriculas vero quasi statura similes, corpore candido; qui cum homines viderint, auriculas suas extendunt, ut putes eos volare.

32. (13) In eodem loco insula est habens longitudinem et⁷ latitudinem stadus⁸ cc. In qua colonia⁹ est Solis nomine Eliopolis, muro cincta¹⁰ structa ere et ferro. In quo¹¹ loco arbores sunt similes lauro et olive, ex quibus tus¹² et opobalsamum nascitur. In eodem loco¹³ sunt edes due similes: una ex auro quadrata ex tructa¹⁴, alia erea. In hac¹⁵ ede

1. M; P: *orbaci*.

2. C; M: *aput*.

3. M: *pedes* corr. to *pedibus*.

4. M: *pedes* corr. to *pedibus*.

5. P: *capud*.

6. P: *magno*.

7. P omits *et latitudinem*.

8. M: *stadiis*.

9. M: *col^vna* (erasure).

10. P: *cinta*.

11. M: *qua*.

12. C; M; P: *thus*.

13. MC omits *loco*.

14. P: *exstructa*.

15. C: *hanc*; M: *ha()c*.

est arula¹ ex margaritis et scinindris structa latitudine
et² longitudine pedum lxx³.

(14) Est item in eodem loco lectulus Solis ex ebore factus et
auro purissimo, lapidibus ornatus pretiosissimis, fulgora eius
id est radios pedes⁴ xvi.

33. Est in eadem ede vinea aurea, hoc est⁵ vitis ex auro
facta atque infixae, cuius pavimentum est ex lapidibus pretiosis
et scinindris⁶ in qua pendent⁷ racemi ex margaritis et unionibus.
Edes vero sacerdotis est ex argento facta; qui sacerdos tus⁸
vescitur et opobalsamum bibit; dormit in eodem pavimento sub
eadem vinea.

34. Circa eam vero mons est adamans inaccessibilis. In quo
monte est avis habens caput⁹ aquilinum, pennas maximas similis
lupe.

1. P: *trula* MC: *ar* added in later hand over deletion.

2. P omits *et longitudine*.

3. M: *lx*.

4. M: *pedes* corr. to *pedibus*.

5. P omits *est*.

6. C; M: *scimindris*.

7. P: *pendunt*.

8. C; M; P: *thus*.

9. P: *capud*.

(15) In eodem monte est avis fenix. ampla que habet in capite cristam similem pavonis.

et¹ fauces cristatas, circa collo² fulgore aureo³, postera parte purpureus. Extra caudam roseis pennis. In qua ceruleus scribitur⁴ nitor.

vivit annos innumerabiles (videlicet⁵ .c.). nidum habens ex margaritis et unionibus. manet semper in cinnamo quid vero vescatur, vel quemamodum bibat⁶ ignoratur. Ipsa autem nidum suum seseque incendit et ex isdem⁷ cineribus iterum renascitur. Ita fit ut dum semper moritur semper vivat.

1. Accretion from Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 33,11 only in C; M and P.
2. M: *collum*.
3. M inserts *scribitur*.
4. C: *seribitur*.
5. inserted in P only.
6. C; M: *vivet* P: *vivat*.
7. C; M; P: *eisdem*.

APPENDIX 2C

GERVASE OTIA IMPERIALIA, DECISIO III

Note: The text is taken from the corrected readings of MS Vat. Lat. 933. The original readings of the scribe, which include a large number of minor errors and literals, are listed above. They are not repeated here. Variant readings from other MSS are given only when they are discussed at some point in this study.

The order of the MSS is followed. Numbers without brackets refer to the section division used in this edition; numbers in brackets refer to the paragraph division of MS Vat. Lat. 933.

6. (I) De serpentibus¹

Seleucia² babiloniam pergentibus subiacet regio in sidonia,
in qua serpentes nascuntur immensi atque horrendi habentes bina
capita quorum oculi lucent velut lucerna.

7. Nascuntur et onagri cornuti et forma maxima.

8. Huic confinis arabia iungitur inculta propter serpentes
cerastes nuncupatos, cornua arietina habentes quibus homines
vulnerant et perimunt. Illic multitudo piperis nascitur, quod
ibidem serpentes custodiunt verum homines cum maturum piper
comperiunt loca incendunt et sic serpentes igno fugant et ita
mutato calore³ nativo piper nigrum fit ab incendio.

1. Alternative rubrics: R: *de serpentibus orrendis*; c: *De serpentibus et pipere*; Groups IIb and IV: *De onagris cornutis*; X: *De silva fatata per horae* (from preceding passage).
2. Space left for rubricated initial with guide letter.
3. One third of the MSS read *calore*, the remainder *colore*.

10. (2) de equicenofalis¹

Seleucle² a parte dextra euntibus ad mare rubrum sunt vicinales
divisiones ibi nascuntur equinocefali iubas (.i. comas³)
equorum habentes, validissimi, immensis dentibus flammam
spirantes. Vicinali divisione cohaeret civitas hominibus
plena.

11. A dextra parte descenditur ad egyptum, hinc ad insulam
in qua nascuntur nutrientes barbam usque ad genua qui nuncupantur
idrofagi quia pisces crudeos comedunt.

12. Est in eadem insula flumen⁴ gargarum, trans quod nascuntur
formice mirmidiones magnitudinem catulorum, habentes pedes senos
et centrios (id est medias partes⁵) quasi locuste marine. Dentes
canum habent colore nigre. aurumque custodiunt quod proferunt
de subterraneo ad lucem. Cum vero hominem aut animal quodlibet
attigerint ad ossa devorant, suntque velocissime ut magis volare
quam gradi censcantur. He sole oriente usque in⁶ horam quintam
sub terra aurum fodiunt et exinde in lucem producant. quod ab
artificibus ingeniose extrahitur. ducunt enim camelos
quamplures et camelas cum pullis suis et cum ad ripam transeundi
fluminis pervenerint ad riparios cespites pullos alligant.

1. A few MSS agree with the body of the text, reading *equinocefalis*
in the rubric. Other corruptions include *eqinocuofalis* (H);
equice falinos (c) and *equicenofas* (Group III MSS).

2. Space left for rubricated initial with guide letter.

3. Interlinear gloss.

4. Most MSS of Group III read *fluvius*.

5. Marginal gloss.

6. Early MSS read *in*, most later MSS read *ad*.

transito itaque flumine cum utriusque sexus camelis, camelibus
aurum imponunt quae onerto¹ et amore pulcherrime² cursu festino
transvadant. Comperientes igitur² homines insequentium agmina
formicarum relictis ad fluvium et ad devorandum expositis camelis
masculis. celeri transitu flumen peragrant. Sane formice
praedonum captura fraudate oblectorum camelorum devorantione
retardantur et fluvio contradicente praepeditae, faciunt quod
possunt dum devorant camelos quos inveniunt. Sic fit ut aurum
illud obrizum ad nos usque perveniat.

13. Inter has autem vias colonia est ex irrigatione nili fertilis
facta nilus enim implet brisonem egypti fluvium cuius beneficio
terra inundata ad fertilitatem revocatur. In his brisonis
fluvii confiniis elefantes nascuntur affluenter.

14. Homines quoque longa femora ad mensuram duodecim pedum
habentes reliquum corpus itidem .xii. pedum longitudine
terminatur. horum brachia candida usque ad humeros, surae
(.i. crura³) nigrae pedes rubri caput rotundum. nasus procerus.
hii homines certis temporibus in ciconias transformantur et
apud nos quotannis fetum faciunt.

1. This reading only in Vat. Lat. 933. L: *oncrate*; U: *inoncrate*;
most other MSS: *onuste*; E: *onutte*; X; C: *horuste*; K; Y:
oneste; P: *onusce*.

2. A minority of MSS read *ergo*.

3. Marginal gloss.

15. (3) de bestiis brisonis¹

In² eisdem Brisonis fluvii partibus nascuntur bestie celeres
ad instar equorum. pedes leonum habent, colla equina.

longitudinem³ pedum tricenorum. vastitatem pedum duodecim.

edificio⁴ amplo. Si quis hascemodi⁵ bestias persequi voluerit

sanguinem suum a quolibet seseque admens fugit⁶ et ab eis

omnino non nocetur. et yppofogi appellantur.

18. (4) de hominibus sine capite⁷

Est⁸ et⁹ alla insula in brisone fluvio ubi nascuntur homines

sine capite habentes oculos et os in pectore. longitudo eorum

pedum xii. latitudo et vastitas pedum septem. Corporis color

auro similis.

19. ibi quoque nascuntur dracones immensi. quorum longitudo
centum pedum et quinquaginta, latitudo et grossities ad
quantitatem maximarum columnarum.

1. MSS c; a; S; L; K; U; C; Q: *de bestiis brisonis fluvii*.

2. Space left for rubricated initial with guide letter.

3. MS *longitudinem* (uncorrected).

4. c: *orificio*.

5. *modi* added by Corrector. Lacking in a majority of MSS.

6. MSS H; R; G; I; a; B; S; C; Q: *sugit*.

7. MSS a; X; L; K; U; C; Q: *de hominibus natis sine capite* (and minor variants); c: *De hominibus sine capitibus et draconibus*.

8. Space left for rubricated initial with guide letter.

9. MSS K and H: *etiam*.

20. (5) de mulieribus barbatis

Parte¹ dextra euntibus ad mare rubrum civitates due sunt.
Fenix et Ioracia. ubi mansio est hominum plurimum locupletum
a quibus ad indiam et arabiam directiones fiunt. hi tenent
rubri maris imperium. Illic nascuntur margarite et maxime
et optime forme.

21. Circa eadem loca sunt mulieres horrende barbato usque ad
mamillas; caput habent planum pellibus vestiuntur venatrices
sunt. pro canibus bestias nutriunt ad venandum, ad instar
et quantitatem leopardorum.

22. (6) de feminiss² que habent dentes aprinos³

Sunt⁴ et vicini montes in quibus nascuntur mulieres que dentes
habent aprinos⁵ capillos usque ad talos. et in lumbis caudas
bovinas alte sunt pedibus .vii. Corpus pilosum ut camelus.

23. In hoc sane confinio colonia optime fertilis est in qua
manebat darius rex persarum ubi plurima ubertate amenitateque
fruebatur. In illa quoque vicinitate⁶ reges plurimi sunt

1. Space left for rubricated initial with guide letter.

2. MS *feniniss* (uncorrected).

3. R: *De mulieribus dentes aprinos habentes.*

G: *De feminis habentibus dentes cœvinas.*

4. Space left for rubricated initial with guide letter.

5. E; L: *caprinos.*

6. Thus H, c and MSS of Groups IIb, IVa and IVb. MSS S; P;
A; R: *in illa quoque in civitate.* MSS E; G; B; O: *in
illa quoque civitate.*

ad oceanum quorum nomina vel numerum¹ ignoramus. Verumptamen
hoc testamur² quia³ abinde redeuntis conspeximus plurimis ac
pretiosis donariis remuneratos.

24. (7) de ethiopia et palaciis duobus⁴
luxta⁵ terminos memoratos sunt flumina ex quibus lapides
preciosi eliciuntur ubi gemme fiunt naturales. Gens autem
illa ethyopum nomine censetur.

26. luxta hoc⁶ quoque oceani fines nascuntur soraci qui
apud alios tritonides quasi divini appellantur. a quibus
de omni interrogatione responsum accipitur.

27. sunt et circa eadem loca palatia duo. Unum solis^{et} alterum
lune. illud solis die mediocriter calet et nocte fervet.

30. illic nascuntur homines habentes sexdecim pedes in longitudine.
Septem vero in latitudine; caput magnum auriculas quasi alas;
Corpus candidum, et cum homines viderint auriculas protendunt
ita ut eos volare credas.

1. Original reading of MS: *nomina vel* *ignoramus*.
Numerum inserted by corrector into gap.
B; P: *nomen vel nomina ignoramus*.
O; S; Groups I, IIa and IVb: *nomina vel numerum ignoramus*.
Group IIb: a: *nomina vel* *ignoramus*; X: *nomina vel*
ignoramus.
Group IVa: K; L: *nomina vel* *numerum ignoramus*.
2. R; H; E; G; S: *testantur*.
3. All other MSS: *quod*.
4. c: *de ethiopia et palaciis duobus solis et lune*.
l: *De ethiopia et palaciis Indii*.
Groups IIb and IV: *de palatio solis et lune*.
5. Space left for rubricated initial with guide letter.
E: *U*ta.
6. All other MSS *hos*.

32. In his terminis colonia est solis ad modum insule in longitudine habens stadia ducenta et in latitudine totidem. Colonia ergo solis muro cincta ellopolis nuncupatur, in structura area ac terrea opere alternato; illic arbores sunt lauro et olive consimiles. ex quibus thus et opobalsamum distillando nascuntur. dicitur autem balsamus arbor. balsamus distillans humor. carpobalsamum fructus. sillobalsamum lignus quod inciditur. opobalsamum liquor quem in foramine concavitatis pendere cernimus sic dictus ab ope quod est concavitas. unde opida dicuntur a cuncavitate vallorum, que de ope id est terra fiunt. sane diascorides dicit balsamum fruticem esse ad quantitatem tantum duorum cubitorum crescentem circa babiloniam in campo in quo sunt septem fontes. si autem ad alium locum transfertur nec florem nec fructum facit. In estate rami eius exciduntur aliquantulum. sicque gutta exit. & in suppositum vas vitreum stillat ad .xl. libras. In eodem loco due sunt edes. satis consimiles. ex auro quadrate et cinamomo constructe. longitudo unius edis et latitudo pedum trecentorum .lxx., parietes novem. In hac est arula ex margaritis et cylindris instructa latitudine pedum septuaginta. Ibidem lectulus solis ex auro obrizo confectus et ebore; lapidibus pretiosissimis interiectis. cuius fulgor radiat ad palatii interioris consistentiam.

33. est in eadem ede vinea aurea culus vitis ex auro facta et confixa et eius vitis pavementum ex lapidibus pretiosissimis et

cilindris in vitibus aureis pendent racemi ex margaritis et
unionibus. Edes¹ contigua domus est sacerdotis ex auro strata².
sacerdos vero thure vestitur. et ex opobalsamo vivit, sub
vitibus in pavimento dormit, extraneo nulli aditum pandit nisi
qui apud eliopolim commorabitur.

34. (8) de fenice

Ad³ confinium eliopolis mons est adans⁴ inascensibilis propter
sui celsitudinem in quo avis est caput habens aquile pennas
maximas similes luppe⁵. In hoc quoque monte avis est fenix
amplam habens vittam⁶, in capite cristam⁷ similem orbiculari
caudae pavonis. In hac ave delicie solis esse referuntur.
innumeris vivit annis ex⁸ sola ut tradunt divinitate processit.
Ideoque amomo thureque vivens nido insidet ex margaritis ac
unionibus conserto⁹. Ex se nidoque combusto renascitur

1. G; H: *aedi*.

2. Original reading of MS: *tracta*, corrected by scribe. (cf.
FL *facta*). H: *structa*.

3. Space left for rubricated initial with guide letter.

4. Thus H; A; I.

E; S; B: *adlans*; P; O: *adlaus*; Y: *allans*; U: *allaus*;
K; L; C: *athlans* (K also *allans*); c: *adlantis*; G; Q:
ad latus; a; X: *ad* + gap; R: *a* + deletion.

5. S; R: *hippae*.

6. Vat. Lat. 933 has marginal gloss .i. *pepulam*.

A; B; O: *victam*; C: *vitam*; U: *in vittam*; K: *vitram alias*
victam; L: *vittiam alias vicsam*; Y: *nutram*.

7. Thus c; S.

G; O: *constam*; all other MSS: *costam*.

8. E: *et*.

9. Thus a majority of MSS. Other readings include: *constructo*
(I; S); *confecto* (L; K); *constituto* (C).

unde semper vivere praedicatur secundum illud ovidii:

una est quae reparat seseque resemnat ales

asserit fenica vocant non fruge nec herbis

sed thuris lacrymis et succo vivit amomi.

35. (9) de flammis Solis orientis¹

Sunt² ad montis huius confinium alii montes quos olympum et
Smaragdon vulgo nominant. hii sole oriente flammam emittunt
usque in horam quintam. Circa montes hos mare fervet³ quod
coloniam eliopolis tangit illud non dixerim transire sed nec
respicere humanus oculus aliquamdiu potest. porro in
colonia eliopolis homines sunt religiosi et deorum cultores
in gente sua. nec procul ab illis homines sunt deos
spernentes⁴ egyptii quidem. In eorum quoque confinio sunt
homines caprarum cornua et pedes habentes quos alii gorgones
alii gaulae nominant.

1. (10) de hominibus qui pedes habent octenos et totidem
oculos⁵

Si quis dimensionem terrarum perscrutari paraverit, attendat

1. R: *De monte olimpi et smaragdus;*

c: *De flammis montium in solis ortu et mare fervido;*

Groups IIb and IV: *De montibus flammantibus in ortu solis.*

2. Space left for rubricated initial with guillo letter.

3. S; X: *ferunt.*

4. MS: *sper spernentes* (uncorrected).

5. Groups IIb and IVb: *de hominibus simiis et gallinis qui comedentes
urunt.*

Group IVa: *de hominibus simiis et gallinis qui comedentes
usum (or verum).*

non omnia nos corporali visione probasse quae scripsimus,
quinimo quaedam ex alienis libris transumpta, quaedam ex
virorum proborum relatione conguessimus. nihil mendacium
linguis aut mimorum fallaciis contribuentes.

2. ut ergo praemisimus a finibus antiochiae cui dirus¹ fluvius
subjacet desertam sanctis hominibus copiosa repleta spatiosa²
patent. A³ quibus usque ad Oliviam⁴ insulam et usque ad
fines⁵ eufratis mansiones pleræque sunt; haec insula
multitudinem habet ovium.

3. et exinde colonia magna et negociatoribus exposita. illic
de velleribus ovium ac caprarum⁶ tunice bissique fiunt. Hinc
transeuntibus ad meridiem occurrit⁷ civitas opulentissima quam
arcimedium dicunt. illic terra fertilis et in fructibus opulenta.

(II) Super terra de caldera et siria

Porro⁸ a babilonia usque mesopotamiam stadia sunt .lx.^{ta}, lacus
piscosus et plus quam locuples. et ex hinc usque damascum
mansiones pleræque a sinistra vero euntibus civitates occurrunt
.xii. Valatha⁹.

1. S: *Darius*;

Groups IIb and IV: *farfar*.

2. MS: *sapciosa* (uncorrected).

3. MS: *ad* (uncorrected).

4. Thus G; c; X; O.

B: *abanam*; P: *obauam*; remaining MSS: *Olivam*.

5. c; X; O; S; Y; L; C: *finem*.

6. MS: *ac a caprari*, with *ac a* marked for deletion.

7. E; S: *occinti*.

8. Space left for rubricated initial with guide letter.

9. MS: *vallata*. P; X: *valata*; remaining MSS *valacha* or
valatha.

melemno. cleopatra. termasia. marmino. maragdon. Casia.
possidonia¹. India². amdan. eleudiana. flavius³.

4. ex hinc ad castellum filone⁴ transitus est; ubi gallino
sunt quales apud nos colore similes sed qui eas prandere
voluerit corpus suum comburet.

5. sunt et illic homines quasi simii qui ut sonum audierint
fugiunt. pedes habent octenos totidemque oculos cornua bina
quos qui perimere voluerit diligenter se muniat armaturis.

1. MS: *Possironia*. All other MSS: *Possidonia*.

2. MS: *nidia*.

H; c; G; X; C; Q: *india*;

L: *india* alias *nydia*;

K: *scidia* alias *nydia*;

Y: *Scidia*;

U: *Sidia*.

3. E; O; S: *flavus*.

4. Majority of MSS: *filonie* or *Philonie*.

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APPENDIX 2D

HISTORIA DE PRELIIS

Note: The text is from A. Hilka's edition, *Historia Alexandri Magni (Historia de Preliis) Rezension 12 Orosius Rezension*, Meisenheim am Glan, 1976-77, parts 1-2, which was prepared for the press by H.J. Bergmeister. Alternative readings have been accepted where they show a closer relationship to the text of the *Letter*. Chapter and page numbers refer to Hilka's edition; numbers in brackets refer to the relevant sections of the *Letter*. The letters A-K are the designations used for each description in the introductory notes to the edition.

A. Chapter 95; part 2, p.60. (22)

Deinde ambulantes invenerunt ibi mulieres dentes habentes aprorum et capillos usque ad talos, reliquum corpus pilosum quasi strutio et camelus et in lumbis caudam bovis habentes; statura earum alta pedes duodecim.

B. Chapter 95; part 2, p.60 (directly following A) (22)

Deinde amoto exercitu venerunt ad alias silvas Indio et deambulantes per eas invenerunt ibi mulieres quo dicuntur Iamle, speciosas valde, capillos usque ad talos, pedes habentes equorum; statura earum alta pedibus septem. Quas insoquitos Macedones apprehenderunt ex eis et statuerunt eas ante Alexandrum. Cumque vidisset eas Alexander mirabatur in eis valde, eo quod erant iam pulchre a vertice capitis usque ad talum pedis.

C. Chapter 118; part 2, p.164 (8)

Et exinde amoto exercitu venit in loca deserta in quibus nascitur multitudo piperis. Erantque ibi serpentes mire magnitudinis, habentes cornua in capite sicut magni arietis cum quibus feriebant milites Alexandri, et statim moriebantur; sed tamen interfecerunt Macedones ex ipsis maximam partem.

D. Chapter 119; part 2, p.164 (10)

Deinde amoto exercitu castra metatus est in loco in quo erant Kynokephali multi, habentes cervices similes equorum et corpora maxima et magnis dentibus, flammam ex ore aspirantes ...

E. Chapter 119; part 2, p.116 (12)

Et exinde amoto exercitu venit ad quendam fluvium et transiens illum castra metatus est ibi. Subito exierunt desubtus terra formice catulorum magnitudine, habentes pedes sex et cintras quasi locuste marine et dentes maiores quam canes, colorem nigrum. Tunc in exitu desub terra interfecerunt multitudinem ex animalibus de ipso exercitu. Iste formice fodiunt aurum desub terra et proferunt ad lucem. Que cum hominem vel aliud animal invenerunt, devorant. Sunt enim velocissime in cursu, ut putes eas volare. Et hec tota nocte usque ad horam quintam diei sub terra sunt et aurum fodiunt; ab hora autem quinta usque ad occasum solis sunt super terram.

F. Chapter 119; part 2, p.166 (18)

Deinde amoto exercitu venit ad quendam fluvium in quo erat insula, in qua erant homines sine capite, oculos et os habentes in pectore; quorum longitudo erat pedes duodecim, latitudo et vastitas pedes septem, colore auro similes.

G. Chapter 119; part 2, p.168 (15)

Deinde ambulantes per ipsam silvam invenerunt bestiae similes equorum¹, pedes habentes leonum; quorum latitudo² erat pedes triginta, grossitudo pedes duodecim.

1. Thus 8 of the MSS collated by Hilka; his base MS reads *equis*.

2. 10 of the MSS collated by Hilka read *altitudo*.

H. Chapter 119; part 2, p.168. (14)

Et exinde¹ ambulantes invenerunt homines habentes femora longa pedes duodecim, reliquum vero corpus pedes sex, candida brachia usque ad femora; coxe et crura erant nigra, pedes rubei, caput rotundum et magnum, nares longas.

J. Chapter 123; part 2, p.170. (6)

Et inde amoto exercitu venit in terram Babilonie² in qua invenerunt serpentes mire magnitudinis atque horridos et nimis sevissimos, habentes duo capita, quorum³ oculi lucebant ut lucerna.

K. Chapter 123; part 2, p.170. (5)

Et erant ibi humiles bestiole quasi simle, habentes oculos octonos et totidem pedes, cornua in capite duo cum quibus feriebant sive hominem sive aliud animal. Interficlebant eos.

1. Some MSS begin *Deinde*.

2. Interpolation in J² begins at this point.

3. 2 MSS read *capita equorum quorum*.

APPENDIX 3

THOMAS OF CANTIMPRE The Adelinus References

Note: The following editions are used:

Thomas of Cantimpré, *De Natura Rerum*, ed. H. Boese, Berlin, 1973. (Teil I: Text)

Liber Monstrorum, ed. C. Bologna, Milan, 1977.¹

Aldhelm, *Opera*, ed. R. Ehwald, Berlin, 1919 (repr. 1961)

The translations of Aldhelm's verse are taken from:

Aldhelm, *The Riddles*, translated by J.H. Pitman, *Yale Studies in English*, 67, 1925.

and of the prose from:

Aldhelm, *The Prose Works*, translated by M. Lapidge and M. Herren, Cambridge, 1979.

In pinpointing the different use made by Thomas of the *Enigmata* and of LM, we must consider similarities of content as well as direct verbal parallels. It is for this reason that all passages have been translated. Verbal parallels are italicised in the Latin text, while similarities which do not involve direct repetition are italicised in the translation.

1. Translations of some passages of *Liber Monstrorum* have been taken from L.G. Whitbread, "The *Liber Monstrorum* and *Regula*", *Mediaeval Studies*, 36, 1974, pp.434-471.

Also Adelinus the Philosopher, who, even if he wrote little, wrote very well.

Since the book on the monstrous men of the orient follows, we must first ask if those men descended from Adam, the first man. And the answer is no, except perhaps as Adelinus the philosopher says of onocentaurs which - if indeed it is true - arose through an adulterous union of man and beast.

There are also women in certain woods in India who have beards down to their breasts. They are clad in the skins of animals and they only live by hunting: instead of dogs they have tigers and leopards and savage species of wild beasts.

Women are said to be born near the mountain of Armenia, clad in skins, having a spreading beard down to their breasts. Since they are hunters, they rear tigers and leopards and savage species of wild beasts for their use instead of hounds.

Prologus (DNR p.4, l.44)

Adelinum quoque philosophum, qui et si pauca, tamen bona valde conscripsit.

Liber III de Monstruosis Hominibus Orientis (DNR p.97, l.1)

Quoniam de monstruosis hominibus orientis liber sequitur, querendum primo est, si homines illi de Adam primo homine descenderunt. Et respondendum est quod non, nisi forte sicut Adelinus philosophus dicit de onocentauris, qui per adulterinam commixtionem hominis et bestie - si tamen verum est - provenerunt.

III.v.19 (p.99)¹

Mulieres etiam sunt in quibusdam silvis Indiae, quae habent barbas usque ad mamillas, pellibus animalium indute, nec vivunt nisi de venatione: habent enim pro canibus tygrides et leopardos et rapida ferarum genera.

LM I,22

Mulieres, ut ferunt, iuxta montem Armeniae nascuntur, pellibus indutae, barbam usque ad mammam habentes prolixam. Quae dum venatrices sunt, sibi tigres et leopardos et rapida ferarum genera pro canibus nutriunt.

1. This passage is separated from the rest of the material drawn from LM and the derivation is uncertain. It is probably based on Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, Chapter 91 (Douai, 1597, p.214), with additional material from LM.

There is a certain race of men in the wood where the fire of Mount Etna is said to be who have a single eye, the breadth of a medallion, beneath a very fierce brow, and they are called Cyclops. And they are so tall that they exceed the height of the tallest trees. And they feed on blood. It appears, as it is told, that one of them, resting in his cave, lying on his back, devoured two men raw, holding them in one hand.

And there was a certain race of men in Sicily, where the fire of Mount Etna is said to be, who had a single eye the breadth of a medallion beneath a very fierce brow, and they were called Cyclops. And they exceeded the height of the tallest trees, and they fed on human blood. One of them, resting in his cave, is said to have held two men in one hand and to have eaten them raw.

A girl was discovered in western parts; the tides of rivers had brought her ashore from the ocean, whence we do not know, *wounded* in the head *and dead*. She was fifty cubits in length, and four in breadth across the shoulders, clad in purple

(Whitbread, p.453)

A certain girl, with breasts not yet developed, found on the shores of western Europe, the waves of the deep having carried her to land from the Ocean. They estimated her size at fifty feet. The height of her body was 50 feet and she was 7 feet broad across the shoulders. She was dressed in a purple cloak. She had arrived there bound with rods and *bearing a fatal blow* in the head.

III.v.32 (p.100)

Hominum genus quoddam in silva est, ubi Ethne montis incendium legitur, qui unum oculum sub asperrima fronte ad clipei latitudinem habent et dicuntur Cyclopides. Et hii tanto sunt altitudinis, ut procerrimarum arborum longitudinem excedant. Et hii sanguine vescuntur. Visum est, ut legitur, quod unus eorum in antro suo resupinus iacens una manu duos viros tenens crudos manducavit.

LM I,11

Et fuit quoddam hominum genus in Sicilia, ubi Aetnae montis incendium legitur, qui unum oculum sub asperrima fronte clipei latitudinis habuerunt: et Cyclopes dicebantur. Et procerissimarum arborum altitudinem excedebant, et humano sanguine vescebantur. Quorum quidam in suo antro resupinus una manu duos viros tenuisse et crudos manducasse legitur.

III.v.33 (p.100)

In occiduis partibus puella reperta est, quam unda fluviorum gurgites ab oceano terris adveherant ignoratur, vulneratam in capite atque mortuam. Que erat quinquaginta cubitorum longitudinis, et inter humeros quatuor latitudinis habuit, purpurea induta clamide.

LM I,13

Et puellam quondam in occiduis Europae litoribus necdum turgentibus mammis repertam didicimus, quam undae gurgitem ab Oceano terris adveherunt, culus magnitudinem .L. pedibus designabant. Erant enim ipsius corporibus longitudo .L. pedum; et inter humeros .VII. latitudinis habuit. Purpureo induta pallio, virgis alligata et in caput occisa pervenerat.

The world was amazed at the size of Hercules, and wondered at his weapons. After the conquest of the world by war and by blood he erected, as a sign of victory, columns of amazing size on the shores of the Etruscan Sea; and after everything, when he saw that he was at the point of death, he gave himself up to the flames for burning.

Who did not marvel at the strength and the weapons of Hercules, who on the shores of the Etruscan Sea erected, by the straits, columns of amazing size as a sight for mankind, and who constructed monuments of his wars in the East by the Indian Ocean as a reminder to posterity, and after his battles had encompassed almost the whole world and he had spotted the whole earth with blood, when on the point of death he buried himself in the flames to be consumed?

There are some men in the East of middling height; and their eyes shine like lamps.

And there is said to be a certain island in the eastern parts of the world, in which men are born of reasonable stature, except that their eyes shine like lamps.

There is a very beautiful race of men in the East alongside the Ocean, and this is the reason, that they eat raw meat and the best honey.

Also in the East, alongside the Ocean we read of a beautiful race of men, and they claim that the cause of their pleasantness is eating raw meat and pure honey.

III.v.34 (p.100)

Herculis magnitudinem miratur mundus, miratur et arma eius.
Qui post devictum mundum *bellis* ac sanguine erexit in signum
victorie *columpnas* mire magnitudinis in occidentis Tyrrheni maris;
ac post omnia moriturum se videns, *flammis* se tradidit
comburendum.

LM I,12

Quis *Herculis* fortitudinem et arma non miraretur, qui in
occidentis Tyrrheni maris faucibus *columnas* mirae magnitudinis
ad humani generis spectaculum erexit, quique bellorum suorum
tropaea in Oriente iuxta Oceanum Indicum ad posteritatis
memoriam construxit, et postquam pene totum orbem cum *bellis*
peragrasset et terram tanto sanguine maculasset, sese
moriturum *flammis* ad devorandum involvit?

III.v.35 (p.100)

Homines quidam sunt orientis statura mediocri, et eorum
oculi lucent ut lucerne.

LM I,36

Et quaedam insula in orientalibus orbis terrarum partibus esse
dicitur, in qua nascuntur homines rationabili statura, nisi
quod eorum *oculi* sicut lucernae lucent.

III.v.36 (p.100)

Hominum genus formosum valde in oriente est iuxta oceanum;
et hec causa, quia *crudam* carnem et mel optimum comedunt.

LM I,26

In Oriente quoque iuxta Oceanum formosum genus hominum legitur,
et hanc causam amenitatis eorum esse adserunt: quod *crudam*
carnem et mel purum edunt¹.

1. Thus some MSS. Bologna reads *manducant*.

Furthermore, there are men in an island in the river Brixi who are born without heads, whom the Greeks *call* epiphagi; eight feet in height; and they perform all the functions of the head in their chests, unless they have eyes in their shoulders.

There are also men in an island in the river Brixi, who are born without heads, whom the Greeks *call* epifugi; and they are eight feet in height, and they perform all the functions of the head in their chests, unless they seem to have eyes in their shoulders.

Certain men live in the *river* Brixi, having bodies of remarkable whiteness, twelve feet in height, a divided face and long nose and a thin body.

Also are depicted certain men nearby in the *rivers* Brixi and Nile, having bodies of remarkable whiteness, possessing a height of twelve feet, a face which could be called divided and a long nose, and a thin body.

III.v.37 (p.100)

Homines praeterea sunt in insula Brixantis fluvii, qui absque capitibus nascuntur, quos epiphagos appellant Graeci, octo pedum altitudinis; et tota in pectore officia capitis gerunt, nisi quod oculos in humeris habent.

LM I,24

Sunt quoque homines in insula Brixontis fluvii, qui absque capitibus nascuntur, quos epifugos¹ Graeci vocant; et VIII² pedum altitudinis sunt, et tota in pectore capitis officia gerunt, nisi quod oculos in humeris habere videntur.

III.v.38 (p.100)

Homines quidam in Brixanti fluvio habitant, corpora miri candoris habentes, altitudinis duodecim pedum, facie bipertita et naso longo et corpore macilento.

LM I,20

Quidam quoque homines Brixonti in Niloque fluminibus vicini, corpora miri candoris habentes, .XII. pedum altitudinem habentia, facie quidem bipertita et naso longo, et macilenti corpore describuntur.

1. Thus 3 of the 5 MSS. Bologna follows the Wolfenbüttel MS¹¹ and previous editors in reading *epistigos*.

2. Thus the Leiden MS. Bologna reads .VII.

Molosus was a monstrous man; when he was killed the river Tiber could not cover him completely, and he stained the sea with red blood for a long way, as Adelinus tells. His temple and statue were made at Rome; they are called *colosus* after him.

(Whitbread, p.459)

Witness also the Colossus, who from his vast bulk was marked out from all men as the paragon of sea monsters: when he was struck down, the waters of the Tiber could not avail to cover him as, weakened by grief and ready to die he flung himself into it, and it is said to have flowed back from the spot as far as the edge of the Tyrrhenian Sea, its water for eighteen miles so mingled with his blood that the whole river seemed to flow from his wounds. To commemorate him, the Romans set up a structure renowned almost through the entire range of the world, a statue of enormous size which was 108 feet high, and according to accounts of marvels comes near to overtopping all the buildings of Rome.

(Pitman, p.43)

My body's maker moulded all my parts,
Yet I no service from my members get:
On feet I walk not, nor can see with eyes,
Though open windows stand beneath my brows;
No breath proceeds from out my panting lungs,
Nor do my two arms strive to cast their darts.
Alas! in vain my maker fashioned me
A form enormous, since within that form
I lack all feeling in my various parts.

(Lapidge and Herren, p.78)

As a result of this, they refused to behold on bended knees the enormous statue of the Chaldean tyrant - which exceeded the height of the Colossus¹, lifted 107² feet high with its (immense) stature of 60 cubits - even though ...

1. Translator has inserted *of Rhodes*, for which there is no MS support.
2. Translation gives 170, which Dr. Lapidge informs me is a typographic error.

III.v.39 (p.100)

Colosus homo fuit *monstruosus*, quem occisum *Tyberis* fluvius *cooperire non potuit*, et mare per multa spatia rubro sanguine infecit, ut dicit Adelinus. Huius templum et statua Romae facta est, quae a nomine eius *colosus* dicitur.

LM I,3

Et ut *Colosius*, qui mole vastissima monstrorum ad instar maritimorum cunctos homines excrevit. Quem unda *tiberi*¹ vulneratum *cooperire non potuit*², in quem se dolore marcescens moriturum lactavit: et ab ipso usque ad Tyrrheni maris terminum per .XVIII. milia passuum aquam tanto sanguine commixtam reddidisse fertur, ut totus fluvius de vulneribus eius manare videretur. Post quem *Romani* (pene per totum orbem terrarum auditum est hoc opus) erexerunt *statuam* procerissimae magnitudinis, quae .C. et .VIII.³ pedes altitudinis habet, et prope omnia Romae urbis opera miro rumore praecellit.

Enigmata LXXII

Omnia membra mihi plasmavit corporis auctor,
Nec tamen ex isdem membrorum munia sumpsi,
Pergere nec plantis oculis nec cernere possum,
Quamquam nunc patulae constant sub fronte fenestrae.
Nullus anhelanti procedit viscere flatus
Spicula nec geminis nitor torquere lacertis.
Heu! frustra factor conflinxit corpus inorme,
Totis membrorum dum frauder sensibus intus.

Aldhelm *De Virginitate* XXI (p.252)

Quamobrem inorme Chaldaei regnatoribus simulacrum, quod colosi⁴ sublimitatem centenis ac septenis pedibus in alto porrectam bis tricena cubitorum proceritate vincebat, illicot ...

1. Thus Leiden MS. Bologna follows others in reading *Thybridis*.

2. Thus BL MS. Others read *valuit*.

3. Leiden and Rosanbo MSS read *centum et septem*.

4. Some MSS have a marginal note:

quando cadit colosus cadit roma quando cadit roma totus mundus cadit.

Cacus is a monster in Archadia. This animal is bristly all over, like a pig. And as Adelinus the Philosopher writes, it *belches forth* flames from its chest, that is breath and fiery breathing ...

Therefore the monster Cacus remains in the caves above the river Tiber. This animal suddenly attacks herds of cows and bulls, and one animal from the herd is not enough for it, but it drags three or four bulls which it has seized by the tail by its remarkable strength into its cave, walking *backwards* lest it should be tracked.

There was a certain monster in Arcadia, Cacus by name, in a cave by the river Tiber, *vomiting forth* flames from its chest and hairy all over its body. It suddenly abducted four bulls from the herd by a trick and dragged them into its cave, *backwards* by its remarkable strength, so that it could not be tracked.

When it sleeps, as Adelinus says, its eyes keep watch ...

(Pitman, p.23)

A bristling beast, I roam the wood, and rend,
Although they roar and bellow, tusky boars
And noble, antlered stags; fierce, mighty bears
I pitilessly crunch in gory jaws.
I fear no snarling, snapping wolves, myself
A fearsome creature by my royal right.
Wide-eyed I sleep, nor ever close my eyes.

Liber IV De Quadrupedibus

IV.20 De Caco (p.120)

Cacus monstrum est in Archadia. Hoc animal totum setosum est quasi porcus. Et sicut scribit Adelinus philosophus, flammam de pectore suo eructuat, id est anhelitum et spiritum flammeum ...

1.14. Igitur monstrum cacus in antris super flumen Tyberim commoratur. Hoc animal invadit subito vaccarum et taurorum greges, nec unum ei de grege animal sufficit, sed per caudas tauros tres aut quatuor apprehensos vi fortitudinis sue in antrum trahit occulte gressu retrogrado, ne scilicet investigari possit de facili ... (10 further lines)

LM 1,31

Erat monstrum quoddam in Arcadia, Cacus nomine, in antro fluminis Tiberini, flammam de pectore evomens et toto corpore setosus. Qui quatuor tauros furto et totidem vaccas abduxit armentario, et eos per vim fortitudinis retrorsum, ne investigarentur, caudis traxit in antrum.

IV.54 De Leone (p.140)

(1.46) Cum dormit, ut dicit Adelinus, oculi eius vigilant ... (61 further lines)

Enigmata XXXIX (p.114)

Setiger in silvis armatos dentibus apros
Cornigerosque simul cervos licet ore rudentes
Contero nec parcens ursorum quasso lacertos;
Ora cruenta ferens morsus rictusque luporum
Horridus haud vereor regali culmine frotus;
Dormio nam patulis, non claudens lumina, gemmis.

The molossian hound, as Adelinus tells us, is a very large, I beast which is discovered in many parts of the world. It chases dangerous foes *as if created for that purpose*. It has large, huge jaws, *strong, projecting teeth with which it boldly shares war* with its adversaries. With strong men it may be terrifying and awesome, and may rage against them boldly, yet extraordinarily it quakes *before the innocence and smallness of boys* and flees from their lashings, and in this the greatness of innocence is fittingly proven. And it is not strange, because the savagery of the beasts was created not to destroy innocence but to punish the harmfulness and malice of men.

(Pitman, p.9)

*Long since, the holy power that made all things
So made me that my master's dangerous foes
I scatter. Bearing weapons in my jaws,
I soon decide fierce combats; yet I flee
Before the lashings of a little child.*

The Indian wild ass is a large and cruel animal ... However, they are of remarkable size, as Adelinus writes, and of outstanding strength; and this, certainly, is plain to see, because they seem to rejoice in their strength. For they tear huge rocks *out of the cliffs*, and for no other purpose than to pit their strength against that of the rocks.

Wild asses are animals, not beasts; but with immense courage and rejoicing in their strength they frequently tear lofty rocks *out of the mountain-sides*. But those in the deserts of Persia are described with a kind of incredible monstrosity as having the horns of bulls and with great bodies.

IV.70 De Moloso (p.149)

Molossus bestia est, ut dicit Adelinus, admodum magna, quo in pluribus orbis partibus reperitur. Hec *truculentos hostes* quasi ad hoc creata *persequitur*. *Rictus* magnos et ingentes habet, dentes fortes et prominentes, cum quibus audacter partitur *bella* cum adversariis. Que cum hominibus fortibus terribilis et horrenda sit audacterque grassetur in obvios, *tamen* puerorum innocentiam et eorum parvitatem mirabiliter prehorrescit *fugitque* eorum *verbera*, et in hoc digne innocentie magnificentia comprobatur. Et non mirum, quia feritas bestiarum non ad destruendam innocentiam, sed ad puniendam nocentiam atque malitiam hominum est creata.

Enigmata X (p.102)

Sic me iamdudum rerum veneranda potestas
Fecerat, ut domini *truculentos persequar hostes*;
Rictibus arma gerens *bellorum* praelia patro
Et *tamen* infantum *fugiens* mox *verbera* vito.

IV.81 De Onagro Indie (p.154)

Onager Indie *animal* magnum est ac crudele ...

(1.8) Sunt autem mire magnitudinis, ut Adelinus scribit, ac fortitudinis precipue; et hoc quidam patet, quia *exultare fortitudine* videntur. *Saxa* enim ingentia de rupibus *evellunt*, et hoc ad nichil aliud, nisi ut fortitudinem suam ad saxorum molem attemptent.

LM II, 4

Onagri animalia sunt, non bestiae; sed ingenti animo et saepe elata *exultantes fortitudine* *saxa* de montibus *evellunt*. Sed ipsi in desertis Persarum esse, cum incredibilibus quibusdam prodigiis boum habentes cornua, et magnis describuntur corporibus.

The onocentaur, as Isidore and Adelinus say, is a monstrous animal with a two-fold nature. For it has *a head like an ass, but a body like a man's*. Others, alternatively, say that the onocentaur has *the body of a horse and, indeed, a human upper part*. It has a face rough with bristles, and hands dextrous for all deeds. Onocentauri are hirsute in the head, and if they begin to speak, whereas they produce a voice their untrained lips cannot *form human words*. Adelinus the philosopher says that this monster was not created as such from the beginning of the world among the other wild animals but that it has been seen in various places at various times in any part of the world, and it is born of the adulterous union of a man with a bull or of a man with a horse. But there are many who disagree with this view ...

The nature of the hippocentauri is a mixture of horse and man, and they have a hairy head in the manner of animals, but in other respects they are most similar to normal human beings - until they begin to speak. But then, with lips unaccustomed to human speech they do not *distinguish any words in their talk*.

Onocentaurs seem to have *the bodies of rational men down to the navel and the lower part is described as having the hairy deformity of the ass*. Thus by natural means fickle Nature marries those who are of different species.

(Pitman, p.17)

Incongruous is my visage to my frame:
Though horns are on my head, the rest of me
Appears a hideous man; by fame well known
Through all the Gnessian land, a bastard, born
In Crete of unknown sire, by double name
Of man and beast together I am called.

IV.82 De Onocentauro (p.154)

Onocentaurus, ut dicunt Ysidorus et Adelinus, animal est monstruosum et *natura biforme*. Habet enim caput velut asini, corpus autem velut hominis. Alii autem dicunt onocentaurum corpus habere equinum, superiorem vero partem humanam. Faciem habet horridam setis manusque formatas habiles ad omnem actum. *Capite setosi sunt onocentauri*, et quasi *incipiunt loqui*, dum vocem promunt, *sed insueta labra* vocem *humanam* formare non possunt. Dicit Adelinus philosophus, quod hoc monstrum non est tale creatum ab initio creationis inter ceteras bestias, sed ubicumque et quandocumque in aliqua parte mundi visum est, ex adulterina commixtione hominis et tauri vel hominis et equi nascitur. Sed huc opinioni plurimi contradicunt ... (6 further lines)

LM 1,7 (De Hippocentauris)

Hippocentauri equorum et hominum habent commixtam *naturam*, et more ferarum sunt *capite setoso*, sed ex parte aliqua humanae naturae simillimo, quo possunt *incipere loqui*: *sed insueta labia humanae* locutioni nullam in verba vocem distinguunt.

LM 1,10 (De Onocentauris)

Onocentauri corpora hominum rationabilia habere videntur usque ad umbilicum, et inferior pars corporis in Onagrorum setosa turpitudine describitur. Quos sic diversorum generum varia naturaliter coniungit Natura.

Enigmata XXVIII (Minotaurus)

Sum mihi dissimilis vultu membrisque *biformis*:
Cornibus armatus, horrendum cetera fingunt
Membra virum; fama clarus per Gnosia rura
Spurius incerto Creta genitore creatus
Ex hominis pecudisque simul cognomine dicor.

... The eagle, as Adelinus says, *when it is weighed down by old age, takes note of a very cold spring in that place and soars aloft opposite it, climbing beyond the clouds.* However, the clouding of its eyes is destroyed by the heat of the nearby sun and, descending at once in a rush with the fervour of that same heat it immerses itself thirdly in very cold water, rising again from there it at once seeks out its nest; it lays aside its feathers amongst its now sturdy offspring, seized with sweat as prey to the inequality of cold and heat as if by some kind of fever, and it is kept warm and fed by its chicks until, recovering, it is able to renew both down and quills ...

(Pitman, p.33)

'The squire of unblessed Jupiter and thief
Of Ganymede', seductive poets sang.
But I was not that bird who snatched away
The Trojan youth; nay rather, high in air,
I scatter fleeing swans, and honking geese
I drive before me through the dome of heaven.
*When weary age has bent my senile limbs,
In springs of limpid water then I plunge,
And, dripping, rise restored in Phoebus' light.*

Liber V De Avibus

V.2 De aquila et diversis generibus aquilarum (p.178)

(1.15) ... Aquila, sicut dicit Adelinus, cum senecta gravatur, fontem frigidissimum notans ibi decontra in sublime volat omnesque transcendit nubes. Ex calore autem propinqui solis oculorum eius caligo consumitur statimque in impetu cum ipsius caloris estu descendens aquis frigidissimis tertio immergitur, indeque resurgens statim nidum petit et inter pullos iam robustos ad predam inequalitate frigoris et caloris quasi quadam febre correpta sudore plumas exuit foveturque a pullis suis et pascitur, quoadusque plumas pennasque recuperans innovetur ... (55 further lines)

Enigmata LVII

'Armiger infausti Iovis et raptor Ganimidis'
Quamquam pellaces cantarent carmine vates,
Non fuero praepes, quo fertur Dardana proles,
Sed magis in summis cicnos agitato fugaces
Arsantesque grues proturbo sub aetheris axe.
Corpora cum senio corrumpit fessa vetustas,
Fontibus in liquidis mergentis membra madescunt;
Post haec restauror praeclearo lumine Phoebi.

The harpy, as Adelinus says, *is a bird* in remote parts of the world in a place which is called Strapodes in isolation near the Ionian Sea. With a reputation for ferocity, it is almost completely insatiable. *It has hooked talons, always ready to seize and rend.* Only its face is *human*, but it has nothing of human excellence within itself. It prowls aggressively outside the human limit. It is said to have killed the first man it saw in the desert. After that it courageously discovered watering-places, and when it had looked at its face in the water it soon noticed its similarity to the man it had killed and it sorrowed excessively and bewailed him whom it had killed for the whole of the rest of its life until it died. This bird when domesticated always speaks *with an educated human voice*, but it lacks reason.

It is told in books that the harpies were monsters of some sort in the Strophades Isles of the Ionian sea *in the form of birds*, with only their faces *maidenly*. *They were able to speak with the tongues of men* and, having a reputation for ferocity, *they were always insatiable, and they drag out their food by the handful with their hooked feet.*

If anyone blinds the chicks of the swallow, their eyes return again, as Aristotle says. But Adelinus the philosopher says the same....

(Pitman, p.27)

Drooping, I pass long months away from food
But by deep slumber I endure the fast;
When the dull countryside bursts into bloom,
Its turf red-sprinkled, then my ruddy throat
Trills fluent songs. But later, willingly
I flee the tender young and all my race,
And seek the shady coverts. Should some harm
Befall the young chicks' eyes, my secret lore
I wield to cure them, by a healing salve
Made of that flower whose name is likewise mine.

V.4 De Arpia (p.179)

Arpia avis est, ut dicit Adelinus, in remotis mundi partibus in loco, qui *Strapodes* dicitur in solitudine iuxta mare *Ionium*. *Rabida fame semper fere insatiabilis* est. Ungues habet aduncos et ad discerpendum et rapiendum semper paratos. Hec *faciem tantum* habet humanam, sed in se nichil virtutis humane. Nam ferocitate grassatur ultra humanum modum. Hec primum hominem quem viderit in deserto fertur occidere. Inde cum fortuitu aquas invenerit et faciem suam in aquis fuerit contemplata, mox sui similem hominem occidisse perspiciens tristatur immodice et hoc aliquando usque ad mortem plangitque occisum omni tempore vite sue. Hec avis aliquando domesticata *loquitur* docta humana voce, sed ratione caret.

LM I,44

Legitur quod Arpie quaedam monstra in *Strapodibus*¹ insulis maris *Ionii* fulissent in forma volucrum, *facie tantum* virginali. Quae hominum linguas *loqui* potuerunt, et *rabida fame semper insaturabiles* erant, et cibum uncis pedibus de manu manducantium traxerunt.

V.66 De Irundine (p.211)

(I.42) ... Si quis cecaverit pullos hirundinum, revertuntur oculi eorum iterum, ut dicit Aristotiles. Sed et Adelinus philosophus idem dicit ... (8 further lines)

Enigmata XLVII

Absque cibo plures degebam marcida menses,
Sed sopor et somnus ieiunia longa tulerunt;
Pallida purpureo dum glescunt gramine rura,
Garrula mox crepitat rubicundum carmina guttur.
Post teneros fetus et prolem gentis adultam
Sponte mea fugiens umbrosas quaero latebras;
Si vero quisquam pullorum lumina laedat,
Affero compertum medicans cataplasma salutis
Quaerens campestrem proprio de nomine florem.

1. Thus Leiden MS; others read *Stropadibus*.

This breed of birds lies in wait for serpents in many places, and although it eats them and other poisonous things, yet, as Adelinus tells us, it does not die.

(Pitman, p.17)

Both shining white am I and dusky black
Together, decked with parti-coloured plumes.
No trilling voice is mine, for with my beak
I utter ugly sounds. *Though scaly snakes*
I catch and rend - to them a fearsome foe,
Death-dealing venom never swells my veins;
Nay, more, I even feed my fluffy chicks
With poisoned flesh and loathful serpents' blood.

The nicticorax, as Adelinus says, is called the night raven. Certainly, it is the bird which we call 'owl'. *It loves the darkness of night*, indeed, it cannot bear to look at the sun: *it shuns the light*. With the grey pupils of its eyes it does not feel the misty terror of the nocturnal shades. On the contrary, with sight the opposite of that of the rest of the birds, it pursues its unhindered flights to places where night will be darker. When day has dawned, however, and the brightness of the sun has poured round, its sight grows dim as if it is wandering in some sort of darkness.

(Pitman, p.21)

Man's wit has rightly given me a name
Of twofold sense, for darkness and a bird
Both share it; *seldom in the shining light*
Of day do I appear; nay, starry shades
I rather cherish, and nocturnal dark.
The books that tell of Romulus narrate
How, high in air, I cry with croaking voice;
But in the tongue of Greece my name denotes
That dusky night has ever been my haunt.

V.28 De Ciconiis (p.189)

(l.26) ... Hoc avium genus multifario insidiatur serpentibus,
et licet comedat eos et alia venenata, tamen - sicut Adollinus
dicit - non moritur ... (25 further lines)

Enigmata XXXI

Candida forma nitens necnon et furva nigrescens
Est mihi, dum varia componor imagine pennaë;
Voce carens tremula nam faxo crepacula rostro.
Quamvis squamigeros discerpam dira colobros,
Non mea letiferis turgescunt membra venenis;
Sic teneros pullos prolemque nutrire suesco
Carne venenata tetroque cruore draconum.

V.92 De Nicticorace (p.217)

Nicticorax dicitur, ut Adollinus dicit, *noctis corvus*. Avis est
utique, quam nos noctuam dicimus. Hec noctis tenebras amat,
solem vero videre non patitur: lucifuga enim est. Hec glaucis
oculorum pupillis nocturnarum tenebrarum caliginem non sentit
horrorem. Sed quo fuerit nox obscurior, eo contrario visu
avium ceterarum inoffensos exercet volatus. Exorta autem die
et circumfuso splendore solis visus eius hebetatur quasi quibus-
dam erret in tenebris ... (11 further lines)

Aldhelm, *De Metris*, p.171

et nicticorax nocturnus corvus dicitur.

Enigmata XXXV

Duplicat ars geminis mihi nomen rite figuris;
Nam partem tenebrae retinent partemque volucres.
Raro me quisquam cernet sub luce serena,
Quin magis astriferas ego nocte fovebo latebras.
Raucisono medium crepitare per aethera suescens
Romuleis scribor biblis, sed voce Pelasga,
Nomine nocturnas dum semper servo tenebras.

The flying fish, as Adelinus says, is a sea-monster so wondrous that you more readily believe that nature was playing a game when she created it as a monster preferred before all the monsters of the deep. *With a scaly skin* this animal explores the *depths* of the sea with shoals of fish. Indeed, when it dislikes the waters of the sea it lifts itself with feathered wings, which nature gives to it, and mounts *into* the upper air with the birds. However, the breath of the winds cannot *sustain* that monster when it is lifted in the air, but, after a little in that region where it is buffeted by the opposing winds it decides to return to the waters and falls back into the deep.

(Pitman, p.11)

Now does my wondrous life attract the mind.

I, *clothed in* scales, with schools of fish explore

The *reaches* of the sea, or with the birds

Mount *through* the upper air on soaring wings,

And yet I can not *live* by breathing air.

Liber VI De Monstra Marinis

VI.32 De Luligine (p.243)

Luligo monstrum est marinum, sicut Adolinus dicit, adeo mirabile, ut naturam in hoc luisse certius credas, quæ hoc creavit omnibus fere marinis beluis preferendum. Hoc enim animal *squamosum* cute *cum gregibus piscium scrutatur profunda maris*. Cum vero aquas maris fastidierit, elevat se cum alis *pennigeris*, quas illi in hoc natura dedit, et *cum volucris scandit ethera*. Verumptamen elevatum in aera monstrum istud ventorum *flatus* sustinere non potest, sed post modicum ubi ventis concutitur obviis, ad aquas redire cogitur et relabitur in profundum.

Enigmata XVI

Nunc cernenda placent nostrae spectacula vitae:
Cum grege piscoso scrutor maris aequora squamis,
Cum volucrum turma quoque scando per aethera pennis
Et tamen aethereo non possum vivere flatu.

The purple mussel is a sea creature which is monstrous *and large*, as Adelinus says, and is born between shells like an oyster; the shells are the colour of wax. This monster inside those shells is clad in most noble wool, tawny and red, from which precious clothes are made as an adornment and embellishment of men and women. For robes and kerchiefs are made out of it, which become the ornament and luxury of women. Thus the fleece of the aforementioned animal is held in double *service* and turned to the use of both sexes.

(Pitman, p.11)

From twin shells in the blue sea I was born,
And by my hairy body turn soft wool
A tawny red. Lo, gorgeous robes I give,
And of my flesh provide men food besides:
A double *tribute* thus I pay to Fate.

VI.40 De Perna (p.244)

Perna animal marinum est, quod animal monstruosum ac magnum est, ut dicit Adelinus, et nascitur ostrearum more inter conchas, que conche colorem habent *ceruleum*. Hoc monstrum inter ipsas conchas vestitur *vellere* nobilissimo *fulvo* nimis ac *rutilo*, unde conficiuntur vestes pretiose in decorem et ornatum virorum ac mulierum. *Pepla* enim capitis fiunt ex hiis, que cedunt in ornatum et luxus feminarum. Sic in *duplex* ministerium habentur vellera predicti animalis et cedunt in usus utriusque sexus.

Enigmata XVII

E geminis nascor per ponti *caerula concis*
Vellera setigero producens corpore *fulva*;
En clamidem *pepli* nechon et pabula *pulpae*
Confero: sic *duplex* fati persolvi tributum.

Marginalia in the MSS of *Enigmata* (see Ehwald, p.105)

Scribe 2 in the earliest MS (Leningrad Q115):

maior est *ostreis ex cuius uelleris uestis conficitur*

Several MSS from the tenth century:

Perna que *multo maior est ostreis ex cuius uelleribus uestis conficitur*

Another group of similar date lack the comparison:

De perna *multo maior ex cuius uelleribus uestis conficitur*

Further MSS have a reference to size without the reference to fleece, and Thomas can not be derived from one of these.

Indeed, as Adelinus writes, the remainder of the body of the sirens is like that of an eagle, and they have claws on their feet which are ideal for tearing things to pieces. At the end of their body they have the scaly tails of fish, with which, as if with oars, they *swim* in the waves. *Their voices are tuneful and they produce a very sweet song, by which sailors, delighted and attracted, are beguiled into sleep, and after they have been lulled to sleep they are torn limb from limb by the claws of the sirens.*

Sirens are mermaids who, by their beautiful form and *the sweetness of their song lead sailors astray*. From the head to the navel they have the body of a maiden and are very like humankind, however, they have the scaly tails of fish, with which they continually *lurk* in the waves.

Scylla, like the sirens, is a monster of the deep. Adelinus the philosopher truly says that this monster dwells *in that part of the sea* which separates Italy and Sicily. It is hostile to sailors and to all mankind, and delights in their flesh and blood. It has a head and chest like a maiden's, as do the sirens, but it has a back, mouth, horrid teeth, bestial belly and a tail like a dolphin. ... Adelinus: And they have a somewhat musical voice, and these monsters are wonderfully delighted by song.

Scylla is reported to have been a monster most hostile to sailors *in that strait* which flows between Italy and Sicily, with head and chest of maidenly form like the sirens. However, it had the belly of wolves and the tails of dolphins. And this distinguishes the nature of the sirens and of Scylla, that the one (Thomas takes this as 'latter') beguile sailors with a lethal song and the other (Thomas takes this as 'former') armed with her seadogs is said to have wrecked the ships of the wretched by brute force.

VI.46 De Syrenis (p.246)

(I.7) ... Reliquam vero, ut Adelinus scribit, corporis partem sicut aquila syrene habent unquesque in pedibus ad Ianlandum habiles. In fine vero corporis *squamosas piscium caudas habent, quibus* ut remiglis in gurgitibus natant. Quoddam musicum ac dulcissimum melos habent In voce, qua navigantes delectati et attracti resolvuntur in sompnum, sompnoque sopiti syrenarum unguibus dilacerantur ... (II further lines)

LM I,6

Sirenae sunt marinae puellae quae navigantes pulcherrima forma et cantus decipiunt dulcitudine. Et a capite usque ad umbilicum sunt corpore virginali, et humano generi simillimae: *squamosas tamen piscium caudas habent, quibus in gurgite* semper latent.

VI.47 De Scilla (p.246)

Scilla monstrum maris est sicut syrenes. Istud quidem monstrum In eo mari Adelinus philosophus manere veraciter dixit, quod mare *Italiam et Siciliam intercludit*. Nautis quidem et omni homini *inimicum* est et eorum sanguine ac carnibus delectatur. *Caput* utique et *pectus ut virgo* formata habet *sicut syrenes*; sed rictus et oris hyatum ac dentes horridos et bestialem *uterum et caudam ut delphinus* habet. ... Adelinus: Habent et ille voces aliquantulum musicas et *carmine* etiam ipse beluae mirifice delectantur.

LM I,14

Scylla monstrum nautis inimicissimum In eo freto, quod *Italiam et Siciliam interluit*, fuisse perhibetur, *capite* quidam et *pectore virginali sicut Sirenae*; sed *luporum uterum et caudas delfinorum habuit*. Et hoc Sirenarum et Scyllae disiungit naturam, quod ipse mortifero *carmine* navigantes decipiunt, et illa per vim fortitudinis, marinis succincta canibus, miserorum fertur lacerasse naufragia.

Some reckon crabs among the fishes, as the *Liber Rerum* says. They have eight feet and arms and pincers for hands, with which they generally crawl. Nor is it at any time with backwards gait, as Adelinus says, for it knew how to walk in front of its face.

(Pitman, p.21)

In early Latin 'Nepa' was my name.
I walk the damp shore of the foamy sea,
And traverse ocean with a backward gait;
Yet airy heaven is by me adorned,
Who, ruddy, with twelve stars ascend the skies.
The oyster fears me, daunted by a stone.

... Dragon-stone is cut out of its brain, as Adelinus tells us, but they do not consider it at all precious unless it is extracted while he is alive.

(Pitman, p.15)

*A bristling dragon's head contrived my birth,
So men report; my crimson hue outshines
Refulgent gems. But never could I get
My proper strength and hardness, if death felled
The snake's foul, scaly carcass ere some hand
Wrenched me, all ruddy from its hideous crest.*

Liber VII de Piscibus

VII.19 De Cancris (p.256)

Cancros inter pisces quidam computant, ut dicit Liber rerum.
Pedes habent et brachia octo numero forcipesque pro manibus,
quibus plerumque serpunt. *Retrograda* est nec unquam, ut
Adelinus dicit, novit ante faciem suam ambulare ... (37 further
lines)

Enigmata XXXVII

Nepa mihi nomen veteres dixere Latini:
Humida spumifer; spatior per litora ponti;
Passibus oceanum *retrograda* transeo versis:
Et tamen aethereus per me decoratur Olympus,
Dum ruber in caelo bliseno sidere scando;
Ostrea quem metuit duris perterrita saxis.

Liber VIII de Serpentibus

VIII.16 De Dracone (p.282)

(1.31) ... De cerebro eius, ut Adelinus dicit, draguntia lapis
exciditur, sed nequaquam pretiosum dicunt, nisi viventi
extrahatur ... (28 further lines)

Enigmata XXIV (Dracontia)

Me caput horrentis fertur genuisse draconis;
Augeo purpureis gemmarum lumina fucis,
Sed mihi non dabitur rigida virtute potestas,
Si prius occumbat squamoso corpore natrix,
Quam summo spolier capitis de vertice rubra.

The Greeks, according to Adelinus the philosopher, say that dracontopods are *huge* and powerful serpents. They have a maidenly face, *like human faces, but they end in a dragon-like body.*

Fables of the Greeks tell that there were men with *immense* bodies and so bulky, nevertheless like *human beings, except that they have the tails of dragons*, for which reason the Greeks call them dracontopods.

That same animal, as Augustine, Adelinus and Isidore say, lives in fire and is not only not burnt but even extinguishes the blaze ... On the subject of the Salamander, Adelinus, versifying in the book of riddles, says, in the person of the Salamander:

Living in the midst of flames I feel no heat,
And laugh to scorn the dangers of my pyre.
No crackling pyre nor glowing ember's spark
Consumes me, for their flaming flames I cool with dew.

(Pitman, p.11)

Living in the midst of flames I feel no heat,
And laugh to scorn the dangers of my pyre.
No crackling fire nor glowing ember's spark
Consumes me, for their hot, bright flames grow cool.

The salamander is also described as being of such fierceness that no flames have the strength to injure it, but it is said to be able to live in fire as fish live in water.

VIII.17 De Dracontopedibus (p.283)

Dracontopedes serpentes sunt, ut referente Adolino philosopho Graeci dicunt, magni atque potentes. Hii facies habent virgineas faciebus similes humanis, sed in draconum corpus desinunt ... (19 further lines)

LM I,49

Ferunt fabulae Graecorum homines immensis corporibus fuisse, et in tanta mole tamen humano generi similes, nisi quod draconum caudas habuerunt, unde et *graece Dracontopodes* dicebantur.

VIII.30 De Salamandra (p.286)

(I.13) ... Ipsum animal, ut dicunt Augustinus et Adelinus et Ysidorus, *vivit in igne* et non solum non uritur, sed etiam extinguit incendium. ... (I.62) De salamandra Adelinus in enigmatum libro versificans dixit in persona salamandre:

*Ignibus in medio vivens non sentio flammās
Has, sed detrimenta rogi ludibria faxo.
Nec crepitante rogo nec scintillante favilla
Ardeo, sed flammæ flammanti rore tepesco.*

Enigmata XV

*Ignibus in mediis vivens non sentio flammās,
Sed detrimenta rogi penitus ludibria faxo.
Nec crepitante foco nec scintillante favilla
Ardeo, sed flammæ flagranti torre tepescunt.*

LM III,14

Salamandra quoque tantae atrocitatis esse describitur, ut eam nulla vis flammarum laedere possit, sed in ignibus velut pisces in aqua vivere posse perhibetur.

Gadflies, as the Liber Rerum says, are very small flying insects. Egypt is reported to have been afflicted with them by Moses. They follow the breath of cattle and especially that of man. As Adelinus tells us, they sting the sleeping *with barbs of some sort* which are sharp enough to have the power of inflicting pain. Hence, in those places where their insolence abounds, fastidious men are in the habit of having a net spread out around the bed, so that the gadflies cannot get through it to harm them. Therefore defend the sentry-post of your mind with continual reading and prayer, so that the devil is not able to harm you.

(Pitman, p.21)

Though dainty is my shape, keen spurs I wear;
In swarms I wing my way above the peaks.
I get red booty with my reeking blade,
And spare no four-legged beast, but its coarse flesh
With goading darts I wound; once fame I won,
Vexing the land of Memphis. Now I pierce
The swelling brawn of bulls, and taste their blood.

The lion of ants, which is also called 'mirmicoleon' by Adelinus (from 'mirmin' which is 'ant' and 'leon' which is 'lion'), hence lion of ants. This insect is in the nature of an ant, but much bigger. When it is still small and weak in strength, it represents peace and humility.

(Pitman, p.13)

I long have borne a name of hybrid form:
Both ant and lion I am called in Greek -
A double metaphor, foreboding doom:
My beak can not ward off the beaks of birds.
Let wise men search out why my names are twain.

Liber IX De Vermibus

IX.13 De Cyniphibus (p.301)

Cyniphes, ut dicit Liber rerum, vermes minimi atquo volantes sunt. Hiis flagellatus legitur Egyptus a Moyse. Anholitum pecudum sequuntur, et hoc maxime hominis. Pungunt, ut Adelinus dicit, quibusdam aculeis dormientes acri satis pro posse dolore. Unde in locis, ubi habundat earum protervitas, delicati homines rete expansum circa lectum habere solent, ut per hoc cyniphes ad nocendum transire non possint. Texe ergo tibi ex assidua lectione et oratione mentis custodiam, ne intrare possit dyabolus ad nocendum.

Enigmata XXXVI (Scnifes)

Corpore sum gracilis, stimulis armatus acerbis;
Scando catervatim volitans super ardua pennis
Sanguineas sumens praedas mucrone cruento
Quadrupedi parcens nulli; sed spicula trudo
Setigeras pecudum stimulans per vulnera pulpas,
Olim famosus vexans Memphitica rura;
Namque toros terebrans taurorum sanguine vescor.

IX.22 De Formicoleon (p.303)

Formicarum leo, qui et mirmicoleon dicitur ab Adelino a mirmin quod est *formica* et leon quod est *leo* quasi formicarum leo. Hic vermis est de genere formicarum, sed multo maior. Cum adhuc parvus est et invalidus robore, pacem atque modestiam simulat ... (7 further lines)

Enigmata XVIII (Myrmicoleon)

Dudum compositis ego nomen gesto figuris:
Ut *leo*, sic *formica* vocor sermone Pelasgo
Tropica nominibus signans praesagia duplis,
Cum rostris avium nequeam resistere rostro.
Scrutetur sapiens, gemino cur nomine fungar!

There are ants in India around the mountains of gold. They are bigger than foxes and exceptionally violent, having four feet and hooked claws on their feet. These beasts are of such strength that they dismember any men they see. They do not readily hurt other animals such as horses, asses and bulls, for they know very well that these will not carry that gold, which they protect from the human race in the aforementioned mountains, away from them without their consent. Those ants have been put there by God, therefore, to punish the boldness of avarice. Isidore and Adelinus write about them. Pliny also says of them: after hiding in winter, they come to India and obtain gold by stealth. However, when they are aroused by the smell of an animal they rush out and tear to shreds the rapid horses or camels which are attempting to flee.

And among other groundless things which are told are the reports of ants in some island or other, black in colour and capable of remarkable speed. An abundance of gold is said to be among these incredible creatures; they preserve it by their labours.

It prepares the eggs very thickly in the autumn, as Pliny and Adelinus tell, and they lie dormant all winter.

(Pitman, p.19)

To farmers I am scarce a welcome friend,
For in great troops I raid the countryside,
Eating their crops, and gnaw the inner bark
From tree-trunks. Long ago I gained renown
By laying waste the kingdoms of the Nile,
When, for the unclean race, ten plagues they bore.
My heart, imprisoned by my midriff, lies
Below my knees; and there my breast is set,
Beneath my haunches like a squatting toad's.

IX.23 De Formicis Indie (p.304)

Formice in India sunt circa montes aureos. Maiores vulpibus sunt, fortes ac seve nimis, *pedes quatuor*¹ habentes et ungues hamatos in pedibus. Hæ bestie tanto fortitudinis sunt, ut visos homines discerpant. Alias vero bestias ut equos vel asinos aut tauros de facili non ledunt, conscie satis quia ad his *aureum* illud, quod in predictis montibus custodiunt contra humanum genus, non auferunt invitis. Ad plectendam ergo temeritatem avaritiæ ibidem a deo locatæ sunt bestie. De his formicis scribunt Ysidorus et Adelinus. Dicit quoque de his Plinius: Illis hyberno tempore conditis, veniunt Indi aurumque furantur. Sed bestie odore sollicitate provolant crebroque lacerant quamquam in velocibus equis sive camelis fugientes.

LM II,16

Et inter ipsa quæ dicunt Inania ferunt formicas in quadam esse insula, et quod .VI. *pedes* et atrum colorem et miram habeant celeritatem depromunt. Cum quibus incredibilibus *auri* abundantia describitur, quos ipsæ sua servant industria.

IX.25 De Locustis Vermibus (p.304)

(1.3) ... Parit ova, ut Plinius et Adelinus dicunt, condensa autumni tempore, quæ durant tota hyeme ... (21 further lines)

Enigmata XXXIV

Quamvis agricolis non sim laudabilis hospes,
Fructus agrorum viridi de cespite rursus
Carpo catervatim rodens de stipite liberos,
Iamdudum celebris spolians Nilotica regna,
Quando decem plagas spurca cum gente luebant.
Cor mihi sub genibus: nam constat carcere saeptum;
Pectore poplitibus subduntur more rubetæ.

1. The error is evidently through misreading of a numeral.

The leech is a worm *which lives in water*. It lacks bones, feet *and wings*. It attacks man and beasts to suck their blood. Blood, in too great abundance, often causes death. Therefore men are in the habit of supplying themselves with these creatures of their own free will, so that they can drink the superfluous blood of the body. But some do this less wisely if they do not feel too great corruption of the blood, since in a healthy man they remove the more noble and well-placed blood. The leech is called 'sanguisuga' after the sucking of blood. There are said to be some among them which are better and bigger without being harmful; these are wrinkled and have lines on the back. There are worse ones which are black. Adelinus the philosopher writes the same things about them. . Indeed, Experimentator says that the leech vomits the blood it has sucked in order to drink fresher blood. It can be stabbed with nettles or thorns to make it regurgitate poison, if it imbibes any from wild animals, toads or water snakes. It clings to flesh; the more it is pulled the more strongly it clasps until at last it breaks in two. It draws out foul blood; by healing another it kills itself. *It has a mouth in the form of a triangle, by which it leaves a triangular wound.*

(Pitman, p.25)

*I haunt, all pale, the waters of foul fens;
Fortune has fashioned me a bloody name,
For greedy gulps of red blood are my fate.
No bones, or feet, or arms at all have I,
Yet bite with three-forked wounds unlucky men,
And by health-bringing lips thus conquer care.*

IX.43 De Sanguisuga (p.309)

Sanguisuga vermis est in aqua manens. *Ossibus caret et pedibus* atque pennis. Hominem impetit et bestias, ut sanguinem sugat. Quorum sanguine in satietate nimia sepius mortem accersit sibi. Sponte se solent homines prebere istis vermibus, ut superfluum corporis sanguinem bibant. Sed minus sapienter aliqui, nisi nimiam corruptionem sanguinis sentiant. Nam in sano homine nobiliorem et bene digestum sanguinem extrahunt. Dicitur autem sanguisuga a re operis sui sanguinem sugens. Meliores et magis sine nocumento dicuntur inter eas, quae rugata ac lineata in dorso sunt; deteriores vero quae nigrae. De his ista Adelinus scribit philosophus. Experimentator vero dicit, quod sanguisuga evomit sanguinem quem hausit, ut recentiores bibat. Cum urticis et tribulis pungitur, ut venenum evomat, si quod in bestiis aut bufonibus vel serpentibus aquaticis hausit. Cum carni adheserit, quanto magis trahitur, tanto fortius insidet, donec rumpatur. Sanguinem putridum extrahit: alium sanando se ipsum occidit. Os habet ad modum trianguli, unde triangulare vulnus relinquit. (3 further lines later addition)

Enigmata XLIII

Lurida per latices et nosas lustris paludes;
Nam mihi composuit nomen fortuna cruentem,
Rubro dum bibulis vescor de sanguine buccis.
Ossibus et pedibus geminisque *carabo* lacertis,
Corpora vulneribus sed mordeo dira trisulcis
Atque salutiferis sic curam praesto labellis.

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GLOSSARIES

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OLD ENGLISH GLOSSARY

All words found in the text are listed. For frequently used words, only the first few locations are cited; *etc.* indicates that there are further occurrences of the word.

The glossary is based on the forms found in V. Forms found exclusively in T are noted where they are significantly different or in instances where readings from T have been preferred for this edition. In such cases both forms appear in the glossary.

The most frequently used spelling has been selected as the head-word. Inflected forms found in the text and any variant spellings present are listed under the head-word.

The prefix *ge-* is ignored for filing purposes.

a *adv.* ever 8,6

o 4,5.

abysgian *u.vb.2* to occupy; busy; engage

abysgode *p.part.* 12,20 *abiscode* 12,20T.

acennan *u.vb.1* to bear; beget

acenned *p.part.* 4,3; 5,1; 28,2. *akenned* 30,1T

acende 7,1; 11,2; 13,9; 15,2 etc. *akende* 7,1T; 11,2T etc.

acwellan *u.vb.1* to strike down; slay

acwealde *pret.3 sing.* 22,12T.

æfter *prep.w.dat.* after 34,9T.

æfter þan *adv.* then; after that 29,11.

æmette *subst.f.* ant

æmettan *nom.pl.* 12,7; 12,18; 12,19 *æmetan* 12,3

æmættan 12,3T.

ær *conj.* before 12,13; 23,11.

æren *adj.* made of brass; brazen

ærenum *dat.pl.* 32,5T.

æt *prep.w.dat.* at 33,1; 32,7V.

æthrinan *u.vb.1* to touch; grasp

æthrined *pres.3 sing.* 4,5; *pl* 8,6; *æthrinað* *pres.3 pl.* 8,6T.

æðm *subst.m.* breath; vapour; smell

æðme *dat.sing.* 34,9T.

æwisc *adj.* shameless; foul

æwisce *nom.pl.f.* 22,13.

akennan *see* acennan.

an *prep.* *see* on.

an *num.* one *f.nom.sing.* 3,10T; 9,3; 25,3; 27,8

anum *dat.sing.n.* 14,4.

and *conj.* and 2,3; 2,4; 2,5; 2,6; 3,6; 3,9; 3,10 *etc.*

ansyn *see* onsyn

anwald *subst.m.* power

anwalde *dat.sing.* 20,8 anwealde 20,8T.

arisan *s.vb.1* to rise; arise

ariseþ *pres.3 sing.* 34,11T.

assa *subst.m.* ass; donkey

assan *nom.pl.* 7,1T.

awæstm *adj.* high

awæstme *nom.pl.m.* 30,3T.

balzamum *subst.* balsam *nom.sing.* 28,2

balsamum 28,2T.

ban *subst.n.* bone

bane *dat.sing.* 33,4T.

be *prep.w.dat.* by; by means of 11,7; 23,1; 23,4; 32,9V.

beard *subst.m.* beard

beardas *acc.pl.* 11,4; 21,3.

begeondan *prep.w.dat.* beyond; across 16,1.

begyman *u.vb.1* to govern; take care of

begymeþ *pres.3 sing.* 32,9T.

beon *anom.vb.* to be

pres.3 sing. is 2,2; 2,5; 3,1; 3,4; 3,5T; 3,9; 4,1 *etc.*

bið 8,11; 10,5; 14,5T *etc.* byð 9,11T; 10,5T; 27,4T *etc.*

pres.3 pl. syndon 3,5; 3,7; 4,6 *etc.* sindon 11,6T; 22,2T

syndan 3,7T; 12,6T; 16,5T *etc.* seondan 17,1; 18,4 24,3

synd 16,5; 24,2

beoð 3,2; 4,3; 5,1; 7,1 *etc.* bioð 11,6T;

syn pres.subj.3 pl. 12,22T
 wæs pret.3 sing. 23,12; 32,3
 wæron pret.3 pl. 22,10.
 berge subst.f. berry; grape
 bergean acc.pl. 33,2 berian 33,2T
 bergean dat.pl. 33,3.
 beswican s.vb.1 betray; seduce; lead astray; deceive
 beswicað pres.3 pl. 29,10.
 betwih prep.w.dat. between 13,1; 13,3; 20,5
 betwyh 13,3T betwyn 13,1T betweoh 20,5T.
 bisceop subst.m. bishop; priest
 bisceopes gen.sing. 32,8V.
 blæc adj. black
 blaces n.gen.sing. 12,6.
 blæcern subst.n. lantern; candle nom.sing. 6,9
 blacern 6,9T; 31,4.
 blod subst.n. blood
 blode dat.sing. 15,7.
 brad adj. broad; wide m.nom.sing. 6,2T
 brade m.nom.pl. 18,5; 30,3V.
 bræd subst.f. breadth; width
 bræde dat.sing. 3,9; 30,3T; 32,2.
 breost subst.n. breast; chest acc.pl. 21,3
 breostum dat.pl. 16,3; 18,3.
 bringan s.vb.3. to bring
 bringaþ pres.3 pl. 14,9.
 buan vb. to dwell; live; be buan oð to extend to
 bued pres.3 sing. 6,3T buað pres.3 pl. 3,3; 8,2; 23,7.
 burh subst.f. city; fortress acc.sing. 3,3; 3,5; 9,1
 burge gen.sing. 3,4 burghe 3,4T
 byrig dat.sing. 3,5T
 burgum dat.pl. 10,6.
 buton prep.w.dat. without; except for 18,2; 29,12; 32,9
 butan 18,2T; 29,12T; 32,9T.

byrnan *w.vb.3* to burn
 byrnende *pres.part.f.nom.sing.* 35,4T.

camb *subst.m.* comb; crest (of a bird)
 cambas *acc.pl.* 34,7T.

ceald *adj.* cold *m.nom.sing.* 27,5; 27,6
 cald 27,5T; 27,6T.

cene *adj.* bold
 cenestan *super.n.nom.pl.* 21,8 kenestan 21,8T.

cennan *w.vb.1* to beget; reproduce *inf.* 14,7
 cende *p.part.10,1; 12,2 etc.* kende 19,1T *etc.* kenned 28,2T.

ceremonn *see* cypemonn

cinnamomum *subst.* cinnamon *nom.sing.* 34,8T.

cneow *subst.n.* knee *acc.sing.* 11,4
 cneo *nom.sing.* 14,5T cneowu *acc.pl.* 14,5.

cuman *s.vb.4* to come
 cymð *pres.3 sing.* 23,10 cymeð 23,10T
 com *pret.3 sing.* 23,12.

cunnan *vb.* to know
 cunnon *pres.3 pl.* 29,6.

cuð *adj.* well-known; familiar
 cuðra *m.gen.pl.* 29,9.

cuðlice *adv.* certainly 16,5.

cwellan *w.vb.1* to kill; slay *inf.* 23,13
 cwealde *pret.3 sing.* 22,12.

gecynd *subst.n.* kind; offspring
 gecynda *acc.pl.* 14,9.

cynedom *subst.m.* kingdom
 cynedome *dat.sing.* 20,8 kynedome 20,8T.

cyning *subst.m.* king
 cinges *gen.sing.* 32,4T
 cyningas *nom/acc.pl.* 23,6; 27,2. kyningas 27,2T.
 cyninga *gen.pl.* 23,8.

cyn *subst.n.* race; kind *nom.sing.* 23,1
 cynnes *gen.sing.* 29,7 kynnes 29,7T
 cyn *nom.pl.* 21,8 kynn 21,8T.

cypemonn *subst.m.* merchant

cypemonnum *dat.pl.* 3,1T ceremonnum 3,1V.

dæg *subst.m.* day

dæges *gen.sing.* 12,9; 27,5; 27,6

dagum *dat.pl.* 32,4.

dæl *subst.m.* portion *nom.sing.* 29,5

dæle *dat.sing.* 23,5; 23,8.

gedefe *adj.* decent; quiet *m.nom.pl.* 32,8T.

gedefelic *adj.* proper; honest

gedefelice *m.nom.pl.* 20,7T.

delfan *s.vb.3* to dig

delfað *pres.3 pl.* 12,7.

deor *subst.n.* animal *nom.pl.* 5,3; 5,4; 5,8; 21,8; 23,2 etc.

deorweorð *adj.* precious; valuable

deorwordan *m.nom.pl.* 20,9T

deorweorðesta *superl.m.nom.sing.* 28,2

deorwyrpystan *m.nom.pl.* 24,1 deorweorðestan 34,8T

deorweorstan 24,1T.

don *vb.* do; cause; make *inf.* 23,14T

gedon *p.part.* 21,4.

draca *subst.m.* dragon

dracan *nom.pl.* 19,1T

dracena *gen.pl.* 19,4.

dun *subst.f.* hill; mountain *nom.sing.* 20,3; 34,1T; 35,1T etc.

dune *dat.sing.* 20,5; 21,8; 34,1T see also ofdune

duna *gen.pl.* 20,6.

dyrstig *adj.* audacious; bold

dyrstige *m.nom.pl.* 12,10

ea *subst.f.* river

nom.sing. 12,1 *acc.sing.* 12,13 etc.

dat.sing. 16,1 *gen.pl.* 13,6 ean *dat.pl.* 13,1.

eac *adv.* also; moreover 5,1; 10,1; 32,7T.

eage *subst.n.* eye

eagan *nom.pl.* 6,9; 31,3 *acc.pl.* 5,5; 18,3.

eahta *num.* eight 2,3; 2,5; 5,4; 9,2; 18,4; 18,5.
 ealdor *subst.m.* chief; prince *nom.sing.* 13,6.
 eall *adj.* all
 ealne *m.acc.sing.* 29,12 eal *n.acc.sing.* 4,6 eall 4,6T
 eall *f.acc.sing.* 29,6T ealra *f.gen.pl.* 20,6 eallum *m.dat.pl.* 6,4; 10,7
 eall *adv.* entirely; wholly 28,2T; 35,4T.
 ealond *subst.n.* island *nom.sing.* 29,1; 31,1; 32,1 *pl.* 18,1
 ealand 29,1T; 31,1T; 32,1T ealande *dat.sing.* 2,4.
 eare *subst.f.* ear *acc.sing.* 30,6
 earan *nom.pl.* 30,8 *acc.pl.* 17,4; 30,4; 30,10.
 earn *subst.m.* eagle
 earnes *gen.sing.* 34,3T.
 east *adv.* east; eastwards 16,1; 30,1; 32,7T
 eastliðende *see* gæstliþende
 eadēlice *see* ypelice
 eft *adv.* again 34,11T.
 ele *subst.m.* oil *nom.sing.* 28,2.
 eletreow *subst.n.* olive tree
 eletreowum *dat.pl.* 28,1.
 elpend *subst.m.* elephant
 elpenda *gen.pl.* 33,4T ylpenda 13,10T.
 elreordig *adj.* barbarian; foreign-speaking
 elreordge *m.nom.pl.* 27,1 ellreordig 27,1T
 elreordegestan *supl.m.nom.pl.* 27,3 elreordigestan 27,3T.
 embe *prep.w.acc.* around; about 12,19
 ymbe 12,19T ymb 21,1.
 eofer *subst.m.* boar
 eoferes *gen.sing.* 10,4; 22,3; 22,9T
 eorðe *subst.f.* earth
 eorþan *acc.sing.* 8,10 *dat.sing.* 12,8.
 eosel *subst.m.* ass; donkey
 eoseles *gen.sing.* 17,4; 22,9V eoselas *nom.pl.* 7,1.
 etan *s.vb.5* to eat
 etap *pres.3 pl.* 11,7.

gefætan *w.vb.1* to load, pack
 gefætað *pres.3 pl.* 12,15.
 fallic *see* fullic
 faran *s.vb.6* to go; travel gefaran *inf.* 19,6
 fereð *pres.3 sing.* 4,1 færð 4,1T; 6,1T
 fareð 12,21 (*for pl.*); 13,6T
 farað *pres.3 pl.* 12,21T; 14,7 faren *subj.pres.3 pl.* 12,13.
 feax *subst.n.* hair *acc.sing.* 11,5; 14,6; 22,4.
 fedan *w.vb.1* to nurture; raise; bring up
 fedað *pres.3 pl.* 21,7.
 fela *pron.* many 23,8; 23,9.
 gefellan *w.vb.1* to fell; slay
 gefylde *p.part.* 22,10 gefelde 22,10T.
 feor *adv.* far; far away 5,3; 15,7; 25,8; 30,11T.
 feorrian *w.vb.2* to withdraw; remove to a distance
 feorriað *pres.3 pl.* 15,7T; 25,8T.
 feower *num.* four 34,2T.
 geferan *w.vb.1* to go; travel *inf.* 35,3T
 fif *num.* five *card.n.nom.* 2,2
 fiftan *ord.f.acc.sing.* 12,9.
 fiftig *num.* fifty
 fiftiges *n.gen.* 19,2; 33,2.
 fiftyne *num.* fifteen *m.nom.* 2,6; 14,2; 30,3.
 fisc *subst.m.* fish
 fixum *dat.pl.* 11,7 fisceon 11,7T.
 flæsc *subst.n.* meat; flesh
 flæsce *dat.sing.* 23,4.
 fleogan *s.vb.2* to fly fleogan *subj.pres.3 pl.* 12,22
 fleogen *subj.pres.3 pl.* 30,11 fleogende *pres.part.n.nom.pl.* 12,22T
 fleon *s.vb.2* to flee
 fleoð *pres.3 pl.* 5,3; 8,10; 15,7; 25,8; 30,11.
 flowan *s.vb.7* to flow
 floweð *pres.3 sing.* 13,6.
 fola *subst.m.* foal; young animal
 folan *acc.pl.* 12,12; 12,13.

folgian *w.vb.1* to follow; pursue
 folgiende *pres.part.m.nom.sing.* 15,7.
 fon *subst.f.* winnowing fan *nom.sing.* 15,5; 30,5
 fann 15,5T; 30,5T.
 gefon *s.vb.7* to seize *inf.* 5,8T; 22,12T
 gefoð *pres.3 pl.* 16,6T; 29,11V.
 for *prep.w.dat.* because of 8,3; 8,11; 9,5; 19,3 *etc.*
 for ðam þe *conj.* because 35,3T.
 foranniht *subst.f.* evening *forannihte dat. sing.* 12,8.
 forbærnan *w.vb.1* to burn up
 forbærnað *pres.3 pl.* 4,6.
 fore *prep.w.dat.* instead of 21,6.
 forlætan *s.vb.7* to abandon; forsake
 forlætað *pres.3 pl.* 12,17.
 fot *subst.m.* foot
 fet *acc.pl.* 5,4; 12,4T; 14,5; 16,2; 17,4; 22,8; 34,2T.
 fota *gen.pl.* 14,2; 15,4; 16,3; 16,4; 18,4; 18,5 *etc.*
 fotmæl *subst.n.* foot-measure; twelve inches
 fotmæla *gen.pl.* 11,2; 19,2; 30,3; 33,2; 33,5T.
 fram *see* from
 freawlitig *adj.* nobly beautiful
 freawliti *n.nom.pl.* 23,2 freawlitige 23,2T.
 fremde *adj.* strange; foreign
 fremdes *n.gen.sing.* 29,7.
 fremful *adj.* generous; hospitable
 fremfulle *m.nom.pl.* 23,9 fremfulfe 23,9T.
 fretan *s.vb.5* to eat up; devour
 fretað *pres.3 pl.* 16,6; 29,12.
 frihtere *subst.m.* soothsayer; fortune teller
 frihteras *nom.pl.* 29,3T frifteras 29,3V.
 from *prep.w.dat.* from, near 2,1; 3,6; 8,1; 9,1; 12,8 *etc.*
 fram 8,1T; 9,1T; 12,8T *etc.* fræm 23,7V.
 fruma *subst.m.* beginning
see onfruman.
 fugel *subst.m.* bird
 fugeles *gen.sing.* 17,4 fugles 17,4T
 fugelas *nom.pl.* 25,7; 34,2T.

fugelcynn *subst.n.* species of bird *nom.sing.* 34,2T; 34,4T.
 fullic *adj.* full (*see Commentary*)
 fullicra *f.gen.pl.* 13,6T.
 gefyllan *w.vb.1* to fill
 gefylled *p.part.* 6,4T; 10,7.
 fyr *subst.n.* fire *acc.sing.* 34,10
 fyres *gen.sing.* 10,5
 fyre *dat.sing.* 8,9.

 gæstlipend *adj.* hospitable
 gæstlipende *m.nom.pl.* 23,6 eastliðende (*error*) 23,6T.
 garsecg *subst.m.* ocean
 garsecges *gen.sing.* 25,2 garsecges 25,2T
 garsecge *dat.sing.* 23,1; 23,7.
 gear *subst.m.* year
 geara *gen.pl.* 23,9
 gearum *dat.pl.* 34,9.
 geneornesse *see* geornfulnysse
 geong *adj.* young *m.nom.sing.* 34,11T.
 geornfulnys *subst.f.* eagerness; diligence; zeal
 geornfulnysse *dat.sing.* 8,8T geneornesse 8,8V.
 gif *conj.* if; when 4,4; 5,7; 8,6; 15,6T; 23,10 *etc.*
 gyf 4,4T; 5,7T; 8,6T; 15,6; 23,10T *etc.*
 gimm *subst.m.* gem; precious stone
 gimmas *nom.pl.* 20,9T gymmas 33,3T.
 god *subst.n.* property; goods
 godum *dat.pl.* 6,4T.
 gold *subst.n.* gold *acc.sing.* 12,7; 12,10; 12,15
 golde *dat.sing.* 12,20.
 græshoppa *subst.m.* grasshopper; locust
 græshoppan *nom.pl.* 12,5.
 great *adj.* thick; large
 greate *m.nom.pl.* 19,3.
 grimlice *adv.* fiercely; savagely 5,8.

growan *s.vb.7* to grow

growað *pres.3 pl.* 24,2.

gyf *see* gif

gyfan *s.vb.5* to give

gifað *pres.3 pl.* 23,10 gyfað *23,10T.*

gylden *adj.* golden *nom.sing.* 33,1

gylde 33,1T.

gymm *see* gimm

habban *s.vb.3* to have

hafað *pres.3 sing.* 6,5; 33,2.

habbað *pres.3 pl.* 5,4; 6,7; 7,1; 8,5; 10,3, 11,4 *etc.*

hand *subst.f.* hand *acc.sing.* 30,10.

hat *adj.* hot *m.nom.sing.* 27,5; 27,6.

hatan *s.vb.7* to command; order; call; name

hateð *pres.3 sing.* 24,4; 34,8T

hatte *pass.pres.3 sing.* 2,2; 2,3; 2,6; 3,6; 3,10; 6,1T *etc.*

hatton *pass.pres.3 pl.* 8,4; 17,3 hattan 8,4T; 17,3T

het *pret.3 sing.* 3,8

haten *p.part.* 4,2; 12,2; 13,8

hatene *p.part.nom.pl.* 10,2; 11,6.

he *pron.* *m.nom.sing.* 8,6; 22,13; 23,12; 34,10T

hyne *acc.sing.* 16,6; 29,8 hine 16,6T; 29,8T; 29,10 *etc.*

his *gen.sing.* 4,6; 29,8; 29,12T; 34,9T

heo *f.nom.sing.* 13,6

hi *nom.pl.* 4,6T; 5,3T; 8,6T *etc.* hy 4,6; 5,3; 5,8 *etc.*

hi *acc.pl.* 4,4; 5,7T; 12,18T *etc.* hy 12,18; 22,10 *etc.*

hyra *gen.pl.* 4,5T; 8,8T; 12,12 *etc.* heora 8,8; 10,5; 18,3 *etc.*

him *dat.pl.* 5,7; 12,11; 15,6; 20,8T; 21,4; 23,6T; 23,10 *etc.*

heafod *subst.n.* head *acc.sing.* 30,4; 34,3T

heafde *dat.sing.* 14,4; 29,4; 29,12; 29,13; 34,7T.

heafdu *nom.pl.* 15,3 *acc.pl.* 5,6; 6,7; 10,4 *etc.*

heafda *nom.pl.* 15,3T *acc.pl.* 5,6T; 6,7T; 10,4T *etc.*

heafdum *dat.pl.* 18,2.

heah *adj.* high
 hyhst *superl.f.nom.sing.* 20,6 highest 20,6T.
 gehealdan *s.vb.7* to hold; keep; govern
 gehealdeð *pres.3 sing.* 32,9T
 healdap *pres.3 pl.* 8,8.
 healf *subst.f.* half; side *adj.* half *f.nom.sing.* 3,11; 9,3 etc.
 half *f.nom.sing.* 3,11T
 healfe *acc.sing.* 8,1; 11,1; 25,2.
 healfhunding *subst.m.* Cynocephalus healfhundingas *nom.pl.* 10,1.
 hela *subst.m.* heel
 helan *acc.pl.* 11,5; 22,4.
 hen *subst.f.* hen
 henna *nom.pl.* 4,3.
 heow *see* hiw
 hi *see* he
 hiw *subst.n.* colour
 hiwes *gen.sing.* 4,4T; 15,3T; 16,4T; 24,3T
 heowes 4,4; 12,6; 15,3 hyiwes 24,3.
 hof *subst.n.* house; hall; court
 hofa *acc.pl.* 32,8T.
 horn *subst.m.* horn
 hornas *acc.pl.* 7,2; 8,5.
 hors *subst.n.* horse
 horses *gen.sing.* 10,3; 21,4.
 hrædlice *adv.* swiftly; quickly 12,21; 30,11.
 hrægl *subst.n.* clothing hrægle *dat.sing.* 21,4.
 hreaw *adj.* raw
 hreawum *m.dat.sing.* 23,4 hreawan 23,4T
 hreawum *m.dat.pl.* 11,7.
 hryðer *subst.m.* cow; ox
 hryðeres *gen.sing.* 34,3T.
 hund *subst.m.* dog
 hundas *nom.pl.* 12,3
 hunda *gen.pl.* 10,4
 hundum *dat.pl.* 21,6T.
 hund *num.* hundred 2,2; 2,3; 9,2; 9,3.

hundicgea *see* huntigystra
 hundteontig *num.* hundred *nom.sing.* 2,5; 2,6.
 hundteotige *gen.sing.* 19,2V; hundteontiges 19,2T; 33,2.
 hunig *subst.m.* honey
 hunie *dat.sing.* 23,4 hunige 23,4T.
 gehuntigan *v.vb.2* to hunt
 gehuntigað *pres.3 pl.* 21,9T.
 huntigystra *subst.f.* huntress
 huntigystran *acc.pl.* 21,5T
 hundicgean 21,5V.
 hwil *subst.f.* period of time; while
 hwile *acc.sing.* 12,19.
 hwit *adj.* white *n.acc.sing.* 14,3
 hwhite *m.nom.pl.* 30,8.
 hwitnys *subst.f.* whiteness
 hwitnysse *dat.sing.* 22,7T hiwnesse (*error in V*) 22,7V.
 hwylc *adj.* some; whatever *m.nom.sing.* 4,4; 5,7; 15,6T; 23,10T.
 hwilc 15,6; 23,10 hlyc 4,4T
 hwilcne *m.acc.sing.* 8,6; 25,8 hwylcne 8,6T; 15,6; 16,5 *etc.*
 hyd *subst.f.* hide; skin
 hyda *acc.pl.* 21,4.
 gehyran *v.vb.1* to hear
 gehyrað *pres.3 pl.* 5,3.

 ic *pron.* I
 us *dat.pl.* 4,4; 29,3.
 ilca *adj.* same
 ilcan *f.dat.sing.* 12,1; 32,7 ylcan 12,1T; 32,7T; 34,4T.
 in *prep.v.dat.* in 3,5T; 12,1; 14,9; 15,1; 29,1; 31,2T.
 isern *adj.* iron
 isernum *n.dat.pl.* 32,5.

 kene *see* cene
 kennan *see* cennan
 kynedom *see* cynedom
 kyning *see* cyning
 kynn *see* cynn

gelæccan *v.vb.1* to seize
 gelæccað *pres.3 pl.* 16,6.
 lædan *v.vb.1* to lead; bring; carry
 lædað *pres.3 pl.* 12,11.
 læssa *comp.adj.* lesser; smaller
 læssan *n.gen.sing.* 2,2; 2,5; 3,5; 3,9; 6,2 etc.
 lætan *s.vb.7* to permit; allow
 læten *pres.subj.3 pl.* 23,11.
 land *subst.n.* land *nom.sing.* 3,9; 6,1T etc. *acc.sing.* 19,5
 lond *nom.sing.* 3,9T
 landes *gen.sing.* 11,1
 lande *dat.sing.* 2,1; 7,1; 11,2; 13,6; 30,9
 landum *dat.pl.* 8,7; 15,6; 20,2; 25,8; 30,9.
 landbuend *subst.m.* colony; colonisation *nom.sing.* 2,1.
 landgemære *subst.n.* boundary; frontier *nom.pl.* 23,7T
 landgemæra 23,7.
 lang *adj.* long *n.nom.sing.* 6,2 *f.nom.sing.* 33,5T
 lange *nom.pl.* 11,3T; 14,2; 15,4 etc. *f.acc.sing.* 14,5
 longe *acc.pl.* 25,7 long 25,7T.
 lað *subst.n.* evil; harm; injury *acc.sing.* 23,14
 laðes *gen.sing.* 23,14T
 lawernbeame *subst.m.* laurel tree
 lawernþeabe (*error in 1*) *dat.sing.* 28,1V
 laurbeame 28,1T.
 leaslic *adj.* false; dishonest
 leaslicum *n.dat.pl.* 29,10.
 leg *subst.m.* flame *nom.sing.* 10,5
 lig 10,5T.
 lendunu *subst.n.* loins
 lendunum *dat.pl.* 22,6 lendum 22,6T.
 lengu *subst.f.* length
 lenge *dat.sing.* 3,9; 11,2; 19,2; 32,2; 33,5T.
 leodhata *subst.m.* tyrant leodhatan *acc.pl.* 23,7.
 leoht *adj.* light
 leohte *n.nom.pl.* 30,8.

leohte *adv.* brightly 6,9; 31,4.
 leon *subst.m.* lion
 leona *gen.pl.* 15,3
 leon (*retranslation*) 21,7V leones *see* leuu
 leopardus *subst.m.* leopard
 leopardos *acc.pl.* 21,7T.
 leuu *subst.f.* league (Gallic unit of measurement)
 leuua *acc.pl.* 2,3T; 2,6T; 3,6T; 3,10T; 9,3T *etc.*
 leon (*error in V*) 3,6V; 3,10V leones 2,3V; 2,6V; 9,9V *etc.*
 libban *see* lifian
 liblac *subst.n.* witchcraft; poisoning *nom.pl.* 4,6 lyblac 4,6T.
 lic *subst.n.* body *nom.sing.* 22,7 *acc.sing.* 4,6 lice *dat.sing.* 29,5T.
 gelic *adj.* similar *n.nom.sing.* 29,5T
 lichoma *subst.m.* body
 lichoman *dat.sing.* 5,8; 22,13; 30,8.
 gelicnes *subst.f.* form; likeness
 gelicnesse *dat.sing.* 25,6.
 lifian *v.vb.3* to live; live upon
 lyfað *pres.3 sing.* 23,9 lifað 23,9T
 lifiað *pres.3 pl.* 11,7; 23,4 libbað 11,7T lifigeað 23,4T
 lifede *pret.3 sing.* 32,9V
 lifiende *pres.part.f.acc.pl.* 22,12.
 lifelic *adj.* soft; gentle; mild
 lifelice *f.acc.sing.* 25,7.
 lond *see* land
 londbunis *subst.f.* colony; settlement *nom.sing.* 3,1; 13,1
 lanbunes *nom.sing.* 3,1T londbunes 13,1T.
 long *see* lang
 lox *subst.m.* panther
 loxas *acc.pl.* 21,7V.

 mæg *subst.m.* kinsman; relative
 magas *acc.pl.* 29,8.
 mæneggio *subst.f.* multitude *nom.sing.* 2,4
 menigeo 2,4T
 mænego *dat.sing.* 8,3; 9,5 mænigeo 8,3T menigeo 9,5T

mænigfeald *see* monigfeald
 mærdū *subst.f.* wonder; symbol of glory
 mærdā *nom.pl.* 3,7.
 mæst *see* micel
 magan *s.vb.5* to be able
 mæg *pres.3 sing.* 19,4; 19,5T; 35,3T
 mehte *pret.3 sing.* 22,13 mihte 22,13T.
 man *subst.m.* man, one *nom.sing.* 4,4; 15,6; 24,4T *etc.*
 mon 4,1; 4,4T; 5,7; 6,1T; 8,9; 23,10; 24,4 *etc.*
 man *acc.sing.* 8,6; 16,5 *etc.* mann 16,5T; 36,3T mannan 29,7 *etc.* monnan 15,6
 mannes *gen.sing.* 5,3; 29,5T
 men *nom.pl.* 11,2; 12,10 *etc.* menn 18,2T; 20,7T; 23,3T *etc.*
 men *acc.pl.* 15,8 menn 15,8T
 manna *gen.pl.* 19,4; 29,9
 mannum *dat.pl.* 35,3T.
 mana *subst.f.* mane
 manan *acc.sing.* 10,3T mana 10,3V.
 mancyn *subst.n.* race of men *nom.sing.* 23,8; 29,2
 moncyn 24,3; 29,2T
 mannkynn 23,8T; 24,3T.
 maneg *adj.* many
 manege *m.nom.pl.* 23,8T.
 mara *see* micel
 marmorstan *subst.m.* marble
 marmorstanes *gen.sing.* 22,7.
 menigeo *see* mænegeo
 mennisc *adj.* human
 mennisce *acc.sing.* 29,5; 29,6 mennisc 29,6T
 menniscum *dat.sing.* 25,5.
 menniscnes *subst.f.* humanity; kindness
 menniscnesse *gen.sing.* 23,13 menniscnysse 23,13T.
 meolc *subst.f.* milk *nom.sing.* 30,9.
 mere *subst.f.* mare; female animal
 meran *acc.pl.* 12,12; 12,15 myran 12,12T; 12,15T
 merun *dat.pl.* 12,20 myran 12,20T.

meregrot *subst.n.* pearl
 meregrota *nom.pl.* 33,3T.
 mete *subst.m.* food *acc.sing.* 32,8V.
 micel *adj.* big; great *m.nom.sing.* 2,4 micla 3,8 miccla 3,8T
 micelne *m.acc.sing.* 15,5
 miclan *n.gen.sing.* 2,3; 2,6; 3,10; 9,3 etc. micclan 2,3T etc.
 miclan *m.dat.sing.* 22,11 mycclan 22,11T
 micle *n.acc.sing.* 13,8 micel 30,4
 miclan *nom.pl.* 3,7 etc. mycclan 3,7T etc. micle 12,3
 micle *acc.pl.* 7,1; 8,5
 maran *comp.n.gen.sing.* 3,6; 27,8; 28,4T
 mæst *superl.f.nom.sing.* 3,4; 20,6 mæste 20,3
 mæstan *f.dat.sing.* 7,2.
 micelnes *subst.f.* size; greatness
 micelnesse *dat.sing.* 3,2; 19,4 micelnysse 19,4T mycelnysse 22,10T.
 mid *prep.* with; among 4,4; 8,9; 12,11; 12,12; 12,20 etc.
 mil *subst.f.* mile *nom.sing.* 3,11; 9,3; 25,3; 27,8
 mila *nom.pl.* 6,2; 9,2; 27,7T.
 milgetæl *subst.n.* measurement for distances
 milgetæles *gen.sing.* 2,2 etc. milgeteles 9,2; 9,3 etc.
 gemon *adj.* maned; having a mane
 gemonu *n.nom.pl.* 15,3.
 mona *subst.m.* moon
 monan *gen.sing.* 27,4; 27,6.
 moncyn *see* mancyn
 monigfeald *adj.* many; manifold
 monigfealde *f.acc.pl.* 23,6 mænigfealde 23,6T.
 muð *subst.m.* mouth *acc.sing.* 15,5; 18,3.
 myre *see* mere

 nædre *subst.f.* snake
 nædran *nom.pl.* 6,7; 8,10 næddran 8,8; 8,10T *acc.pl.* 6,5
 nædrena *gen.pl.* 8,3; 9,5 næddrena 8,3T; 9,5T.
 nænig *adj.* none; not any *m.nom.sing.* 19,4T; 35,3T
 nænine *m.acc.sing.* 32,8V.

nafola *subst.m.* navel
 nafolan *acc.sing.* 25,5; 29,4 nafelan 25,5T; 29,4T.
 naht *adv.* not; not at all 19,4T.
 nama *subst.m.* name *nom.sing.* 3,4
 noma 3,4T
 naman *acc.pl.* 29,9.
 nan *num.* no; none 19,4V; 23,14V.
 nawiht *pron.* nothing 23,14T.
 ne *neg.part.* not 19,4; 32,8V etc. *conj.* neither .. nor 23,13; 23,14.
 neah *prep.* near 10,6; 23,7.
 neaht *see* niht
 neb *subst.n.* face; nose *acc.pl.* 14,4.
 nemnan *v.vb.1* to name; call
 nemnað *pres.3 pl.* 13,7,24; nænnað 13,7T; 29,8T
 nemned *p.part.* 16,5; 29,3 nemde 16,5T; 21,5.
 nest *subst.n.* nest *nom.sing.* 34,8T.
 niht *subst.f.* night *acc.sing.* 30,6
 nihtes *gen.sing.* 6,9; 27,5; 27,6 neahtes 27,6T
 nihte *dat.sing.* 31,4. *See also* foranniht.
 genihtsumnis *subst.f.* abundance *nom.sing.* 8,7.
 genihtsumnys 8,7T.
 niman *s.vb.4* to take; seize; capture
 nimeð *pres.3 sing.* 8,9
 nimað *pres.3 pl.* 12,11T; 30,10; ðhymað 30,10
 nimen *subj.pres.3 pl.* 12,10.
 noma *see* nama
 nosu *subst.f.* nose
 nosa *acc.sing.* 14,5.

 o *see* a
 of *prep.w.dat.* of; from; out of 8,10; 9,3; 12,8; 13,6 etc.
 ofacennan *v.vb.1* to bear; give birth
 ofacende *p.part.* 24,2.
 ofðune *adv.* 8,10.
 ofer *prep.w.acc.* over; above; across 12,13; 12,21; 29,13.
 oferfon *s.vb.7* to capture 22,12.

olfend subst.m. camel

olfendan gen.sing. 22,8 olfenda gen.pl. 13,10V; 22,8T.

on prep. on; in 2,2; 2,4; 3,2; 3,9; 7,1; 8,1 etc.

onælan v.vb.1 to kindle; set fire to

onæled³ pres.3 sing. 8,9; 34,10T

onælað³ pres.3 pl. 5,8V

onele subj.pres.3 sing. 31,4 onæle 31,4T.

onfindan s.vb.3 to discover; perceive

onfindað³ pres.3 pl. 12,18.

onfon s.vb.7 to take; seize onfoð 29,11T
onfruman adv. in the beginning; firstly 2,1.
ongen adv. back 5,8T.

ongietan s.vb.5 to perceive; recognise

ongytað³ pres.3 pl. 25,8; 30,9 ongitað³ 15,6; 25,8T; 30,9T.

onlic adj. like; similar onlice nom.pl. 4,3.

onsittan s.vb.5 to sit upon

onsittað³ pres.3 pl. 12,15.

onsyn subst.f. appearance

onsyne dat.sing. 24,3 ansyne 24,3T.

onweg adv. away 23,11.

oroð³ subst.n. breath nom.sing. 10,5

oruð³ 10,5T.

ostre subst.f. oyster

ostrum dat.pl. 32,9V.

oð³ prep. up to; as far as 3,3; 6,3T; 9,1; 11,4; 11,5 etc.

oðer pron. other; the other m.nom.sing. 27,4

oðran n.dat.sing. 30,6.

adj. oðer m.nom.sing 29,5; 35,3T n.nom.sing. 18,1T; 20,1 etc.

oðerne m.acc.sing. 32,8V oðer n.acc.sing. 30,6

oðere nom.pl. 18,1; 22,1 oðre 22,1T.

oððe conj. or; otherwise 4,5; 8,6; 15,6; 25,8; 30,9 etc.

oxa subst.m. ox; cow

oxan gen.sing. 22,5 nom.pl. 7,2

oxna gen.pl. 3,2

pawa subst.m. peacock
 pawan nom.pl. 34,7T.
 pipor subst.m. pepper nom.sing. 8,11; 9,2 acc.sing. 8,8;8,9
 pipores gen.sing. 8,7.

 quietus adj. (drawn directly from Latin text) 32,8V.

 raðe adv. quickly 5,3T.
 read adj. red
 reades n.gen.sing. 4,4; 12,6
 reade acc.pl. 14,5.
 gereord subst.f. language; tongue acc.sing. 29,6.
 rest subst.f. couch; bed nom.sing. 33,4T.
 rice subst.n. kingdom; empire nom.sing. 20,1; 25,1
 rices gen.sing. 23,5.
 rim subst.n. number
 rime dat.sing. 2,2T gerime 2,2

 sacerð subst.m. priest nom.sing. 32,8T.
 sæ subst.m/f. sea nom.sing. 32,9V.
 gesælan v.vb.1 to tie up
 gesælað pres.3 pl. 12,13.
 sarogimm subst.m. hand-carved gem
 sarogimmas nom.pl. 20,9V saragimmas 33,3V.
 sceap subst.n. sheep
 sceapes gen.sing. 17,4
 sceapa gen.pl. 2,4.
 gesceap subst.n. form; shape
 gesceape dat.sing. 25,5 gescape 25,5T.
 scinan s.vb.1 to shine
 scinað pres.3 pl. 6,9; 31,4.
 scinlac subst.n. sorcery; witchcraft; poisoning
 scinlace dat.sing. 21,9V.
 scip subst.n. ship
 scipum dat.pl. 14,8.

sconca *subst.m.* leg; shank
 sconcan *acc.pl.* 16,3; 25,7 sceancan 16,3T; 25,7T.
 se *dem. and rel. pron.; def.art.* the; that *m.nom.sing.* 3,8; 8,11 *etc.*
 þone *m.acc.sing.* 8,8; 8,9; 20,8; 25,5; 29,4.
 þæs *m.gen.sing.* 25,2; 32,4T
 þæm *m.dat.sing.* 4,3; 8,2 *etc.* þam 7,2T þan 4,3T
 seo *f.nom.sing.* 2,1; 3,1; 3,4T *etc.* sio 3,4;
 þa *f.acc.sing.* 8,1; 8,9; 8,10; 9,1; 11,1 *etc.*
 þære *f.gen.sing.* 3,4
 þæt *n.nom.sing.* 3,9; 6,1T; 6,2 *etc.* *acc.sing.* 12,10; 12,15 *etc.*
 þæs *n.gen.sing.* 2,2; 2,3; 2,5; 2,6; 3,5; 3,6 *etc.*
 þon *n.dat.sing.* 12,10; 18,2 *etc.* þam 12,10T; 12,20; 18,2T *etc.*
 þa *nom.pl.* 3,3; 3,7; 5,3 *etc.* *acc.pl.* 12,13; 12,15 *etc.*
 þara *gen.pl.* 6,9; 8,3; 9,5 *etc.* þæra 6,9T; 9,5T; 21,8T *etc.*
 þæm *dat.pl.* 8,3; 10,6 *etc.* þam 12,20; 24,1T; 25,8T *etc.*
 seað *subst.m.* lake *nom.sing.* 27,4; 27,6
 seaðas *nom.pl.* 27,3.
 seofon *num.* seven 16,4
 seofan 16,4T.
 geseon *s.vb.5* to see; observe
 geseoþ *pres.3 pl.* 29,7; 30,9.
 setl *subst.n.* seat; throne *nom.sing.* 32,8V.
 gesettan *w.vb.1* to set; place; establish
 geseted *p.part.* 3,1; 13,3.
 side *subst.f.* side
 sidan *acc.pl.* 16,3.
 side *adv.* widely; far 11,4; 21,3; 22,4.
 sittan *s.vb.5* to sit
 sittað *pres.3 pl.* 29,13.
 six see syx
 slean *s.vb.6* to slay; strike; kill
 sleað *pres.3 pl.* 8,6.
 sona *adv.* immediately; at once 4,6; 5,8T; 8,6.
 stadium *subst.n.* unit of measure - 125 paces or 625 Roman feet
 stadia *pl.* 2,2T; 2,5T stadio 2,2; 2,5 stadi 3,5; 3,10 *etc.*
 stænen *adj.* made of stone
 stænene *m.nom.pl.* 19,3.

stan *subst.m.* stone
 stanas *nom.pl.* 24,1.
 steda *subst.m.* steed; stallion; male animal
 stedan *acc.pl.* 12,17; 12,19 *dat.pl.* 12,12.
 stefn *subst.f.* voice
 stefne *acc.sing.* 5,3; 25,7.
 stille *adj.* quiet
 stillestan *superl.m.gen.sing.* 32,8V.
 stow *subst.f.* place *nom.sing.* 4,1; 6,5; 9,4; 27,1 *etc.*
 steow 6,5T;
 stowe *acc.sing.* 8,9 *dat.sing.* 12,1; 25,1; 28,1 *etc.*
 stowe *acc.pl.* 21,1
 stowum *dat.pl.* 8,3; 13,9.
 sum *adj.* a certain *nom.sing.* 4,1; 29,1; 31,1 *etc.*
 sumon *dat.sing.* 7,1; 11,2.
 sunnanhalig *adj.* sacred to the sun *n.nom.sing.* 32,7T.
 sunne *subst.f.* sun
 sunnan *gen.sing.* 27,4; 32,7V; 33,1.
 suð *adj.indecl.* south 8,1; 11,1; 18,1; 25,2.
 swa *adv.* so; thus 5,1T; 8,9; 12,5; 12,21; 21,3; *etc.*
 conj. as; as ... as 6,9; 7,2; 8,5; 12,3; 15,3; 16,5 *etc.*
 swæ 15,5; 30,5.
 swætan *w.vb.1* to bleed; sweat
 swætað *pres.3 pl.* 15,8.
 sweart *adj.* black *m.nom.sing.* 8,11 *n.acc.sing.* 14,6
 sweartes *n.gen.sing.* 16,4T; 24,3
 swearte *nom.pl.* 35,2T.
 swelc *adj.* such
 swelce *m.nom.pl.* 12,5 swylce 12,5T *n.nom.pl.* 33,3T.
 swer *subst.m.* column; pillar
 sweras *nom.pl.* 19,3.
 swift *adj.* fast; swift
 swifte *nom.pl.* 12,21T.
 swiðe *adv.* very; greatly 14,5T; 21,5T; 30,8
 swyðe 14,5; 30,11
 swiðast *superl.* 33,4T swyðust 3,1 swiðost 3,1T.

swylc *see* swelc
 swylce *conj.* as, like 10,1; 10,5.
 swyltan *s.vb.3* to die
 swylted³ *pres.3 sing.* 8,6 swylt 8,6T.
 sylf *pron.* himself; herself; itself; themselves
 sylfe *nom.pl.* 12,15.
 syððan *conj.* after; then 25,6.
 syx *num.* six 9,3; 11,2;
 six 11,2T syxa 33,5T.
 syxtig *num.* sixty 2,3T; 2,5T.

 tægl *subst.m.* tail *acc.sing.* 22,5; 34,3T.
 getal *subst,n.* way of measuring
 getales *gen.sing.* 27,7T.
 getellan *w.vb.1* to count; reckon
 geteald *p.part.* 25,2; 27,2 getald 27,2T.
 temple *subst.n.*; temple *nom.sing.* 32,4
 templ 32,4T; 32,7T.
 tid *subst.f.* time; hour *acc.sing.* 12,9.
 getigan *s.vb.1* to tie up
 getigað³ *pres.3 pl.* 12,1T.
 tiger *subst.m.* tiger
 tigras *acc.pl.* 21,6.
 tymbrian *w.vb.2* to build
 getymbro *p.part.* 32,3V timbred 32,3T.
 to *prep.w.dat.* to; into; for; as; in 2,5; 3,5; 4,1; 6,1T *etc.*
 tohuntian *w.vb.2* to hunt down
 tohuntiað³ *pres.3 pl.* 21,9.
 tosettan *w.vb.1* to seat; place; establish
 togesett *p.part.* 32,8T.
 toð³ *subst.m.* tooth
 teð³ *acc.pl.* 22,9 .
 treo *subst.n.* tree
 treowum *dat.pl.* 28,2.
 treowcyn *subst.n.* kind of tree *nom.pl.* 24,1; 28,1
 treowcynn *nom.pl.* 24,1T; 28,1T.

tu *see* twa
 tux *subst.m.* tusk
 tuxas *acc.pl.* 10,4; 22,3 tuxas 10,4T; 22,3T.
 twa *num.* two 5,6; 6,7; 14,4
 twegen 27,3
 tu 14,4T
 twam *dat.* 13,1.
 twelf *num.* twelve 16,3T.
 twentig *num.* twenty 25,2T
 twentiges *gen.* 15,4T.
 twiman *subst.m.* a creature not indubitably man
 twimen *nom.pl.* 11,6.
 twylic *adj.* dubious
 twylice *m.nom.pl.* 11,6T; 25,4T.
 tyn *num.* ten 30,3.

 þa *adv.; conj.* then; when 22,12; 23,12.
 þænne *see* þonne
 þær *adv; conj.* there; where 3,2; 3,7; 5,1; 9,2T etc.
 þar 9,2; 19,1; 27,3.
 þæt *conj.* that 8,9; 12,10; 12,21; 12,22; 30,11
 þætte 24,2T; 30,11T.
 þanon *adv.* thence; from there 2,4; 3,5T; 16,1T; 23,7
 þonon 3,5; 16,1 þanan 23,7T; 30,1T.
 þe *rel.particle* which; that 2,2; 2,3; 2,6; 3,6; 3,8 etc.
 þeostre *adj.* dark *f.dat.sing* 31,4 þystre 31,4T.
 þicean *s.v.b.5* to eat; partake of þige *subj.pres.3 sing.* 32,91.
 þis *dem.pron.* this *n.nom.sing.* 23,8
 þeos *f.nom.sing.* 6,5
 þisse *dat.sing.* 25,1; 28,1 þysse 28,1T
 þas *nom.pl.* 10,6; 15,8 *acc.pl.* 21,1
 þýsson *dat.pl.* 13,1 þýssum 13,1T; 13,9.
 þonne *adv; conj.* then; than 4,6; 5,1; 5,3; 5,8; 6,1T; 6,2T etc.
 þon 23,10 þænne 29,11T.
 þreo *num.* three 2,3; 25,2T; 33,5T.

preosellic *adj.* tripartite

preosellices *n.gen.sing.* 15,2T.

þryttýne *num.* thirteen 22,6

þreotýne 22,6T.

geþungen *adj.* excellent; pious *m.nom.sing.* 32,8T.

þusend *num.* thousand 34,9T.

þystre *see* þeostre

under *prep.v.dat.* under 27,2T *adv.* underneath 23,6; 27,2.

underbredan *v.vb.1* to spread underneath

underbredað *pres.3 pl.* 30,6.

ungefrægelic *adj.* unheard-of *ungefrægelicu nom.1 2.4,6; 5,8*

ungefregelicu 5,8T *ungefrelicu* 4,6T.

unwæstmberenlic *adj.* unfruitful; barren

unwæstmberenlicu *f.nom.sing.* 9,4 *unwæstmberendlicu* 9,4T.

unweorð *adj.* worthless; contemptible

unweorþe *f.nom.pl.* 22,13.

up *adv.* up 12,7

upp 34,11T.

upgang *subst.m.* rising

upgange *dat.sing.* 32,7V.

wælcýrie *subst.f.* valkyrie

wælcýrian *gen.sing.* 5,5 *wælkýrian* 5,5T.

wæstm *subst.f.* fruit; growth; stature

wæstme *dat.sing.* 7,2; 30,3.

wæter *subst.n.* water *acc.sing.* 13,8.

weaxan *s.vb.7* to grow; increase

weaxed *pres.3 sing.* 9,2

weaxat *pres.3 pl.* 33,4T

geweaxene *p.part.* 29,3.

wen *subst.f.* opinion; belief *nom.sing.* 30,11.

wenan *v.vb.1* to think; imagine; believe

wenað *pres.3 pl.* 12,22

gewende *p.part.* 15,8. *gewenede* 15,8T.

geweorc *subst.n.* work *nom.pl.* 3,7
 geworcum *dat.pl.* 32,5T geweorcum 32,5T.
 weorold *see* world
 weorðan *s.vb.3* to become; be
 wurdon *pret.3 pl.* 22,10T.
 wepan *s.vb.7* weep; mourn
 wepað *pres.3 pl.* 29,13
 wesan *see* beon
 westen *subst.n.* desert westene *dat.sing.* 7,2T.
 weðer *subst.m.* ram weðras *nom.pl.* 3,2 weðeras 8,5.
 widnes *subst.f.* width *nom.sing.* 27,7
 wide 27,7T.
 wif *subst.n.* woman *acc.sing.* 23,10 *nom.pl.* 21,2; 22,1; 22,6.
 wildeor *subst.n.* wild animal *nom.pl.* 5,1; 17,1
 wildor 5,1T
 wildeora *gen.pl.* 21,8; 23,1.
 willan *vb.* to desire; wish; want
 wile *pres.3 sing.* 4,5; 5,8T wille 5,8
 willað *pres.3 pl.* 14,7
 wolde *pret.3 sing.* 23,13.
 wingearð *subst.m.* vine; vineyard *nom.sing.* 33,1
 wingearðas *nom.pl.* 33,4T.
 word *subst.n.* word
 wordum *dat.pl.* 29,10.
 world *subst.f.* world *acc.sing.* 14,9
 weorold 14,9T.
 worldwela *subst.m.* earthly riches
 worldwelum *dat.pl.* 10,7 woruldwelum 10,7T.
 gewræðan *v.vb.1* to savage at
 gewræðað *pres.3 pl.* 5,8T.
 wreon *s.vb.1;2* to cover
 wreoð *pres.3 pl.* 30,7.
 wulle *subst.f.* wool *acc.sing.* 17,4.
 wundrian *v.vb.2* to wonder at
 wundrende *pres.part.* 23,12 wundriende 23,12T.

wynstra *adj.* left; left-hand side (hence north)
wynstran *m.dat.sing.* 23,5; 23,7.
gewyrcean *w.vh.1* to make; build; bring about
wyrcað *pres.3 pl.* 34,8T
gewyrcean *pass.inf.* 3,8 gewyrcean 3,8T
geworht *p.part.* 32,5T; 33,4T
wyrst *superl.adj.* worst
wyrstan *m.nom.pl.* 27,2.
wyrtemang *subst.n.* spice
wyrtemangum *dat.pl.* 34,8T.

ylca *see* ilca
ylpend *see* elpend
ymbe *see* embe
ysel *subst.f.* ash
yselum *dat.pl.* 34,11.
ypelice *adv.* easily 19,4
eaðelice 19,4T.

OLD FRENCH GLOSSARY

All words found in the text are listed. For frequently used words, only the first few locations are cited; etc. indicates that there are further occurrences of the form.

For verbs, the entry is made under an infinitive. Where this form is not used in the text, the infinitive closest to the forms present has been selected from Godefroy, *Dictionnaire Francais du IX^e au XIV^e siecle* or Tobler and Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*. All other words are listed as found, including inflected forms.

a *prep.* to; at 4,2; 4,5; 5,8; 6,1; 8,4; 9,1; 12,9 etc.

u *contracted form* at the 12,19; 13,5; 18,7; 23,6.

alainnes *subst.f.acc.pl.* breath 10,5.

aler *vb.i.inf.* to go 12,16; 19,4; va *pres.3 sing.* 4,2; 23,10;
vont *pres.3 pl.* 29,7.

anemis *subst.m.nom.pl.* enemy 16,5.

ans *subst.m.acc.pl.* year 34,9.

apeler *vb.tr.* to call apele *pres.3 sing.* 11,6; 15,8; 16,5; 18,7;
23,2; apelent *pres.3 pl.* 13,7; apeles *p.part.m.sing.* 4,1;
apelee *p.part.f.sing.* 13,2; 32,3; apele *p.part.m.pl.* 23,8;
24,2.

apres *prep./conj.* then; afterwards 5,1; 6,1; 7,1; 15,1; 16,1 etc.

arain *subst.f.acc.sing.* bronze 32,5.

arbre *subst.m.nom.pl.* tree 28,1 arbres *nom.pl.* 24,1.

ardre *vb.tr.* to burn art *pres.3 sing.* 35,4; arderoit
cond.3 sing. 4,6; s'art *refl.pres.3.sing.* 34,10.

asne *subst.m.acc.sing.* ass 22,9; *nom.pl.* 7,1.

atout *prep.* together with 12,16.

aucun *adj.m.acc.sing.* some; any 5,3; 8,6; 14,7; aucunes *f.acc.pl.*
1,2; aucuns *pron.nom.sing.* anyone 23,10.

aus *pron.* see il

autre *adj.m/f. nom./acc.sing.* other 27,1; 30,6; 31,1; 32,1; 34,11;

autres *m/f.nom./acc.pl.* 17,1; 21,8; 22,1; 33,3.

avoec *prep.* with 12,17; 12,20.

avoir *vb.tr.inf.* to have 5,8; a *pres.3 sing.* 2,1; 2,2; 2,6; 3,3 etc.

avons *pres.1 pl.* 16,1; ont *pres.3 pl.* 5,4; 6,7; 7,2; 8,4 etc.

baillier *vb.tr.* grant; offer baillent *pres.3 pl.* 23,10.
 barbarin *adj.m.nom.pl.* barbarian 27,2.
 barbes *subst.f.nom.pl.* beard 11,4; *acc.pl.* 21,3.
 basmes *subst.m/f.nom.sing.* balsam 28,2.
 bel *adj.* see biaux.
 benigne *adj.m.nom.pl.* kindly; peaceable 23,9.
 benignete *subst.f.acc.sing.* kindness 23,13.
 bestes *subst.f.nom.pl.* wild animal 5,1; *acc.pl.* 21,8.
 besteletes *subst.f.acc.pl.* small animal 17,1.
 biaux *adj.m.acc.pl.* beautiful 22,7; bel *m.nom.pl.* 23,2.
 beles *f.acc.pl.* 29,10.
 bien *adv.* well 12,13; 15,5; 15,7.
 blanc *adj.m.nom.pl.* white 30,8; blans *m.acc.pl.* 14,3.
 blankes *f.nom.pl.* 22,7.
 boine *adj.f.nom.sing.* good 3,4.
 boukes *subst.f.acc.pl.* mouth 18,3.
 bouter *vb.tr.* to strike boutent *pres.3 pl.* 8,9;
 boutent le fu they set light to.
 boutine *subst.f.acc.sing.* navel 25,5.
 brebis *subst.f.nom.pl.* sheep 3,2; *acc.pl.* 2,4.
 brehagnes *adj.f.acc.pl.* barren; infertile 9,4.
 buef *subst.m.nom.sing.* bull 3,2; *acc.sing.* 7,2; 22,5.

 camel *subst.m/f.nom.pl.* camel 12,17; kamel *acc.sing.* 22,8
 cameus *acc.pl.* 12,11; 12,12; 12,13; 12,16; 12,21.
 candelles *subst.f.nom.pl.* candle 6,9; 31,4.
 car *conj.* for 4,6; 16,5; 35,3; error for *que* 12,22.
 caus *adj.m.nom.sing.* hot 27,5; 27,6.
 celestices *subst.nom.pl.* rendering *celestices* 17,3.
 cendre *subst.f.acc.sing.* ash 34,11.
 cenophale *subst.m.nom.pl.* cynocephalus 10,1.
 char *subst.m.acc.sing.* flesh 23,4.
 chascun *pron.m.nom.sing.* each 29,8.
 che *demons.pron/adj.* (derived from *hoc*) this
 chis *m.nom.sing.* 8,6; che *m.acc.sing.*
 20,1; 24,2; 35,3; cheste *f.acc.sing.* 3,3; ches
 m/f.acc.pl. 4,5; 13,1; 27,7.

ch' demonstr. neut. (derived from *ille*) that 13,8; 16,5; 25,4
chius m.nom.sing. 27,4; 27,6 *chel* m.acc.sing. 12,10; 12,15 etc.
chele f.nom./acc.sing. 3,2; 6,4; 12,1; 12,20; 19,1; 21,1
chil m.nom.pl. 8,5 *chiaus* m.acc.pl. 16,8; 29,7.
chites subst.f.nom.sing. city 3,4; 10,6 *chite* acc.sing. 3,3; 9,1; 32,9.
comme adv. as; like 6,9; 12,3; 12,5; 25,7; 30,9; 31,4.
commenchemens subst.m.acc.pl. beginning; source 13,4.
conduit subst.m.acc.sing. conduct; safe passage 23,10.
confia subst.pl. for *cerastes* 8,4 (see Notes).
cornes subst.f.acc.pl. horn 7,2; 8,5.
cors subst.m.acc.pl. body 4,6; 5,8; 14,3.
coses subst.f.acc.pl. thing 1,2.
costes subst.m.acc.pl. side 16,3.
couleur subst.f.acc.sing. colour 12,6 *couleurs* acc.pl. 4,3.
couronne subst.f.acc.sing. crown 34,7.
cousins subst.m.acc.pl. cousin; relative 29,8.
coustume subst.f.acc.sing. custom 14,9.
crapes subst.f.nom.pl. grape 33,2.
croitre vb.intr. to grow *croist* pres.3 sing. 2,4.
crue adj.m.acc.sing. raw 23,4 *crus* m.acc.pl. 11,7.
cuevrir vb.refl. to cover *cueurent* pres.3 pl. 30,6
cuisses subst.f.acc.pl. thigh 16,3.

darraine adj.f.acc.sing. last; furthest; most remote 8,1.
de prep. of 2,3; 2,4; 3,3; 3,7; 3,11; 4,2 etc.
d' 13,10; 22,9; 25,5; 25,6; 32,5; 33,1; 33,4.
du 12,9; 27,4. *des* 9,5; 13,4; 19,4.
dechoivre vb.tr. to deceive *dechoivent* pres.3 pl. 29,10.
demeurer vb.intr. to remain *demeurent* pres.3 pl. 12,17.
dencoste prep. unattested form which appears to be a conflation
of *en coste* and *de coste* beside 23,1.
dens subst.m/f.acc.pl. tooth 22,3
desous prep. under; beneath 6,3; 8,10; 20,8.

deus *num.card.* two 9,4.
 dextre *subst.m.acc.sing.* right-hand side 25,2.
 diligence *subst.f.acc.sing.* diligence 8,8.
 dire *vb.intr.inf.* to say 13,8; 16,5; 25,4.
 dont *pron.* of which 16,1; 33,2.
 dragon *subst.m.nom.pl.* dragon 19,1 dragons *acc.pl.* 19,4.
 dusques *prep.* as far as 3,3; 3,5; 3,7.

 edefiier *vb.tr.* to build edefiie *p.part.f.nom.sing.* 32,5.
 edeopame (*unresolved crux*) 32,8
 ele see il.
 empereres *subst.m.nom.sing.* emperor 1,1.
 en *pron.* of it/them 5,3; 22,10.
 en *prep.* in 1,3; 2,5; 3,5; 4,2; 6,4; 8,1; 8,7 etc.
 enarmer *vb.tr.* to arm enarment *pres.3 pl.* 5,8.
 enquele *pron.* in which 25,4.
 ensi *adv.* thus 12,11; 28,3.
 ententives *adj.f.nom.pl.* intent upon 21,5.
 entour *prep.* about 6,2.
 entre *prep.* between 9,4; 13,1; 13,3; 20,1.
 envenimees *adj.f.nom.pl.* poisonous 4,6.
 environ *prep.* around 21,1.
 espasse *subst.m.acc.sing.* distance 25,2.
 espaulles *subst.f.acc.pl.* shoulder 14,6.
 esquels see lequel.
 estades *subst.m.acc.pl.* stadia 6,2.
 estature *subst.f.acc.sing.* stature 12,3.
 estre *vb.* to be est *pres.3 sing.* 3,1; 3,4; 4,1; 4,2; 6,3 etc.
 sont *pres.3 pl.* 1,2; 3,2; 4,6; 5,8; 7,2; 12,3; 12,6; 12,21 etc.
 sunt *pres.3 pl.* 12,20; 27,2.
 et *conj.* and 2,3; 2,4; 2,6; 3,1; 3,2; 3,7; 3,11 etc.

faire *vb.tr.* to do font *pres.3 pl.* 12,11 fist *pret.*
3 *sing.* 23,14.

femeles *subst.f.acc.pl.* female 12,12; 12,21.

femme *subst.f.acc.sing.* woman 5,5 femmes *nom.pl.* 21,2
22,1 *acc pl.* 23,11.

fenix *subst.f.acc.sing.* phoenix 34,4.

fer *subst.m.acc.sing.* Iron 32,5.

ferir *vb.tr.* to strike fier *pres.3 sing.* 8,6.

flamme *subst.f.acc.sing.* flame 10,5.

flueve *subst.m.acc.sing.* river 14,8; 16,1; 20,1 *acc.pl* 13,3.

foisons *subst.f.nom.sing.* superfluity; multitude 13,10.

fors *adv.* perhaps 5,8.

fouer *vb.tr.* to dig fouent *pres.3 pl.* 12,7.

fourme *subst.f.acc.sing.* form; shape 25,5; 25,6.

fourmi *subst.m.nom.pl.* ant 12,3; 12,18.

frois *adj.m.nom.sing.* cold 27,5; 27,6.

fu *subst.m.acc.sing.* fire 8,9; 8,11.

fuir *vb.intr.* to flee fuient *pres.3 pl.* 15,7; 30,11.
s'enfuient *refl.* 5,3; 8,10; 25,8.

gambes *subst.f.acc.pl.* leg 16,2.

gelines *subst.f.nom.pl.* hen 4,3 guelines *acc.pl.* 4,5.

gemmer *subst.m?.nom.pl.* name of gem-producing tree 24,2.

gemmes *subst.f.acc.pl.* gem 24,2.

genous *subst.m.acc.pl.* knee 11,4; 14,5.

gens *subst.f.nom.pl.* people; race 22,10; 27,1; 29,2

gent *collective nom.sing.* 27,3.

gisier *vb.intr.* to lie gisent *pres.3 pl.* 30,6.

gouverner *vb.tr.* to govern gouernent *pres.3 pl.* 27,2.

grans *adj.m/f.nom.sing.* big 20,3; 22,11 *f.nom.pl.* 3,2

f.acc.pl. 30,4 grant *f.nom.sing.* 13,8

m/f.acc.sing. 3,8; 8,8; 12,3 *m.nom.pl.* 7,2; 16,2.

grifons *subst.m.nom.sing.* griffin 34,2.

gros *adj.m.nom.pl.* fat; large 19,3 grosse *f.acc.sing.* 30,4

guele *subst.f.acc.sing.* mouth 15,5.

habiter *vb.intr.* to live habite *pres.3 sing.* 13,9
 habitent *pres.3 pl.* 27,1.
 habundanche *subst.f.acc.sing.* abundance 8,7.
 habunder *vb.intr.* to abound habunde *pres.3 sing.* 6,4.
 hardieche *subst.f.acc.sing.* audacity 12,10.
 hastives *adj.f.nom.pl.* quick; speedy 12,21.
 haus *adj.m.nom.sing* high 1,1 haute *f.nom.sing.* 20,3
 haut *m.acc.sing.* 18,4.
 heure *subst.f.acc.sing.* hour 12,9.
 homme *subst.m.acc.sing.* man 8,6 *nom.pl.* 8,9; 11,2; 12,10; 14,1
 acc.pl. 15,6
 hommes *acc.pl.* 12,17; 20,7; 25,8; 30,9; 35,2
 omme *acc.sing.* 25,5.
 hommelet *subst.m.nom.pl.* dwarf 25,4 hommeles *acc.pl.* 11,6.
 honnestes *adj.m.acc.pl.* honest 20,7.
 hospitaus *subst.m.nom.sing.* place of refuge; hospice 23,6.

 i *prep.* there 2,1; 2,4; 5,1; 6,5; 8,9; 31,1.
 iaue *subst.f.nom.sing.* water 13,8.
 il *pron.m.nom.sing.* he 2,1; 5,1; 8,6; 12,22; 15,5 etc.
 m.nom.pl. they 8,9; 11,8; 12,11; 14,7; 15,6; 15,7 etc.
 ele *f.nom.sing.* she 34,9; 34,10 eles *f.nom.pl.* they
 4,1; 4,6; 5,3; 5,8; etc. aus *m.acc.pl.* them 12,16; 23,10
 27,2.
 isle *subst.f.nom.sing.* island 29,1; 32,1 *acc.sing.* 2,1; 3,2;
 12,1; 18,1; 19,1; 31,1 isles *acc.pl.* 13,1.
 iuoire *subst.m.acc.sing.* ivory 33,4.

 je *pron.1.sing.nom.* I 1,2.
 jour *subst.m.acc.sing.* day 12,9; 27,5; 27,6.
 jusques *prep.* until; up to 2,5; 6,1; 9,1; 11,4; 12,8 etc.
 juste *adj.m.nom.pl.* just 23,2.

karkier *vb.tr.* to load karkent *pres.3 pl.* 12,15.
 kaviaus *subst.m.acc.pl.* hair 22,4.
 keues *subst.f.acc.pl.* tall 22,5.
 keurir *vb.intr.* to run keurent *pres.3 pl.* 12,18.
 kien *subst.m.acc.sing.* dog 10,4 *nom.pl.* 12,3;
 kiens *acc.pl.* 21,6.
 koir *vb.intr.* to fall kiet *pres.3 sing.* 13,5.
 kuellier *vb.tr.* to gather kuelle *pres.3 sing.* 8,11.

 la *adv.* there 2,4; 3,7; 7,1; 8,3; 8,7; 8,9; 10,1 etc.
 lais *subst.m.nom.sing.* milk 30,9.
 laissier *vb.tr.* to leave laissent *pres.3 pl.* 12,13.
 langage *subst.m.acc.sing.* language 29,8; langages *acc.pl.* 29,6.
 laoustes (de mer) *subst.f.nom.pl.* crayfish 12,5.
 le *adj.acc.sing.* broad (in adverbial phrase de le)
 16,4; 18,5; 30,3.
 legierement *adv.* easily 19,4.
 lequel *rel.pron.m.acc.sing.* which 8,8;
 lequele *f.acc.sing.* 11,2; 12,13; 15,2; 18,2; 20,2; 32,8;
 lesquels *m.acc.pl.* 11,8; lesqueles *f.nom.pl.* 12,12;
 esquels *m.pl.* in which 24,1; 28,2; esqueles *f.pl.* 33,3.
 leur *poss.adj.* their 5,8; 6,9; 11,4; 12,16; 14,9; 18,3 etc.
 pron. to them 11,4; 23,10; 23,14; 29,8.
 li *def.art.m.nom.sing.* the 8,7; 9,2; 12,15; 22,11; 27,4 etc.
 le *f.nom.sing.* 23,5; 27,7; 32,7; 34,1.
 m/f.acc.sing. 4,2; 8,1; 8,9; 8,11; 9,5; 11,8; 12,9 etc.
 la *f.acc.sing.* 3,11; 9,1.
 les *m/f.nom/acc.pl.* 3,2; 4,3; 8,2; 8,9; 11,7; 12,13 etc.
 pron. le *m.acc.sing.* It 8,9.
 les *m/f.acc.pl.* them 5,7; 11,6; 12,15; 12,19; 15,6 etc.
 lier *vb.tr.* to tie lies *p.part.m.acc.pl.* 12,13.
 lieus *subst.m.nom.sing.* place 4,1 *nom.pl.* 27,3 *acc.pl.* 8,2.
 lieu *acc.sing.* 21,6; 27,1; 28,3.

liever *vb.tr.* to lift lievent *pres.3 pl.* 30,10.
 lignage *subst.m.acc.sing.* lineage 29,9. . .
 lion *subst.m.acc.sing.* lion 15,3. . . .
 lis *subst.m.nom.sing.* bed 33,4. . . .
 liues *subst.f.nom.pl.* league 27,8 *acc.pl.* 2,3; 2,6; 3,6;
 3,11; 9,3; 25,3; 28,4; 32,3. . . .
 loins *adv.* far 5,3; 15,7; 25,8. . . .
 long *adj.m.acc.sing.* long (*in adverbial phrase de long*)
 2,3; 11,3; 14,2; 15,4; 16,3; 19,2; 22,6; 25,7; 28,4 etc.
 lons *m.acc.pl.* 14,5 : longz *m.acc.pl.* 22,4. . .
 longues *f.acc.pl.* 16,2; 16,3; 21,3. . . .
 longuement *adv.* long; a long time 23,9. . . .
 longueur *subst.f.nom.sing.* length 27,7. . . .
 loriers *subst.m.acc.pl.* laurel tree 28,1.
 luisier *vb.intr.* to shine luisent *pres.3 pl.* 6,9..
 luisans *pres.part.acc.pl.* 31,4. . . .
 lune *subst.f.acc.sing.* moon 27,4; 27,6. . . .
 lupars *subst.m.acc.pl.* leopard 21,7. . . .

 main *subst.f.acc.sing.* hand 4,5. . . .
 mais *conj.* but 22,12. . . .
 maisons *subst.f.nom.sing.* house 32,7. . . .
 mal *adj.m.acc.sing.* bad; evil 23,14. . . .
 male *m.nom.pl.* 27,3. . . .
 mameles *subst.f.acc.pl.* breast 21,3. . . .
 marbres *subst.m.nom.sing.* marble 22,7. . . .
 marguerites *subst.f.nom.pl.* pearl 20,9; 33,3.. . .
 markaande *adj.f.nom.sing.* bounteous 3,1. . . .
 masle *adj.m.nom.pl.* male 12,17 masles. *m.acc.pl.* 12,12; 12,19.
 meisme *adj.f.acc.sing.* same 19,1. . . .
 mengier *vb.tr.* to eat menguent *pres.3 pl.* 11,7; 12,19; 16,6 etc.
 mengie *p.part.* 29,12. . . .
 mer *subst.f.acc.sing.* sea. 4,2; 8,2; 12,5; 20,8; 23,1 etc.
 meres *subst.f.acc.pl.* mother 12,15. . . .

merueilleuses *adj.f.nom.pl.* marvellous 1,3.
 metre *vb.tr.* to put metent *pres.3 pl.* 12,15; 29,13.
 miedi *subst.m.acc.sing.* south 18,2.
 mille *subst.f.acc.sing.* mile 3,11; 25,3.
 moitie *subst.f.acc.sing.* half 3,11.
 mons *subst.m.nom.sing.* mountain 35,1 mont *acc.sing.* 35,3.
 montaigne *subst.f.nom.sing.* mountain 20,3; 34,1.
 morir *vb.intr.* to die morra *fut.3 sing.* 8,6.
 moult *adv.* a lot of; many; very 2,4; 3,1; 7,2; 23,6; 23,9.
 mouton *subst.m.acc.sing.* sheep 8,5.
 multitude *subst.f.acc.sing.* multitude 9,5; 19,3.

naistre *vb.intr.* to be born naist *pres.3 sing* 5,1; 8,7 etc.
 naissent *pres.3 pl.* 4,1; 4,3; 7,1; 8,3; 10,1; 11,2 etc.
 naiscent *pres.3 pl.* 12,2; 14,1; 15,2; 16,1; 18,2 etc.
 ne *neg.particle* not 8,9; 13,4; 19,4; 22,12; 23,14; 35,3.
 n' 18,2.

nes *subst.m.acc.pl.* nose 14,5.
 nes *subst.f.acc.pl.* boat 14,8.
 nient *neg.particle* nothing 18,2.
 noirs *adj.m.nom.sing.* black 8,11 *m.acc.pl.* 35,2
 noire *f.acc.sing.* 12,6 noir *m.nom.pl.* 16,4; 24,4
 noires *f:acc.pl.* 14,6.

nommer *vb.tr.* to name nomment *pres.3 pl.* 29,8.
 non *subst.m.acc.sing.* name 2,1; 3,4; 8,4; 12,13; 14,8 etc.
 nos *poss.adj.m.nom.pl.* our 22,10.
 nostres *poss.pron.f.acc.pl.* ours 4,3.
 nourrir *vb.tr.* to feed nourrissent *pres.3 pl.* 21,6.
 nous *pers.pron.nom.pl.* we 16,1.
 nuit *subst.f.acc.sing.* night 6,9; 27,5; 27,6; 30,6.
 nus *adj.m.nom.sing.* nobody 19,4; 35,3.
 nul *m.acc.sing.* nothing 23,14.
 nus *adj.m.acc.pl.* naked; bare 14,5.

ochire vb.tr. to slaughter; kill ochist pret.3 sing. 22,12.
 oeil subst.m.nom.pl. eye 6,9 iex acc.pl. 18,3
 vis (? see notes - acc.pl?) 31,3.
 oeor vb.tr. to hear oent pres.3 pl. 5,3.
 oisiaus subst.m.nom.sing. bird 34,4 oisel acc.sing. 25,7.
 olifans subst.m.acc.pl. elephant 13,10.
 oliuiers subst.m.acc.pl. olive tree 28,1.
 on pron. one 5,7; 8,11; 11,6; 13,4; 15,8; 16,5 etc.
 orelles subst.f.acc.pl. ear 30,4; 30,10
 oreilles acc.pl. 22,9.
 orient subst.m.acc.sing. Orient; the East 32,7.
 orisons subst.f.acc.pl. prayer 29,13.
 ors subst.m.nom.sing. gold 12,15
 or acc.sing. 12,7; 12,10; 12,15; 12,16; 12,21; 33,1.
 ossi adv. also 3,2; 5,2; 7,2; 18,3; 19,3; 22,7; 30,4.
 (also appears to gloss oculos eyes - see notes)
 ou adv. where 4,1; 12,15; 20,7; 31,2; 34,2; 35,2.
 outre prep. beyond 12,13; 12,15; 16,1; 30,1.

 pais subst.f.acc.sing. country 18,7.
 paon subst.m.acc.sing. peacock 34,7.
 par prep. by; through 6,3; 8,8; 12,16; 16,3; 20,8; 25,2 etc.
 parler vb.intr. to speak parle p.part. 16,1.
 paroler vb.tr. to speak parolent pres.3 pl. 29,6.
 paroles subst.f.acc.pl. words; speech 29,10.
 partie subst.f.acc.sing. part 8,1; 20,8.
 partikes adj.m.acc.pl. divided 14,4.
 partir vb.refl. to depart; leave part pres.3 sing. 28,3.
 passer vb.tr.inf. to pass 35,3 passent pres.3 pl. 12,16 etc.
 pendre vb.intr. to hang pendent pres.3 pl. 11,4.
 perdre vb.tr. to lose perdent pres.3 pl. 8,9.
 petis adj.m.acc.pl. little 12,12; 12,13; 12,16.
 piaus subst.f.acc.pl. skin; hide 21,4.
 pierres subst.f.nom.pl. stone 24,1; 33,3.

pies *subst.f.acc.pl.* foot 5,4; 11,2; 12,4; 14,2; 14,5 etc.
 piler *subst.m.nom.sing.* pillar; stone column 19,3.
 pis *subst.m.acc.sing.* chest (anat.) 16,3; 18,3.
 poissons *subst.m.acc.pl.* fish 11,7.
 poiures *subst.m.nom.sing.* pepper 8,7; 9,2.
 poiure *acc.sing.* 8,9; 8,11.
 pooir *subst.m.acc.sing.* power 5,8.
 pooir *vb.intr.* to be able
 puet *pres.3 sing.* 13,4; 19,4; 35,3 peut *pres.3 sing* 22,12
 porroit *condit.3 sing.* 15,6.
 porter *vb.tr.* bear; carry portent *pres.3 pl.* 12,21; 24,2.
 pour *prep.* for; on account of 8,3; 8,9; 9,5; 12,16; 19,3 etc.
 precieuses *adj.f.nom.pl.* precious 24,1; 33,3.
 premierement *adv.* firstly 2,1.
 prendre *vb.tr.inf.* to take; seize 5,8; 12,10; 22,12
 prendent *pres.3 pl.* 11,8; 12,11; 16,6; 29,11.
 prenderoit *condit.3 sing.* 4,5.
 pres *prep.* near 3,11.
 prestres *subst.m.nom.sing.* priest 32,8.
 propre *adj.m.acc.sing.* own 29,8.

 quant *adv.* when 5,3; 5,7; 25,8; 29,12; 34,9.
 que *conj.* as; that 4,3; 5,2; 7,2; 8,9; 11,2; 12,19 etc.
 qu' 12,22; 15,5; 16,3; 16,6; 24,2; 30,5; 30,11.
 qui *rel.pron.nom.sing pl.* who; which 1,2; 2,1; 2,2; 3,4 etc.
 que *m.acc.pl.* whom; which 23,2.
 quiconques *pron.indef.* whoever 4,4.
 quinte *num.ord.* fifth 12,9.

 regions *subst.f.nom.sing.* region 20,2; 23,5; 25,1
 region *acc.sing.* 15,1; 21,1.
 renvoyer *vb.tr.* to send away renvoient *pres.3 pl.* 23,11.
 reposer *vb.refl.* to rest repose *pres.3 sing.* 32,8.

repus *adj.m.acc.pl.* hidden; secret 8,2.
 ressanler *vb.intr.* to resemble ressanlent *pres.3 pl.* 18,6.
 rike *adj.f.nom.sing.* rich 10,6.
 riviere *subst.f.acc.sing.* river 11,8; 12,13; 12,15; 17,1; 18,1.
 rivières *nom.pl.* 13,4.
 rois *subst.m.acc.pl.* king 27,2.

 saingler *subst.m.acc.sing.* wild boar 22,3.
 saluer *vb.tr.* to greet saluent *pres.3 pl.* 29,7.
 sanc *subst.m.acc.sing.* blood 15,8.
 sanlaule *adj.m.nom.pl.* similar 28,1
 sanlaules *f.acc.pl.* 8,5.
 sanler *vb.intr.* to seem; appear sanle *pres.3 sing.* 12,22;
 30,11.
 sauvage *adj.m.acc.sing.* wild 25,6 *m.nom.pl.* 7,1.
 se *refl.part.* him^{8,1} 28,3; 29,13; 30,6; 32,8 s' 34,10.
 se *conj.* if 8,6; 23,10.
 selonc *prep.* according to 14,9.
 sen *poss.adj.m.acc.sing.* his; hers; its 29,8
 sa *f.acc.sing.* 4,5
 ses *m.acc.pl.* 4,6
 senefier *vb.tr.* to inform; notify senefiie *pres.1 sing.* 1,2.
 senestre *adj.m.acc.sing.* left 23,5.
 serpens *subst.m.nom.sing.* snake; serpent 8,6 *acc.pl.* 6,5; 8,9; 9,5
 serpent *nom.pl.* 8,8; 8,10.
 si *conj.* if 5,8 s' 15,6; 23,11 (see also se)
 si *adv.* thus; so 15,5; 29,13; 30,11.
 sieuir *vb.tr.* to follow sieuent *pres.3 pl.* 15,7.
 singes *subst.m.acc.pl.* monkey 5,2.
 soleil *subst.m.acc.sing.* sun 27,4; 27,5; 32,7.
 son *subst.m.acc.sing.* sound 5,3.
 soeuf *adj.f.acc.sing.* gentle 25,7
 suer *vb.tr.* to sweat suent *pres.3 pl.* 15,8.
 sur *prep.* on; above 8,2; 23,7; 25,2; 27,2; 29,13; 30,6.
 sus *prep.* above; over 12,18.

talon *subst.m.acc.sing.* hool 22,4.
 tamps *subst.m.acc.sing.* time 12,19; 14,7.
 tant *adv.* so 12,21; 16,3.
 tantost *adv.* soon 8,6.
 terre *subst.f.nom.sing.* land; earth 13,1 *acc.sing.* 8,10; 12,15
 tere *nom.sing.* 6,4 *acc.sing.* 12,8
 terres *acc.pl.* 9,4.
 tes *adj.f.acc.pl.* such 4,3.
 teste *subst.f.acc.sing.* head 18,2; 30,4
 testes *acc.pl.* 5,5; 6,7; 10,4; 15,3; 29,13.
 tenir *vb.tr.* to hold tientent *pres.3 pl.* 20,8.
 tigres *subst.m.acc.pl.* tiger 21,6.
 tirans *subst.m.acc.pl.* tyrant; ruler 23,7.
 tost *adv.* soon; quickly 30,11.
 tous *adv.* wholly; quite 11,7; 14,5.
 adj.m.sing pl. all; whole 4,6; 6,4; 16,5; 29,6; 29,7; 35,4.
 traire *vb.tr.* to drag traient *pres.3 pl.* 12,8.
 vb.refl.pres.3 pl. to retire; withdraw 8,1.
 tres *adv.* very 20,3; 27,3.
 tripaire *adj.m.nom.pl.* tripartite 15,2.
 trouver *vb.tr.inf.* to find 13,4.
 trouve *pres.3 sing.* 28,3.
 tuer *vb.tr.* to kill tuerent *pres.3 pl.* 22,10.

 u *conj.* or 13,1; 13,2. (see also a)
 uns *adj.m.nom.sing.* one 3,2; 23,6; 27,4; 30,5; 32,8 etc.
 un *m.acc.sing.* 14,8; 15,5; 27,1; 28,3.
 une *f.nom/acc.sing.* 3,3; 3,11; 4,5; 10,6; 12,13 etc.
 v see u.
 vans *subst.m.nom.sing.* winnowing fan 30,5
 van *acc.sing.* 15,5.
 vener *vb.tr/intr.inf.* to hunt 21,5.
 venir *vb.intr.* to come vient *pres.3 sing.* 34,11.

vers *prep.* towards 8,2; 18,2; 32,7.

vestues *adj.f.nom.pl.* clothed 21,4.

vingne *subst.f.nom.sing.* vine 33,1.

vis *see* oeil.

visages *subst.m.acc.pl.* face 14,4.

vives *adj.f.acc.pl.* alive 22,12.

vivre *vb.intr.* to live vivent *pres.3 pl.* 23,4; 23,9

vescu *p.part.* 34,9.

voie *subst.f.acc.sing.* way; route 4,2

voies *acc.pl.* 13,1.

voier *vb.tr.* to see voient *pres.3 pl.* 15,6; 25,8; 30,9.

voirs *adj.m.nom.sing.* true 13,5.

vois *subst.f.acc.sing.* voice 25,7.

voisin *subst.m.nom.pl.* neighbour 23,7.

voler *vb.intr.* to fly volent *pres.3 pl.* 12,22; 30,11.

voloir *vb.tr.* to want veut *pres.3 sing.* 5,7.

vous *pers.pron.2 acc.* you 1,2.

warder *vb.tr.* to guard wardent *pres.3 pl.* 8,8; 8,9.

ypotames *subst.m.acc.pl.* hippopotamus 15,8; 18,6.

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are reversed, misrepresenting their relationship to MS A.

I wonder how large a general audience there is for a work of this nature. There is a great deal in this edition which would surely be of use to those interested in the many topics to which the *Liber* is peripheral (and even a cursory scan of Bologna's critical notes gives an indication of the extent of its connections), if only there were an index and a bibliography. For the definitive edition, other matters also require further consideration. The choice of a base MS should be reviewed; for A, although fullest, frequently does not give the best readings. The method of composition merits investigation – why, for instance, in l 16-30 does the compiler draw alternately from *Pharasmanes* and from St Augustine *De Civitate Dei* xvi 8? Bologna has promised a fuller study of cognate material and a comparison of the vocabulary and syntax with that used by Aldhelm, and these may enable him to present conclusive evidence on date and authorship. In the meantime, his new edition makes readily available an important text which has long been out of print.

ANN KNOCK

- ¹ E. Faral 'La queue de poisson des sirènes' *Romania* LXXIV (1953) 433-506.
- ² P. 167.
- ³ M. Haupt *Opuscula* II (Leipzig 1876) 218-252.
- ⁴ L. G. Whitbread 'The *Liber Monstrorum* and *Beowulf*' *Mediaeval Studies* XXXVI (1974) 434-471.
- ⁵ Faral 'La queue...' pp. 457-470.
- ⁶ Ed. H. Boese (Berlin 1973).
- ⁷ Ed. J. A. Giles (Oxford 1844) pp. 248-273.
- ⁸ Ed. H. Boese p. 287.
- ⁹ Except for the unmetrical emendation proposed by J. Leake in *The Geats of Beowulf* (Madison, Wis. 1967) p. 124.
- ¹⁰ *Beowulf* 380.
- ¹¹ Bologna p. 10.
- ¹² J. P. Migne *Patrologia Latina* CLXXII col. 123ff.

Theodulfi Capitula in England: Die altenglischen Übersetzungen, zusammen mit dem lateinischen Text edited by Hans Sauer (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie 8). Wilhelm Fink Verlag, Munich, 1978. xv + 521 pp. DM 68,-.

This is a work of massive scholarship of the kind we have now learnt to expect from Munich dissertations in English philology. Thorpe took 20 pages to edit the OE translation of the *Capitula* of Theodulf of Orleans found in Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 201, in his *Ancient Laws and Institutes* of 1840; A. S. Napier in 1916 took 17 pages to edit the other OE translation, found in Bodley MS 865, together with the parallel Latin text; and Hans Sauer now devotes 530 pages to the task. What we get for the extra weight is a detailed study of the origins and textual tradition of the Latin text of the *Capitula*, with particular reference to the MSS preserved in England, showing that they all belong to the same subtradition; an

exhaustive study of the techniques of the two OE the Latin versions which from the other Latin versions; critical edition of the Latin CCCC 201; and a linguistic whole in any detail is in competent to judge I fear every argument well weighed of translation techniques version in Bodley 865 with paraphrases and occasional resourceful vocabulary, as to suggest to Herr Sauer himself a bishop; though and textual tradition acknowledgement, on the Brommer; but it is extremely examining the textual tradition

The original Latin text duties and parochial teaching early in the ninth century; usefulness in England is a eleventh and twelfth century by the use of the text by so how far the instructions are actually applied to England; the original text. This is a little to say; and one is left MSS from England and find wonders, for instance, where (i.e. that in Bodley 865) say is wrong or improper (*non* 201) merely says that it is interesting are the references indiscriminately within the and the insistence that this and the existing tombs belong to whether this applies to I to clarify and emphasise the points out that the text's that of Wulfstan) in refusing living with him; and the

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showed that the *Liber* was the first text to attribute a fish-tail to the siren. In view of this importance and of the discovery of three new MSS, a definitive critical edition of this text has long been overdue.

The expressed aim of Bologna's edition is to produce a readable text aimed at 'un vasto pubblico colto', with no pretensions to completeness in the critical apparatus. The text is printed with a parallel translation into Italian, book-by-book commentary and a few textual notes at the end of the volume.

Bologna's introduction tries to place the *Liber* in the widest tradition of man's curiosity about the abnormal; and to this end he enlists the aid of such unlikely comparisons as Disneyland and the *Kama Sutra*. In placing the work within its mediaeval context, he seems torn between depicting an anonymous compiler, who selected his material from the best sources and did not impose his personality or any allegorical interpretation upon it, and his desire to show the *Liber Monstrorum* as a great work of literature, worthy of the authorship he proposes in the appendices. In his eagerness to portray the compiler's erudition, he attributes knowledge of both ultimate and intermediate sources, as in the case of the *Letter of Pharasmanes*, where he lists *Mirabilia* (under the title *De Rebus in Oriente Mirabilibus*), the *Letter of Fermes* and the *Epistola Premonis* as sources, when in fact they are all versions of the same text, with the last-named group the likeliest source for the *Liber*.

With the introduction, commentary and appendices occupying well over half of the 221 pages, this edition is tough meat for the non-specialist reader. Unfortunately, its popular aim, together with the editor's intention of dealing with certain matters more fully in a later definitive edition, is used to excuse omissions and, by implication, lack of full scholastic thoroughness. Such fundamental matters as the justification of choice of base MS and of emendations are postponed for the later edition. The text, with a few modifications, is that printed by Haupt, compiled from MSS A and B (Wolfenbüttel Gud. Lat. 148 and Pierpont Morgan Library M.906). The additional material in B, which Haupt relegates to the footnotes, is restored to the text, except for the end of I 11, which is silently omitted. Bologna modifies the chapter numbering to take account of this. Haupt consistently corrects names where possible; Bologna sometimes restores corruptions, as A's reading *Huncglacus* (Haupt: *Hungilaicus*; MS C: *Higlacus*) I 2 and the universal *scinopodis* (Haupt: *sciapodas*) I 17, while accepting Haupt's emendations elsewhere, as *hippopotamis* II 10, 18, *ichthyophagos* I 15, where the MS readings show affinities to the source material. Bologna does not use his greater knowledge of the sources to restore probable original readings, as *epifugos* in place of *epistigos* I 24 or *latitudine* in place of *solitudine* I 18.

On the question of authorship, Bologna accepts Whitbread's⁴ and Faral's⁵ attribution to Aldhelm, without adding significantly to the evidence. In fact, he silently suppresses the contradictions - which Whitbread adduced to weigh against the other evidence - between the *Liber* and Aldhelm's other writings, apparently attributing them to mistranslation by Whitbread, though without citing chapter and verse.

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dney Thomson (Toronto
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text. It is the first modern
Henry Wharton's *Anglia*
with a short, but relevant,
experienced reader. Further,
notes that relate to Gundulf,
the records of priory and see-
ing, devotes most space to
of his activities was his
bishop and monks. The
or they help to maintain a
cludes, partly on stylistic
written by the author of the
occupations and wrote at

oted to lives of abbots and
and traditions. The work is
ests of the monks. If the
ed Gundulf to England, a
ously, it could be regarded
ten in an attractive style,
n culture and monastic
done his work well, though
d have been welcome, and
xv dierum' (p. 85) or 'octo
re manor, but the 'farm' in
rs for the sustenance of the
t uncommon, rendering of
ert de Curthose. But these
ing text.

MARJORIE CHIBNALL

he following note:-

ossessed a certain literary

culture; not only does he make frequent use of antithesis and rhyme, but he is able also to write hexameters (ch. xlix). That fact makes it very probable that the Latin author read certain poetical texts. Thomson gives only one example (an allusion in ch. xxviii to Lucan *Phars.* 1 '1 Bella... plus quam civilia'), but one could register some more allusions. Very characteristic is a passage in ch. xli: 'Obortae igitur lacrimae piis sermonibus patris fluunt ab utroque, madent filiorum circumstantium genae. Longa trahuntur suspiria' (cf. ch. xlix 'suspiria longa trahebas'). Similar turns are found in the poetical tradition. Ultimately they go back to Vergil and Ovid ('lacrimis obortis' Verg. *Aen.* iv 30; vi 867; xi 41; 'lacrimisque genae maduere profusis' Ovid *Metam.* xi 418; 'lacrimaeque genis labuntur obortae' Ovid *Metam.* ii 656; 'et tanto penitus traxit suspiria motu' Ovid *Metam.* ii 753).

It seems very probable that the anonymous author, a Benedictine monk (see introduction, p. 4: 'there should never have been any speculation as to whether he was a secular chaplain to Gundulf or a Rochester monk; he was certainly the latter'), knew the *Vita Benedicti* of Gregory the Great, the second book of the Dialogues, a work that, certainly in the circles of the monks, was well-known in mediaeval England (as early as the eighth century Alfred the Great translated it into English). In ch. xlv the passage *post dulcia caelestis vitae colloquia* is without a doubt a reminiscence of Greg. Magn. *Dial.* ii 1 'post dulcia vitae colloquia' (in both cases not long before their death; cf. *ibid.* ii 33 'per sacra spiritalis vitae colloquia'; *ibid.* ii 33 'de caelestis vitae gaudiis loquamur').

In ch. vii the word *symmista* is found, which in the Glossary (p. 88) has been translated by 'custodian' and in a note (p. 29) by 'warden or keeper of sacred objects'. In this note the possibility is left open that in the *Vita* the meaning is 'priest', which, however, seems very improbable ('It was sometimes used as a synonym for "priest", in which case it might here refer to Gundulf's ordination'). I would prefer a more general meaning, *symmista* being a parallel to *familiarior* in our text: 'initiated', 'confidant'.

The author wants to describe here the increasing devotion of Gundulf toward Maria, resulting from his appointment as a *custos* and *sacrista* of the church of Maria at Bec: 'Factus est autem et aeclesiae beatae Mariae Becci custos et sacrista, unde et eiusdem semper intemeratae virginis familiarior factus est et symmista'. That this is the right interpretation is obvious also from the following sentence, where the anonymous writer says that in consequence of his function Gundulf became more devout: 'Eo enim factus est in oratione devotior, quo ei commissus est locus orationi commodior'. - Ed.

Liber monstrorum de diversis generibus: Libro delle mirabili difformità edited by Corrado Bologna (Nuovo Corona 5) Bompiani, Milan, 1977. L. 4000.

The seminal position of the *Liber Monstrorum* in relation to the mediaeval encyclopaedists is beyond dispute: it has been amply demonstrated by Faral, who

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E. STORY-SCIENTIA S.P.R.L.
ÉDITIONS SCIENTIFIQUES
GAND

Tirage à part

THE «LIBER MONSTRORUM»: AN UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT AND SOME RECONSIDERATIONS*

The *Liber Monstrorum*, a mediaeval compilation of brief notes on monsters, prodigies and exotic animals, has been available to modern readers since Berger de Xivrey's edition ⁽¹⁾ of the Rosanbo manuscript (now Pierpont Morgan Library ms M.906) appeared in 1836. In 1863, Haupt ⁽²⁾ published the text of the *Liber* from Wolfenbüttel ms 148 Gud. Lat. ⁽³⁾, with variants from the Rosanbo ms. Although two further manuscripts, Leiden ms Voss. lat. oct. 60 and British Library ms Royal 15 B xix, came to light during the first half of the twentieth century, there is no published edition based on the four known manuscripts. An edition in the form of an unpublished thesis is now available ⁽⁴⁾; its editor, Douglas Butturff, being unable to trace the Rosanbo ms, followed Robert's diplomatic edition ⁽⁵⁾ of that manuscript.

A new manuscript, of the same period as the earliest hitherto known to scholars, has been located at St. Gallen, and this discovery requires us to reconsider some of the conclusions on the provenance and manuscript tradition of the text which have been made in the past, especially those made by the most recent editor.

Ms Sangallensis 237 is listed in two printed catalogues ⁽⁶⁾, in which the textual content and the physical format of the codex are described in some detail. Neither of these catalogues, however, notes that ff. 1-3, the section containing the text of the *Liber Monstrorum*, form a separate gathering of three single sheets, although both mention that these folios are the work of a different scribe, contemporary with the one who wrote the text of Isidore's *Etymologiae* occupying ff. 4-164. F.1 contains a miscellaneous collection of sketches and doodles, enumerated but not described by Bruckner ⁽⁷⁾.

* This study has been aided by a grant for travel expenses from the Central Research Fund of the University of London.

(1) J. BERGER DE XIVREY, *Traditions étymologiques* (Paris 1836).

(2) M. HAUPT in *Index Lectionum quae in Universitate Literaria Berolinensi... instituuntur* (Berlin 1863, summer) and more readily available in M. HAUPT, *Opuscula* (Leipzig 1876) II.

(3) BUTTURFF *Liber Monstrorum* 2 cites this wrongly as «cod. guelf. CLXVII».

(4) D. R. BUTTURFF, *Liber Monstrorum: the Monsters and the Scholar; an edition and critical study of the Liber Monstrorum* (Ph. D. thesis, Illinois 1968).

(5) U. ROBERT, *Les Fables de Phèdre: Edition paléographique publiée d'après le manuscrit Rosanbo* (Paris 1893).

(6) *Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen, herausgegeben auf Veranstaltung und mit Unterstützung des Kath. Administrationsrathes des Kantons St. Gallen* (Halle 1875) 85-6, and A. BRUCKNER, *Scriptoria medii aevi helvetica III* (*Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz, St. Gallen*) (Geneva 1938) 85.

(7) A. BRUCKNER, *Scriptoria medii aevi helvetica III* 85.

Of interest among these is a T O map, labelled *Mappa mundi*, with some unusual features. In common with most maps of this type, orientation is to the East and *Nilus* forms the horizontal bar; the South-West quadrant is labelled *Cam*. Here the resemblance to other T O maps ends. The vertical bar, which is not labelled, is continued to the circumference in the East, and the horizontal bar is interrupted by a second vertical bar dividing the Southern hemisphere, to the South of which is located *Terra inhabitibilis*. Both quadrants to the North are broken by a bar linking the vertical to the horizontal; these bars join at right-angles on the horizontal bar. Some further lettering on the map is now illegible.

The catalogues note the presence on f.1 and f.1^v of inscriptions localising the manuscript at St. Gallen; these are possibly somewhat later than the body of the text, but not by much. The inscription on f.1^v is in a heavy black ink used by a corrector who worked on ff.1-2^v, not only correcting but also inking over sections varying from single letters to half lines — presumably these sections had faded or had always been faint. It is not possible to make out the original in instances where correction has evidently taken place — as, for example, in chapter 9 on f.2, where *trahebat* has been written over the latter half of a word beginning with *con*. The original word was longer, and the middle letters have been extended to fill the gap. The reading *contrahebat* agrees with other manuscripts, so it is possible that the corrector was checking the manuscript against another exemplar. Apart from the difference in the colour of the ink, the corrector's hand is indistinguishable from that of the original scribe.

In addition to the inscriptions on f.1 and f.1^v, which show that the first section of the manuscript, if it did not originate at St. Gallen, was there shortly after being written, there are stamps of the Stiftsbibliothek on f.3^v and f.164^v. The section of the manuscript containing the *Liber* has evidently been at St. Gallen constantly, although there is no conclusive evidence that the section containing Isidore's *Etymologiae* was also there before the two were bound together (or rebound) in the fifteenth century ⁽⁸⁾. The earliest extant catalogue of the library ⁽⁹⁾, from the mid-to-late ninth century ⁽¹⁰⁾, does indeed list two copies of Isidore's *Etymologiae*:

Aethimologiarum libri XX. et ratio horologii et glose grecorum verborum. in vol. 1.
Item de libris Ysidori aethimologiarum vol 2. corrupta.

the second of which is connected by Weidmann with mss 321 and 232 ⁽¹¹⁾. There is, however, nothing to support Weidmann's suggestion that the manuscript here under discussion, ms 237, corresponds to the first entry; a theory which requires us to assume

(8) Bruckner describes the binding as « schwarz verkohltem, gepressten Ledereinband (20.8 x 30.4 cm.) des 15. Jhs. 3 Bände. »
(9) The oldest copy of this is found in ms 728 and is published in F. WEIDMANN, *Geschichte der Bibliothek von St. Gallen seit ihrer Gründung um das Jahr 830 bis auf 1841. Aus den Quellen bearbeitet auf die tausendjährige Jubelfeier* (St. Gallen 1841), 360-400 « Das älteste Bücherverzeichniss aus dem neunten Jahrhundert ».
(10) A. BRUCKNER, *Scriptoria medii aevi helvetica* III, dates the catalogue in ms 728 « Mitte bis 2.H. 9.Jh. »
(11) F. WEIDMANN, *Geschichte der Bibliothek von St. Gallen*, 379.

loss of the latter part of the manuscript. On the contrary, the final folio of ms 237 has been filled up with snippets and doodles, showing that when the manuscript was written it was a final page to be used up in any way which took the scribe's fancy. It is unlikely, although perhaps not altogether inconceivable, that ff.4-164 of ms 237, having been written to stand on their own, should have been bound with two other texts within so few years of being written, only to be separated from them and bound with another text by the fifteenth century. There is no indication in the early catalogue of the section of the manuscript containing the *Liber*.

Bruckner⁽¹²⁾, in his thorough study of the St. Gallen manuscripts, is certain that ms 237 was written at St. Gallen and ascribes it, on palaeographical grounds, to the time of Abbot Gozbert in about 830 A.D. Even if we were to assume that the apparent absence of this manuscript from the catalogue of c.850 indicates that it had not been written by that date (an assumption it would be difficult to justify), the manuscript could then be dated at no later than the middle third of the ninth century.

The localisation of the *Liber Monstrorum* has been the subject of considerable discussion because of its connection with the *Wonders of the East* and, through the Hygelac passage, with *Beowulf*. It is surprising, therefore, that scholars have in the past failed to probe deeply into the question of the provenance of the known manuscripts. The new manuscript, so clearly localised at St. Gallen, adds more weight to the conclusions which are to be drawn from such a study, namely that the manuscript tradition was strongest in the area around the southern half of the Rhine.

Ms Guelf. 148 Gud. Lat., although generally localised to *Ostfrankreich* by its most recent cataloguer⁽¹³⁾, was certainly at Wissembourg by the latter half of the 9th. century⁽¹⁴⁾. The binding is late 15th. century, in a style characteristic of Wissembourg⁽¹⁵⁾. Of the manuscripts listed in Butzmann's catalogue of the collection formerly at Wissembourg monastery (like St. Gallen, a Benedictine establishment), no fewer than 7 are connected in some way with St. Gallen, most of these showing readings not found in manuscripts outside these two centres.

Ms Voss. lat. oct. 60 is also a composite manuscript, ff.1-13 containing the *Liber Monstrorum* and ff.14-29 other texts including the Provençal poem on Ste. Foi d'Agen. Thomas⁽¹⁶⁾, who describes the manuscript in detail, assigns the first section to the late ninth or early tenth century. The manuscript, as Thomas and Butturff⁽¹⁷⁾ point out,

(12) A. BRUCKNER, *Scriptoria medii aevi helvetica* III 22 and 85.

(13) H. BUTZMANN, *Die Weissenburger Handschriften, neu beschrieben (Kataloge der Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel X)* (Frankfurt a/M 1964), 300.

(14) H. BUTZMANN, *Die Weissenburger Handschriften*, 300 : « Sehr viele Korrekturen von einer Weissenburger Hand der zweiten Hälfte des ix. Jahrhunderts, gleichzeitig viele Worte radirt. »

(15) H. BUTZMANN, *Die Weissenburger Handschriften*, 19.

(16) A. THOMAS, « Un manuscrit inutilisé du *Liber Monstrorum* », *Bulletin du Cange* (1924), 232-245.

(17) D. R. BUTTURFF, *Liber Monstrorum*, 1.

is signed *Fulherius monacus scripsit*. Butturff is optimistic when he states, without supporting evidence of any kind:

The ms is autographed by the scribe Fulherius Monacus, who lived at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries.

The name *Fulherius* is a form of *Fulcharius* which is not attested elsewhere⁽¹⁸⁾. The normal development was either for the *lx* to be retained or for the *x* to lose its aspiration, giving *Fulcarius* or *Folcarius*. That the *lx* combination presented problems is shown by the presence of metathesis in two examples, *Flocherius* and *Flocherus*. The development of an *i* between a liquid and a velar or guttural fricative in words of Germanic origin in French is rare but not unknown. Examples cited by Morlet are *Staricholf* (*Starculfus*) at St. Gallen 852 A.D., and three forms derived from *Salherius*: *Salicherius* (Le Mans, 928 A.D.), *Salierus* (Lausanne, 973 A.D.), *Salierius* (Savigny, 1025 A.D.), while the form *Folichart* from *Fulchardus* is attested at Klingenmünster. The development is evidently due to the retention of the fricative under German influence for a longer period than was normal — the *Salierius* forms show loss of the fricative after the vocalic *i*-glide had developed. No examples of this development are attested South or West of a line between Le Mans and Lyons, and three of the five are from Swiss or German areas. The implication that our scribe may well have come from the Swiss area is the only conclusion which can be drawn. Leite de Vasconcellos, in his study⁽¹⁹⁾ of the Provençal text in this manuscript, claimed to make out an inscription *Hic est liber Scī Benedicti* on f.13^v, but this is no longer legible. Thomas⁽²⁰⁾ follows Leite de Vasconcellos in identifying this St. Benedict with Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire for historical reasons⁽²¹⁾ which are far from conclusive. If this inscription is accepted, it is noteworthy that this is the fourth manuscript to be connected with a Benedictine establishment.

British Library ms Royal 15 B xix is another composite codex, consisting of two volumes which were bound together after being added to the Royal collection. The *Liber* is found on ff.103^v-105^v. Ff.103-106 comprise a complete gathering of two folds, which is unsigned, unlike the two previous gatherings which are signed A (f.94^v) and B (f.102^v). F.103 is blank except for some words which have been erased (an examination under ultra-violet produced a partial reading which ascertained that no personal or place names are included), some offsetting in red ink which does not correspond

(18) M. T. MORLET, *Les Noms de Personne sur le Territoire de l'ancienne Gaule du VI^e au XII^e siècle* (Paris 1968), I, 95.

(19) J. LEITE DE VASCONCELLOS, 'Noticia bibliographica do poema provençal de « Santa Fé »', *O Instituto* (1902), XLIX, 497-510.

(20) A. THOMAS 'Un manuscrit inutilisé', 234.

(21) The ms contains, on f. 14, the inscription 'Mons' Daniel me la donne a Paris 1577' in Pithou's handwriting. *Mons' Daniel* was, almost certainly, Pierre Daniel, a sixteenth century bibliophile who acquired most of the mss from St. Benoît-sur-Loire when the monastery's treasures were dispersed in 1562. In view of the free movement of mss known to have taken place between bibliophiles of this period, it is by no means certain that this particular ms came from that source — or, if indeed it did, that it was written there.

to the rubrics on the previous page and thus provides strong evidence that these folios were written independent of the preceeding gatherings, and the words *pater ergente monde* and *uespere*. F.103^v is inscribed at the head :

liber sancti Remigij Rem. vol. cc. & .v

and a similar inscription occurs twice on f.106, which is otherwise blank :

Liber sancti remigii qui ei abstulerit anatema sit.

Butturff ⁽²²⁾, in his description of the manuscript, does not mention these inscriptions, which show quite clearly that the gathering containing the *Liber* was at the Benedictine Abbey of St. Remy at Rheims either at the time of writing or shortly afterwards. The script is Carolingian minuscule and cannot be dated precisely, but is of the tenth or eleventh century.

Pierpont Morgan Library ms M.906 has been examined by Bernard Bischoff who assigns it, on palaeographical grounds, to Rheims, ninth century ⁽²³⁾. This ms therefore, like the four others, has links with the area surrounding the Rhine.

The new ms, Sangallensis 237, here designated S, is, like ms Guelf. 148 Gud. Lat. (referred to as W), assigned to the middle of the ninth century. Ms Voss. lat. oct. 60 (L) and Pierpont Morgan Library ms M. 906 (R), assigned to the late ninth and the ninth as a whole respectively are probably both later, and British Library ms Royal 15 B xix (B) is certainly the latest of the extant manuscripts. W is the only ms to contain all three books together with the full preface. R and L both have only l. 27 ff. of the preface and the first two books, although R includes the first chapter of the third book at the end of Book 2. S contains only the first book, without the preface; B has the full preface but only the first 29 chapters of the first book. R has no chapter headings, L and B both have a list of chapter headings preceding the text (and, in the case of L, including some chapters which are missing from the text), W has headings at the top of each chapter and S follows this procedure, although sporadically. The headings in W and S are identical in wording with those in B, but L often uses a different formula :

ch. 2 : W, S : De Hunclago magno
B : De Glauco magno
L : De Hyglaco Getorum rege

In this text at this point, however, the greatest agreement is between R and B, who both produce the name as *Huiglaucus* — L reads *Higlacus* and S and W *Huncglagus* and *Huncglacus* respectively.

S can be proved to share a common ancestor with W, which, in addition to various other corruptions, showed a misreading of /u as *sti*, an error likely to occur only in a hand in which the ligature for *st* resembles /+minim. This is the case in merovingian script and also in the document hand used in the St. Gallen area, but not in most other

(22) D. R. BUTTURFF, *Liber Monstrorum*, 1.

(23) I am indebted to W. Voelke of the Pierpont Morgan Library for this information.

hands of this date. In chapter 26, L, R, and B read *epifugos* against *epistigos* in W and *epistogos* in S. Butturff accepts *epistigos*, which he connects with *ἐπισθητοί*, but in fact the word is a corruption of *ἐπιποφάγοι*, and appears in the *Mirabilia* ⁽²⁴⁾ as *epifagos*. In this instance, it is clear that the reading in S shows a second stage of corruption: *f* + 2 minims became *st* + 1 minim, and the minim was then changed to *o*.

Although S is far more corrupt than W, and is thus not the source of W, its readings are closer to those of that ms than any other. Chapter 39, which may be an accretion, is found only in these mss. All the major corruptions in W are found also in S, such as the reading *in primo hominis* in chapter 1, where L and B read *in primordio operis* and R *in pridio operis*. However, slight variant readings, such as the agreement with L in the use of the word *dulcedinis* against W's *dulcetudinis* in chapter 7 (whilst agreeing in word order with W) indicate that S did not derive directly from W:

L: cantu dulcedinis decipiunt
S: cantu decipiunt dulcedinis
W: cantu diciunt dulcetudinis
B: cantu mulcendo decipiunt
R: cantu mulcidinis decipiunt

In chapter 51, S again agrees with L, this time against R and W:

S, L: portabat R, W: portavit

and in chapter 15 with R and B against W and L:

S, R, B: didicimus L: didimus W: indicimus.

In two instances, S has a reading which appears more correct orthographically than that of the other mss:

Chapter 16: S: sirene W, L: sirine R: serenae B: femine
Chapter 52: S: dracontopodes L, W, R: dracontopedes.

On such flimsy evidence it would be unwise to postulate that S received these readings ultimately from an exemplar before the corruptions appeared, especially as the spellings found in the other mss are widespread in mediaeval Latin.

Although the ms relationships are more complex than recognised by Butturff, many facts can be established. In chapter 10, W, S, and B share a reading which is more accurate and thus probably nearer to the original than those of L and R:

W, S, B: sub tertio zonarum (talking of torrid zone)
R: sub quatuor zonarum
L: sub quinto zonarum.

(24) For the purpose of quotation, I shall use the versions of the *Letter of Pharasmanes to Hadrian* given by E. FARAL 'Une Source Latine de l'Histoire d'Alexandre: La Lettre sur les Merveilles de l'Inde', *Romania* XLIII (1914), 199-215, which gives texts of the *Fermes Letter* and the *Epistola Premonis* and those given by A. HILKA 'Ein neuer (altfranzösischer) Text des Briefes über die Wunder Asiens', *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* XLVI (1923), 92-103 which gives texts of the *Mirabilia* and the Old French translation. Paragraph numbering is uniform in these editions: *Fermes Letter* xvii iv *yppofogi*; *Epistola Premonis* xvii v *epifagos* Old French xvii v *epiphongos*.

W and S show a more correct form of the word *hippocentauri* in chapter 8, with *ypo-centauri* against *epocentauri* in the other mss. B curiously reads *de hippocentauris* in the list of titles; *ypo* may not indicate a more original form — the development of *ἵππο* to *ep-* has already been seen in *epifugos*, and was common. Similarly, the reading of W in chapter 18 may be either a more original or a corrected form:

W: cenocephali R: cinocephali L: cinophalli B: shenofalli

(S has a lacuna at this point). In the list of headings, B again produces a correct reading: *de cenocephalis*, whereas L's reading *de cenophalis* still shows loss of the third syllable. The number of instances where W and S show a reading which appears more correct than that of the other mss is sufficient to indicate that these two mss derive from an exemplar free from these corruptions.

There is some indication that W and S are more closely related to L than to the other mss, as for instance the shared corruption in chapter 10:

W, S: sub tertio zonarum...demonstrantur
L: sub quinto zonarum...demonstrantur
B: sub tertio zonarum...demorantur
R: sub quatuor zonarum...demorantur

If W, S and L shared a common ancestor (and the evidence is perhaps too sparse to be conclusive), it must have shown the corruption of *demorantur* to *demonstrantur* but retained the correct reading *tertio*.

All the mss except B show some confusion arising from the insular abbreviation for *autem*, but this is far more marked in L. L reads *hoc* (or *haec*) in 6 cases ⁽²⁵⁾ where all other mss have *autem*; in one further instance ⁽²⁶⁾, L, W and S read *hoc* against *autem* in R and a circumlocution in B which may indicate that B's exemplar contained a symbol which was unfamiliar to the scribe. In a further instance in Book II ⁽²⁷⁾, R and L read *hisdem* against *autem de in* in W, a variation which is probably due to insular *autem* at some stage. This widespread occurrence of insular abbreviations need not point to an exemplar from Ireland or England, but may just as reasonably be attributed to continental scribes trained in the insular tradition (i.e. in Irish-inspired scriptoria). However, the extent of the *hoc/autem* confusion in L makes it very likely that insular abbreviations were still used in the ms which represented the break of the L-text from the main development.

Some clues are available to the state of the text in this exemplar. In chapter 1, L shares with B a more accurate reading than the other mss, with *in primordio operis* against *in pridio operis* in R and *in primo hominis* in W and S, so these corruptions developed after the source of L separated from the source of W and S. However, there are corruptions which L shares with W and S; the one in chapter 10 has already been

(25) I lvi; II viii; II xv; II xviii; II xxii; II xxv.

(26) I v.

(27) II xxxii.

noted (supra p. 25). In chapter 41, the names of the gorgons appear in corrupt form in L, W and S:

L, W, S: strenue luridice medusa
R: stenno eurale medusa

It is possible that R's accuracy is a product of later correction, in which case we cannot tell when this corruption arose.

B, the latest ms, shows several accurate readings, most of which it shares with at least one other ms. The presence of the curiously correct form *hippocentauris* in the list of titles has already been noted, as has the fact the B is the only ms not to show either corruption in chapter 10 (*sub tertio zonarum* supra; *demorantur* supra). In one case it seems likely, in the light of our present, inadequate knowledge of the sources of the *Liber*⁽²⁸⁾, that B is the sole ms to keep the original reading. The case in question is one of the two passages on the ichthyophagi. The first of these passages, chapter 17, is omitted in L but all other mss are in agreement. It is obviously closely related to a passage in the *Epistola Alexandri*⁽²⁹⁾.

Liber monstrorum

Et in india iuxta oceanum pilosum totum corpore quoddam genus hominum didicimus qui in naturali nuditate setis tantum modo fermo contacti; crudis cum aqua piscibus ita uiuere dicuntur. quod indii ictifonas appelunt qui non terris tantum adsueti sed fluminibus ac stagnis et iuxta epigmaridem maxime demorantur.

Epistola Alexandri

uidimus mulieres uirosque pilosus in modum ferarum toto corpore nudos pedum altos nouenorum. Hos indii ictifanos appellant. Hii assueti fluminibus nec non & stagno quam terris edunt *crudos pisces tantummodo aquarum haustu uiuentes.*

The last phrase of this *Epistola Alexandri* passage appears in the *Liber* in all mss except B at the close of the second passage on the ichthyophagi, chapter 20, a passage derived from the *Letter of Pharasmanes to Hadrian*:

Liber Monstrorum

Sunt homines in oriente in cuiusdam heremi uasta latitudine (R: solitudine) morantes qui barbam usque ad genua pertingentem habent et
S, W, R, L, : *crudis pisces et aquarum sunt haustu uiventes*
B: *crudis piscibus vescuntur.*

Fermes Letter (30) xvii 1

A dextra parte ducent ad Aegyptum; hinc ad insulam in quo nascuntur homines longi habentes barbas usque ad genua, qui appellantur ictofagi, *pisces enim crudos vescuntur.*

A fuller study of cognate material may introduce further possibilities, but from our present knowledge of the sources it seems likely that B here represents a more original text and the other mss an intrusion.

(28) I am undertaking a comprehensive examination of the sources of the *Liber* as part of a full edition of the *Letter of Pharasmanes*.

(29) S. RYPPINS, *Three Old English Prose Texts in ms Cotton Vitellius A xv* (London 1924, E.E.T.S. o.s. CLXI), 91.

(30) *Fermes Letter* xvii 1.

Some of the readings accepted by previous editors as « best » or « most original » prove, on examination, to have other explanations. In chapter 20, R's *in cuiusdam heremi solitudine morantes*, which Butturff considers the best reading, seems indeed to be more specific than the readings of the other mss. However, a consideration of the evidence shows Butturff's conclusion to be unfounded. All versions of the *Letter of Pharasmanes*, including some as yet unpublished, agree in mentioning, between a localisation (*Liber: in oriente*) and a description of the length of beard and the diet of fish (as in *Liber*) a statement of the height of this race:

Fermes ⁽³¹⁾: homines longi

Epistola Praemonis ⁽³²⁾: statura pedum binorum in longitudine

Mirabilia ⁽³³⁾: statura pedum sex

It is possible that, during the process of transmission, the idea of height became clouded and *longitudine* was changed to *latitudine*, a change for which there is support elsewhere ⁽³⁴⁾, and was then transferred from the men to the desert (*heremi*). It would then be likely enough for a scribe to understand *heremi* as « hermits » rather than « desert », and to polish the text by substituting the concept closest to the idea of hermits, *solitudine*.

The presence of correct forms of the names of the Gorgons in R (chapter 41), already mentioned, could indicate that R derived from an exemplar which did not show the corruption. If this were the case, W, S and L would be seen as deriving from a common ancestor with this error and, together with R, could be traced back to an exemplar with the error in chapter 20. However, the manuscript relations seem, on present evidence, to be more complex than this. The additional material in R, which led Butturff to describe its text of Book I as « more complete » ⁽³⁵⁾, chapters 6, 14 and part of 5, all, as Berger de Xivrey noted of 6 ⁽³⁶⁾, bear every symptom of being late accretions from scholiasts.

There remain several problems of variant readings which cannot be solved until a full study has been made of cognate material. For instance, the five readings describing the song of the Sirens in chapter 7 (supra), all make reasonable sense and until we know which is likely to have been the reading inherited from the source we shall not be able to trace the development. The same is true of the *didicimus / didimus / indicimus* variants in chapter 15 (supra). When we know the answers to

(31) *Fermes Letter* xvi 1, corrected by Faral to *homines longas habentes barbas*.

(32) *Epistola Praemonis* xvi 1.

(33) *Mirabilia* xvi 1.

(34) In I xv, R, L, W & S read *latitudinis* against *longitudinis* in B.

(35) D. R. BUTTURFF, *Liber Monstrorum*, 5.

(36) J. BERGER DE XIVREY, *Traditions Téralogiques*, 24, note to vi (which he numbers vii): « Ce chapitre ne doit être considéré que comme une glose assez étendue, de la nature de celles dont les scholiastes accompagnent ordinairement un nom célèbre, la première fois que leur auteur le cite. »

some of these questions, we may be in a position to plot the relationships between the manuscripts. At present, however, we can say with certainty that S and W shared an ancestor in a merovingian hand, and that Butturff's plan of the relationships, which shows R as an early branching off from a main stem which later divided into W, L, and B, is an over-simplification.

On the question of provenance, the new facts here adduced do not lead to any indisputable conclusions, but the picture revealed by the localisation of the mss shows a manuscript tradition operating largely in Benedictine monasteries in Eastern France and modern Switzerland and South-West Germany. This lends support to either the Frankish theory or the Irish (several Irish foundations, like St. Gallen, became Benedictine as the Irish influence faded), but gives no further encouragement to the theory of Anglo-Saxon origin favoured by the majority of scholars in the past. Until more is known about the sources, statements on the provenance of the *Liber Monstrorum* must remain largely hypothetical.

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